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THE
DIARIES AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE.
VOL. 1.

LONDON :

R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.



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THE END OF THE WORLD

THE
DIARIES AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE :
CONTAINING
ORIGINAL LETTERS
OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED STATESMEN OF HIS DAY.
EDITED BY THE
REV. LEVESON VERNON HARCOURT.
IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.



LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.
1860.

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P R E F A C E.

To publish letters which are marked "private and confidential," seems at first sight to be a breach of that confidence on which the writers insisted; but, on further consideration, it must be seen that the secrecy which they desired had reference only to their contemporaries. Their object was to prevent the entanglement of parties, and the crossing of designs which were then contemplated in the transactions of the day. For that very reason, after the lapse of half a century, when all the actors have passed away from the stage on which they played their parts, those documents not only become innocuous, but have a great interest for those who agree with the poet, that "The proper study of mankind is man;" for they are revelations of the interior workings of that state machinery on the right regulation of which the welfare of millions depends. They bring to light those little traits of character which are of more value

in estimating the worth of public men than volumes of official papers and debates in Parliament. The petty jealousies and the covetous ambitions which disfigure some, are like so many beacons to warn rising statesmen from risking their characters on the same rocks; and, on the contrary, the disinterested motives by which others were actuated in taking or resigning office, and the conscientious fulfilment of their duties as public servants, secure so much approbation, when exhibited in these confidential details, that they must be great encouragement to others to follow their example.

Mr. Rose, a selection from whose private papers is here submitted to the public by the desire of his grandsons, belongs to this class. It seems to have been the guiding rule of his political life, "*Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallescere culpâ*:" accordingly he was an unswerving follower of Mr. Pitt, for he never saw anything culpable in the smallest degree in the policy of his leader, with two exceptions mentioned in his autobiography; and therefore, though during the life of Mr. Pitt he was anxious that his Government should be strengthened by any members of the Opposition, with the exception of Lord Sidmouth,

to whom he imputed, untruly perhaps, treachery to his friend, yet, after his death, he would have nothing to do with those who pursued a different policy.

I have therefore thought it my duty, as his Editor, to take the line which he would have wished me to take if he had been alive, and to vindicate the character of the great Statesman to whom he was so much attached, from the unjust attacks of those who have never forgiven him the long exclusion of their party from office. The pens of his opponents have been dipped in gall, overflowing in ebullitions of ill-will, misrepresentations, unfounded conclusions, and false reports; and, the writers being men of mark and of talent, very erroneous impressions have been made on the public mind, which must be disabused; and to this task I have addressed myself, with no wish to provoke hostility, but with a strong desire that the truth should be known.

I have only to add my acknowledgments to the Duke of Sutherland for his kindness in sending me the only letters which are not derived from Mr. Rose's own correspondence.

L. V. II.

LONDON, *December 1st*, 1859.

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DIARIES AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE ROSE has always been numbered amongst the celebrated statesmen and political writers of the conclusion of the last century and the commencement of the present.¹ From the time when he entered upon the serious business of life, he was exclusively employed in public offices of great importance, which brought him into contact with many of the most distinguished men of the age; and their letters are included in the correspondence which is now introduced as a biographical contribution to the history of that period. Much belonging to the same epoch has been already published in the shape of Memoirs, Diaries, and Correspondence, but they convey for the most part only the fleeting impressions of the hour, and are sometimes marvellously disfigured by political

¹ His portrait is included in the series of "Portraits of the most eminent persons now living, or lately deceased, in great Britain or Ireland," published by Cadell and Davies, in 1812.

passions and ignorant mistakes. If, therefore, we rely upon any of these taken alone, the truth comes to us as much distorted, as if we were looking through the multiform refractions of ill-made glass. They are indeed all useful in their way; for the history of mankind is but half written, when it is composed of State papers and Parliamentary debates; but it is only by comparing these revelations of the inner life of statesmen, by eliminating some errors and correcting others, that we can arrive at an accurate notion of the character of those who move the mechanism of nations.

From the important posts which Mr. Rose occupied, his correspondence and diaries are especially useful for this purpose. He saw so much of the secret springs which give motion to the wheels of Government, and was admitted so far into the intimacy of the great actors upon the public stage, that he could tell of much which was invisible to the outside spectators. But especially does his intimacy with Mr. Pitt, and the confidential terms on which they lived, from the commencement of that great minister's first administration to the end of his life, give an original interest to their correspondence. It is an interest, however, of a very peculiar nature; it is not that which arises from curious discoveries, large views, striking reflections, literary criticisms, piquant anecdotes, whispered slanders, or speculations even in politics; but it is an interest entirely owing to the light which it throws on the character of Mr. Pitt, and the tone of his mind

throughout the long series of letters which are now first presented to the public.

Whether in office, or out of office, Mr. Pitt was so entirely devoted to public affairs, that nothing seemed to have any attraction for him, which was not in some degree connected with them. As long as he supported the Addington administration, he studied the measures which were brought forward, almost as much as if he was to bear the responsibility; and when he grew discontented with them, and ceased to be consulted, he still took the greatest pains to arrive at the facts which would either justify or condemn the conduct of the Government. His statesman-like caution in writing is very remarkable. He never expatiates upon passing events; he never reveals his intentions even to his most intimate friend; he never trusts his opinions to the perfidies of the Post-office; but is always contriving the most convenient means of personal intercourse, when any measure is to be discussed. It may be thought that this habit would detract much from the interest of these letters; but everything which furnishes an additional lineament to the picture of such a man is worthy of notice. This principle is recognised even by the unfriendly pen of the Duke of Buckingham, who, wishing to damage the character of Pitt by an inference drawn from Lord Sidmouth's destruction of all documents in his possession, remarks how strange it was "that this immense mass of letters

should have been consigned to the flames, when every other correspondent of that illustrious man has preserved them with the greatest care and veneration.”¹ Moreover, it is worth while to take the widest possible survey of his private correspondence, in order to bring out more fully this very amiable feature in his character, that when he is unbosoming himself in the most confidential communications with his dearest friend, not a word of ill-nature escapes him. He never abuses any one; he never depreciates his adversaries, and, though in conversation he is reported to have said of Lord Grenville, who had irritated him, “I will teach that proud man that I can do without him,” yet nothing of that kind appears in his letters. Mr. Canning went so far as to regret his having so much of the milk of human kindness, that he never would punish those who had betrayed him.² Mr. Rose’s share of the correspondence is characterised by the same good qualities which Lord Glastonbury, a cousin of Lord Grenville, and therefore in office, ascribes to a pamphlet written by him on the subject of finance in the following letter:

LORD GLASTONBURY TO MR. PITT.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“It is impossible for me not to read with the fullest attention and the most anxious curiosity any

¹ Duke of Buckingham’s Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 142.

² Lord Malmesbury’s Diary, iv. 26.

work on the trade and manufactures of the country, and much more so a publication which comes forth under the sanction of your pen. I cannot, therefore, omit troubling you with a few lines to express my warmest thanks for the perusal of the pamphlet you had the goodness to send me last week. It is a work which, in sound argument, good sense, perspicuity of statement, and elegance of language, I will venture to say, is to be equalled by few, surpassed by none. Though frequently alarmed, I have at no period of this awful contest despaired of our final success. But this statement has increased my confidence; for who was sanguine enough last year to be assured that the unprecedented weight of taxes which it was judged wise and expedient to impose, would not affect the produce of the old funds?

I am persuaded that our remaining resources will suffice to carry us through this storm, in which the trade, commerce, and manufactures of the world are staked against the plunder of it. But the former have this advantage; they are better applied, and will prove more permanent than the latter. My chief anxiety arises from the depression of the landed gentleman with a small property, who resides on his estate. This useful and necessary class of men suffer most, and will be annihilated by the weight of taxes.

“ I am, my dear Sir,

“ With a very sincere regard and esteem,

“ Your most faithful and obliged Servant,

“ GLASTONBURY.

“ Conduit Street, 12th March, 1799.”

[Mr. Rose left behind him materials different in character for three distinct periods of his life. For the first, which reaches up to the commencement of Mr. Pitt's first administration, there is a short autobiography, but no correspondence; for the second, which ends with his own retirement from office on Mr. Pitt's resignation, there is a copious correspondence, but neither autobiography nor diary; for the third there are both diaries and correspondence. In most autobiographies the domestic life of the writer occupies a large space. They contain minute details of his parentage, his early habits, and education. Of all this, very little is said by Mr. Rose. He was pre-eminently a man of business, and he hurries forward to the period when he began to be employed in the service of the State. Thus, though he was a Tory all his life, he thinks it not worth while to tell how much his father suffered in that cause, nor how he was thrown into prison in 1745, for too much complicity with the leaders of that rebellion, which, however, accounts sufficiently for his being himself so ill provided for in early life, and for his uncle's taking charge of him; and though he travelled abroad, yet he records no adventures, no remarks, no incident, except that he met with Mr. Pitt at Paris.

With respect to his marriage, which must have been the most interesting passage in his life, not political, he makes no mention either of the fact, person, or date. Indeed we only collect the circum-

stance from an incidental reference to his wife. As the whole narrative consists of reminiscences penned at a late period of his life, all dates and numbers seem to have been forgotten, and the blanks were never filled up. His daughter, however, with true feminine instinct, and predilection for the interesting minutiae of private life, has supplied many valuable particulars, which were wholly omitted in the autobiography. Unfortunately she adopted the habit of writing more with her pencil than her pen, and therefore much is now illegible which might have conveyed useful knowledge.

During the second period of his life, Mr. Rose's time and attention were too much absorbed by the manifold duties of his office to allow him sufficient leisure for writing a diary, or taking much notice of what was passing around him. Nor indeed was he at any time addicted to pleasantries, anecdotes, or gossip; but when he was out of office, or held a post of less anxious nature, he recorded in a diary, till the year 1811, every event that occurred in the political world, with the single exception of the year 1805, respecting which almost a complete silence is observed. Whether this was owing to ill health, of which he was beginning to complain, or to some slight coolness which had sprung up between him and Mr. Pitt, with reference to the formation of the administration, or the policy of the war, of which some traces are perceptible, we have not sufficient evidence to determine. He says so little

about himself that it may be convenient to introduce here the dates of the principal events of his political life.

In 1772, he was keeper of the Records at Westminster ; in 1776, he was Secretary to the Board of Taxes ; in 1782, Secretary to the Treasury, which office he vacated in the spring of 1783, but was re-appointed by Mr. Pitt in December ; in 1784, he was returned by the Duke of Northumberland as Member of Parliament for Launceston, in Cornwall ; in 1788, he vacated his seat by being made Clerk of Parliaments, but was returned for Lymington, and in 1790 for Christ Church ; in 1801, on the resignation of Mr. Pitt, he vacated the Secretaryship to the Treasury ; in 1804, when Mr. Pitt came again into office, he was appointed Joint Paymaster-General of the Forces and Vice-President of the Board of Trade, till January, 1806, when Mr. Pitt died."

In 1807, under the Duke of Portland, he was appointed Treasurer of the Navy and Vice-President of the Board of Trade. Miss Rose's sketch of her father's life, which is here subjoined, will be the most fitting introduction to his own autobiography, and will show how much he has omitted of his early history.—ED.]

"Mr. Rose was the second son of his father by his second wife. When little more than four years of age, he was adopted by his mother's brother, at that time living at Hampstead, and educated by him. He

was for a short time at Westminster School, but at an early age was sent by his uncle to sea, under the friendly care of Captain Mackenzie, of the Navy, and served for three or four years as a youngster and midshipman. During this time, neither the risks nor hardships of the service disinclined him to it, though he had a considerable share of both. He always spoke of his first years in the Navy with pleasure, and continued his predilection for it through life.

“He must have entered the naval service at a very early age. His first voyage was to the West Indies; and in May, 1758, he served in the Channel as a midshipman, and steered one of the boats from which the troops commanded by Charles, Duke of Marlborough, were landed in Cancale Bay; and in 1759 he was again in the West Indies, and was twice severely wounded during the naval campaign there. From the effects of one of these wounds he continued to suffer to a late period of his life..

“It has been stated that he received the appointment of purser to the ship, but, in fact, it appears that Captain Mackenzie was his own purser. Mr. Rose kept his book, which is signed in a boy’s handwriting. The pay was given by favour, probably, and the whole was under the captain’s control; but his uncle was discouraged in his hope of advancing him, and on the peace of 1763, he quitted the service.

“He was then in his nineteenth year, and his own master. His uncle, his only relation in England,

was dead, and the small bequest he expected to inherit from him (about 5,000*l.*), he was deprived of, under circumstances so painful, that he scarcely ever alluded to them further than to state that, when he returned, he learnt that no will of his uncle's had been found, and that no trace remained of his property. Young as he then was, he had gained the regard of his uncle's respectable friends; he also obtained an introduction into the best literary society of that day, and through private friendship was appointed a clerk in the Record Office.

“When it was determined by the House of Lords, about the year 1767, to print their Journals and the Rolls of Parliament, a person competent to the work was sought for, and Mr. Rose was found well qualified for the undertaking. An office was formed for the purpose under his direction, which, when he became Clerk of Parliaments, was absorbed into that department,—Mr. Rose having resigned the emoluments, amounting to about 500*l.* a-year for his life, for a pension of 300*l.* on Mrs. Rose.

“While this work was in progress, the active intelligence of his mind, which led him to pursue with energy every duty which he undertook, attracted the notice of the peers who composed the committee for directing it; especially of the last Earl of Marchmont; and the foundation was then laid of that confidential and affectionate friendship which led him within a very few years afterwards to name Mr. Rose

his sole executor for his English property ; a friendship which increased with years, and was marked at Lord Marchmont's death by a renewal of that trust, conveying to him, besides a pecuniary legacy, his books and papers.

“ While directing the printing of Rolls and Journals, Mr. Rose had been appointed, on the death of Mr. Morley, joint keeper of the Records with Mr. Farrer, at whose death he became the sole principal of that office.

“ About the year 1777, Mr. Rose was appointed Secretary of the Tax Office, on the resignation of Mr. Chamberlayne, and was frequently consulted, during the latter part of the administration of Lord North, on business connected with that department.

“ When Lord John Cavendish became Chancellor of the Exchequer, he advised on general financial regulations with Mr. Rose, who then suggested to him the measure for the consolidation of the Customs, which he had afterwards, under Mr. Pitt's administration, the satisfaction of seeing perfected.

“ During that time, Lord Shelburne requested Mr. Rose to call on him, to give him some information respecting the revenue. He did so. At the close of the conversation, Lord Shelburne asked him what were his future views. Mr. Rose replied, to obtain the reversion of the office of Clerk of Parliaments, which he had been led to look forward to, after the present possessor, in consequence of his employ-

ment in the service of the House of Lords, and as Clerk Assistant, if the Patent, which had been closed in compliance with an address to the King, ever should be opened again. Lord Shelburne replied, ‘ Good God, Mr. Rose, have you not more ambition ? ’

“ When Lord Shelburne became First Lord of the Treasury, he desired Lord Thurlow, with whom Mr. Rose then lived in habits of private friendship, to offer him the situation of Secretary to the Treasury. His first impulse was to refuse it, and not to abandon a moderate but permanent office for a very precarious one, which might embark him in party politics. He was strongly urged to take the time offered him by Lord Shelburne for consideration. At the end of a week, the advice of his friends, and probably the temptation of the field being opened to him for those improvements in the management of the revenue which he had contemplated from the time he was employed in a financial department, determined him to accept the situation offered to him, on one condition only,—that he should not, while holding it, sit in Parliament.

“ Lord Stafford also urged his acceptance of Lord Shelburne’s offer. He was Lord Thurlow’s friend ; but I have strong reason to believe that Lord Stafford, then Lord Gower, took a strong interest in my father’s fortunes on private considerations, apart from his knowledge of his ability in the general business

of the House of Lords. I always remember traces of it. By Lady Gower, though she never visited my mother (indeed, she visited very few), and by all her family, he was treated as a familiar associate; and by her favourite brother, Mr. Stewart, as his attached and intimate friend. His wife told me, when I was thirteen years old, that her husband informed her when he married her, that she must be intimate with Mrs. Rose, as he felt sure she would like her, for Mr. Rose was his earliest friend. She said, when I asked her where the early intimacy had been formed, she could not tell, it had often puzzled her. I then asked where my grandmother and her children were, and who protected them when my grandfather was imprisoned in London, in 1745? She replied, 'The Galloway Stewarts.' She had once before told me that the name of Stewart, borne by my uncle and brother, was derived from the Galloway Stewarts. This gave me light, and explained the intimacy with Lord Galloway and his family, though it fell off from Lord Galloway, whom my father did not like.

“In one respect, my father had no cause to regret his compliance. Lord Shelburne fulfilled his expectations as far as the short period of his administration and the difficulties he had to encounter permitted, in the department he belonged to; but he resigned his employment under him with satisfaction, though he left it, when Lord Shelburne resigned the seals, without any remuneration for having given up a

permanent office. At that time, in addition to the small salaries from the Record and Journal Offices, he had a moderate private fortune, vested in the precarious security of a West Indian property, and the remote prospect of succeeding to the offices of Clerk Assistant of the House of Lords, and Clerk of Parliaments, after the lives of Mr. Strutt and Mr. Ashley Cowper. The Patent had been opened, in consequence of an address to the King from the House of Lords, moved by the Earl of Marchmont, for the nomination of Mr. Strutt and Mr. Rose in succession, on the ground of Mr. Rose's former and continued services to the House.

“There was then what was called a six weeks' interregnum, during which nothing was done but what was absolutely needful, only the King's special act, as in the case of Dr. Moore's nomination to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

“Lord Shelburne never took any concern in my father's object, nor supported his friends in the House of Lords, on the address, &c. It was done entirely by the peers, who attended to the particular business in that house, independent of politics,—Lord Stafford, Lord North, &c. This was known to the King, and approved by him. When Lord Shelburne resigned, Lord Stafford wished to give up the privy seal, but declared he would keep it to complete my father's patent, then in progress. Lord Thurlow, in one of his sulky moods, held it back, until the King asked

him ‘if he had not a patent for the Parliament office for *his* signature.’ This, the King told himself.

“Immediately after quitting the office of Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Rose went abroad with Lord Thurlow, and returning in the autumn of 1783, through Paris, he there met Mr. Pitt, whom he had previously known when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Shelburne’s administration, and of whom he at once formed a true estimation. At Paris they became more fully acquainted with each other. They returned to England impressed with the same views of the important occurrences of the time, too well remembered to require a more particular mention here.

“When Mr. Pitt became Prime Minister in 1784, Mr. Rose was again appointed Secretary to the Treasury, which office he held during the whole of Mr. Pitt’s administration, and his objections to sitting in Parliament being removed by his knowledge of Mr. Pitt’s character and his perfect reliance on him, he was, in the general election in 1784, returned member for Launceston. Mr. Pitt’s sense of the sacrifice Mr. Rose had made in resigning the office of Secretary to the Treasury, was met by his appointing him, unsolicited, to the first situation for life which fell to his disposal, the Mastership of the Pleas in the Court of Exchequer; which place he afterwards allowed him to resign in favour of his youngest son. My father was brought into Parliament, in

1784, by the private friendship of the Duke of Northumberland, grandfather of the present Duke.

“In 1788 he succeeded, on the death of Mr. Ashley Cowper, to the office of Clerk of Parliaments,—Mr. Strutt having died during Mr. Cowper’s life, in consequence of the effects of a fall. This succession vacated the seat for Launceston, and for the short remainder of that Parliament he sat for the borough of Lymington. At the general election in 1795 he was returned one of the members for Christ Church, which borough he continued to represent for the remainder of his life.

“When Mr. Pitt resigned the seals, in 1801, Mr. Rose quitted the office of Secretary to the Treasury, and was at Mr. Pitt’s request named by the King of the Privy Council, and by his Majesty’s command one of the members of the Board of Trade. When Mr. Pitt resumed office in 1804, Mr. Rose was appointed one of the Joint Paymasters of the Army and Vice-President of the Board of Trade, which offices he resigned on Mr. Pitt’s death. Under the Duke of Portland’s administration he was appointed Treasurer of the Navy, a post he continued to hold until his death, in 1818.”

CHAPTER I.

REFLECTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS, ARISING FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF A LONG LIFE, THE GREATEST PART OF WHICH HAS BEEN SPENT IN THE ACTIVE SERVICE OF THE PUBLIC—WITH THESE PERHAPS MAY BE INTERSPERSED STATEMENTS OF, OR ALLUSIONS TO, CIRCUMSTANCES AS THEY MAY OCCUR TO MY RECOLLECTION, WITHOUT REGARD TO DATES OR TO PARTICULAR PERIODS.

Cuffnells, September 17th, 1817, in my 74th year.

As this paper is intended for the information of my son, and of those who may follow him, I begin it naturally with some account of myself, to show how I attained my present situation in the world. I was born in 1744. I am descended paternally from the family of Rose of Kilravoc, in the county of Nairn, in Scotland; maternally from the family of Rose of Westerclune.

A brother of my mother,¹ who was very respectably settled in England, took me from my parents, when four years old, and gave me as good an education as possible.

At an early age I entered in the Naval Service, under Captain Jas. Mackenzie, who treated me like a

¹ This brother was maternally descended from Archbishop Sharp's daughter, who was with him when he was murdered.

parent, and with whom I lived for some time at his own table. Losing, however, all prospect of promotion in the only desirable line in the Navy, I quitted it permanently in 1762.

In the beginning of 1763, I applied myself to the study of Records, and in 1767, when the House of Lords decided to print their early proceedings, all the Record officers were ordered to attend the committee appointed for that purpose; amongst whom I appeared for Mr. Morley, who was then keeper of the Records in the receipt of the Exchequer, preserved in the chapter-house at Westminster.

Of that committee the late Earl of Marchmont was in the chair, to whom I was an absolute stranger. It was upon my attendance there that my acquaintance with him commenced, which formed to a very great extent the comfort, as well as led to the advantages, of my future life. Here, therefore, I think it right to make some mention of him. He was a man of most distinguished talents and learning; he had read more deeply in the classics, history and in civil law, than any man I ever knew,—combining the three branches. He entered public life at an early age, having been chosen for the town of Berwick, and soon made a considerable figure in the House of Commons in opposition to Sir Robert Walpole; which party he led after the secession of Mr. Pulteney. When his seat became vacant on his succession to the peerage on the death of his father, Sir Robert said to Mr. Morley (who lived on terms of great private familiarity with him) that he was relieved

from the most troublesome opponent he had in the house.

The Earl had lived in habits of the closest intimacy with Lord Bolingbroke, both in England and in France. This afforded opportunities, in frequently repeated conversations, for his lordship's stating to me everything interesting which passed in the reign of Queen Anne and George the First, as familiarly as if the occurrences had taken place in his own time ; some of these will probably be stated hereafter.

I will here, however, in justice to the memory of my invaluable friend, say that on religious points there was no union of sentiments between these two men. On the other hand, it appears by a letter of Lord Bolingbroke's, dated in 1740, from Angeville, that he had actually written some essays dedicated to the Earl of Marchmont, of a very different tendency from his former works. These essays, on his death, fell into the hands of Mr. Mallet, his executor, who had at the latter end of his life acquired a decided influence over him,¹ and they did not appear among

¹ This influence was acquired by constant attention, and principally by exposing to his lordship the breach of engagement of Mr. Pope, in allowing Lord B.'s Essay on a Patriot King to be printed. His lordship had printed six copies of it himself, which he gave to Lord Chesterfield, Sir Wm. Wyndham, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Pope, Lord Marchmont, and to Lord Cornbury, at whose instance he wrote it. Mr. Pope lent his copy to Mr. Allen, of Bath ; who was so delighted with it that he had an impression of 500 taken off, but locked them up securely in a warehouse, not to see the light till Lord Bolingbroke's permission should be obtained. On the discovery, Lord Marchmont (then living in Lord Bolingbroke's house at Battersea) sent Mr. Gravenkop for the whole cargo, who carried

his lordship's works published by Mallet ; nor have they been seen or heard of since. From whence it must naturally be conjectured that they were destroyed by the latter, for what reason cannot now be known ; possibly, to conceal from the world the change, such as it was, in his lordship's sentiments in the latter end of his life, and to avoid the discredit to his former works. In which respect he might have been influenced either by regard for the noble Viscount's consistency, or by a desire not to impair the pecuniary advantage he expected from the publication of his lordship's works.¹

Besides Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Marchmont lived in the most intimate habits with Lord Chesterfield, Lord Cobham, Lord Stair, Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, Mr. Littleton, Lord Cornbury, Mr. Pope, and other eminent persons. And his memory being perfect, to his death, made his society most interesting,

them out in a waggon, and the books were burnt on the lawn in the presence of Lord Bolingbroke.

¹ The letter to Lord Marchmont, here referred to, has a note appended to it by Sir George Rose, the editor of the "Marchmont Papers," who takes a very different view of its contents from his father. He justly remarks, that "as the posthumous disclosure of Lord Bolingbroke's inveterate hostility to Christianity lays open to the view as well the bitterness as the extent of it, so the manner of that disclosure precludes any doubt of the earnestness of his desire to give the utmost efficiency and publicity to that hostility, as soon as it could safely be done ; that is, as soon as death should shield him against responsibility to man." Sir George saw plainly enough that, when he promises, in those essays, to "vindicate religion against divinity and God against man," he was retracting all that he had occasionally said in favour of Christianity ; he was upholding the religion of Theism against the doctrines of the Bible, and the God of nature against the revelation of God to man.—ED.

as he was in the habit, with me, of constantly narrating anecdotes, and mentioning what had passed in the former parts of his time.

It was to this highly distinguished nobleman I owe my introduction into life, and consequently to everything that has since followed. It was to him entirely (then an absolute stranger, as already observed) I was indebted for my being employed in the publication of the Lords' Records, in April, 1767.

In the year 1772, Mr. Morley died, at a very advanced age; and a recommendation in my favour to succeed him was sent by the Committee of Lords, to Lord North, who put aside an appointment he had intended, and gave the office to me. At my own request, however, Mr. Farley, who had been for a very long time chief clerk in it, was joined with me, but he dying a few years afterwards, I became sole keeper of the Records, in which situation I still remain.

In the interval between my quitting the navy and my employment by the House of Lords, I lost my uncle, who died without a will, in a fit of apoplexy. He had been my great stay in affection as well as in pecuniary support. By his death, under these circumstances (the particulars not worth detailing here), I was left in a most unprotected state. With a good education, however, and living in the best society, the advantages of which I have largely experienced, I was nearly domesticated in the house of one friend, whose name I mention on account of the very peculiar benefits I derived from his kindness. This was Mr.

Alexander Strahan, who entered into the world with a large fortune, which he greatly impaired by the South Sea scheme in the year 1720. The remains of it he principally sunk in annuities, from whence he derived a considerable income, and was enabled to live well. When I was introduced to him, he was at a very advanced age, and was never out of his house, except when he changed his residence from one house for another he had at Knightsbridge, during the summer. At his table (a regular one every day, and which I frequented whenever I had no other engagement) I met almost every man and woman of letters of the time: Mr. Hume, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Mallet, Dr. Armstrong, Mr. Scott, who had been preceptor to the King, Mr. Richmond Webb, Mrs. Macaulay, Mrs. Lennox, praised by Dr. Johnson, and others.

The life of Mr. Strahan closed almost immediately after my being employed by the House of Lords; to which duty I devoted myself so entirely, that it would in any event have taken me much from that society by which I had greatly profited.

I continued in the execution of the duty entrusted to me so completely to the satisfaction of the Lords, that the House presented an address to the King, laying before him a report of their Committee, recommending me in strong terms to his Majesty. When that report was presented by the Chancellor, Lord Bathurst, his Majesty expressed himself very graciously respecting me, so as to lead to a hope of my being considered when the patent of the Clerk of the

Parliaments being opened, should afford an opportunity for it.

In the year 1777, on Mr. George Chamberlayne's resignation of the Secretaryship of the Tax-Office, upon his becoming a Roman Catholic, Lord North appointed me his successor, without any solicitation whatever on my part. The offer was made in the most gratifying manner, through the brother, Mr. Edward Chamberlayne, then a clerk in the Treasury. In that situation I remained till July, 1782.

In April, 1782, Lord North was removed from the head of the Treasury, and was succeeded by Lord Rockingham,—Lord Shelburne, and Mr. Fox being Secretaries of State. In the July following, Lord Rockingham died. During his short administration, Lord John Cavendish, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, consulted me on everything. He had been advised (as he told me) by various friends to apply to me for assistance.

On the death of Lord Rockingham, there was a struggle for the Treasury between the Duke of Portland and Lord Shelburne, the former eagerly supported by Mr. Fox ; but the latter prevailed ; on which Mr. Fox and his political friends resigned, amongst whom was Lord John Cavendish. I was one of the very first to whom his Lordship made the communication, lamenting earnestly that I would not permit Lord Rockingham and himself to propose anything for me while it was in their power.

After leaving Lord John, I went to Lord Thurlow, the Chancellor, on a pressing message desiring to see me ; when he at once asked me abruptly if I would be

Secretary of the 'Treasury ; which was followed by a question from me, 'Are you to be First Lord?' to which he replied with an oath, 'No ; but Shelburne is.' A conversation followed, in which I expressed great surprise at the proposal, and at its being made through him. He accounted for it, by Lord Shelburne thinking if it had been made by himself I should have refused it, and that probably his lordship (Thurlow) might prevail with me to accept it. I, however, stated a strong objection to it, and under that impression left the Chancellor. On my reaching home, I learnt from Mrs. Rose that Mrs. Strachey had been with her, and mentioned that she was looking out in Westminster for a house, as her husband, a very old friend of mine, understood he was to continue one of the Secretaries of the 'Treasury, in which office he was placed by Lord Rockingham.

After several days' deliberation, I was prevailed upon to accept the offer, with a considerable disinclination on my part. I made no bargain or condition of any sort for the event of retiring, though I gave up the valuable situation, a permanent one, of Secretary of 'Taxes, worth then more than £900 a year, with a certain prospect of improving, besides a small office in the Exchequer that required only a few days' attendance in the year, to take the very precarious one, under an unsettled Government, of Secretary to the 'Treasury.

A stranger to Lord Shelburne, and in utter ignorance of the line of politics he meant to pursue, I made it an express condition that I would not come into Parliament.

On the opening of the session, however, it was found that Mr. Orde (my colleague, afterwards Lord Bolton) was under great difficulty in getting in ; and Lord Shelburne, without any communication with me, prevailed on Sir Richard Worsley to vacate his seat for Newport, in the Isle of Wight, that I might be chosen for that place. In the course of the summer and autumn I had experienced very uncomfortable feelings from the temper and disposition of Lord Shelburne ; sometimes passionate or unreasonable, occasionally betraying suspicions of others entirely groundless, and at other times offensively flattering. I have frequently been puzzled to decide which part of his conduct was least to be tolerated.

This proceeding to force me into Parliament occasioned much heat on both sides ; but I maintained my resolution, and Mr. Pepper Arden, the Solicitor-General, was chosen for Newport.

Having made no conditions whatever on giving up my former employments, I thought it an act of justice to myself to secure what was evidently intended for me by the House of Lords and the King. Till now I had been contented to wait for events respecting the Parliament office, as I had not before a political or private enemy to impede my access to it. Sure however, although not in the House of Commons, of now becoming an object of resentment, I was naturally desirous of protecting myself against suffering by that ; and I was indeed urged most strongly by Lord Marchmont, who expressed his determination to bring the matter under the consideration of the House. The

first step was to open the means of granting the office in reversion. In a subsequent year there was a very long and strict investigation by a Committee of Lords, respecting the whole conduct of matters in the Parliament office, when it was proved that great abuses had been committed by the Clerk of the Parliaments, in the sale of employments under him, and in diverting allowances made by the public to private objects. This induced an address to the King, to request his Majesty would not in future grant the office in reversion. This obstruction was removed by Lord Marchmont moving an address, which was carried unanimously, praying the King would grant the office in the manner heretofore accustomed, not doubting that his Majesty would consent.

Within two days after, the patent granting the office of Clerk of the Parliaments was made out in favour of Mr. Samuel Strutt, the Clerk Assistant of the House of Lords, and to myself in reversion, after the death of Mr. Ashley Cowper, then more than eighty years of age. Thus was secured to me the succession to the office on the death of Mr. Strutt, and the situation of Clerk Assistant (if I should choose to take it) on Mr. Strutt becoming Clerk of the Parliaments. In the proceeding for opening the patent Lord Shelburne had no share: he was not even in the House when Lord Marchmont moved the address: Lord Thurlow, the Chancellor, had given it all the countenance in his power, and Lord Shelburne consented.

In the interval between the appointment of Lord Shelburne to the Treasury in July, and the meeting

of Parliament in the winter, his Lordship made every exertion in his power to gain strength in the House of Commons; the King, at his instance, having written earnestly to Lord North and to some others, who it was thought might be influenced thereby, to support the administration. It was, however, found soon after the commencement of the session, how ineffectual those exertions were. Lord Shelburne had entered upon office without previously ascertaining what support he could rely on, or might have reasonable prospect of receiving; and it soon appeared how formidable an opposition he had to encounter. A coalition was formed between Lord North and Mr. Fox, uniting the two great parties who had long acted under these eminent leaders:—the principal agent in which was Mr. Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, who made much use of Mr. North, the eldest son of his father, in bringing the two principals together.

This junction was made manifest by the vote on the Peace, which was carried by a majority of seventeen. The numbers being 190 to 207. The person who moved the censure upon it was the Earl of Surrey, who, during the short administration of Lord Shelburne, had obtained everything he asked; professing the most determined attachment to his lordship, and living much at his table. During that period, very little interesting to myself occurred, except the alternate violence and flattery of Lord Shelburne, before alluded to; which made my situation so thoroughly unpleasant to me, that I felt the certain removal from office as a relief. There were other qualities in his lordship that

were uncomfortable to me ; a suspicion of almost every one he had intercourse with, a want of sincerity, and a habit of listening to every tale-bearer who would give him intelligence or news of any sort.

Under these circumstances, I parted from him with feelings of no pleasant nature, and I believe he had no regret at the separation. He took not the least notice of the unprovided state in which I was left, from having made no conditions for myself when I came to the Treasury. It was the first instance of a gentleman giving up an income to take the Secretaryship of the Treasury, without something being secured to him on his retiring or being removed, or being given to him previous to his removal. It is true I had the reversion of the place of Clerk of the Parliaments, but there was a life in it before me very nearly as good as my own, for Mr. Strutt was only two years older than myself, and the grant had no relation whatever to my acceptance of the Secretaryship of the Treasury. So far, therefore, as Lord Shelburne was concerned, I was left completely upon the pavement ; of which, however, I made no complaint to any one, nor remonstrance to his lordship, though my case was strengthened by my having reduced the income of the Secretary greatly.

The income had arisen from fees on every instrument that was issued from, or passed through, the office ; an unpleasant and objectionable source, which induced me to propose that all the fees received in the department should be carried to a fund, from which the secretaries and clerks should be paid. I settled the income of the Secretaries, with the approbation of the Board, at £3,000 a year in peace

and war, at which it remained till the year 17 , when Mr. Pitt, thinking that too low for the increased expense of living, and utterly insufficient for maintaining the appearance necessary to the situation, and the unavoidable charges of it, added £1,000 a year. When the minute was made for that addition, I wrote under it, that being in possession of a valuable sinecure office, I would not avail myself of the increased salary ; and I never took a shilling of it.

Previously to the removal of Lord Shelburne from the Treasury, an arrangement was made in the office which occasioned five vacancies. Two of these he filled himself, by Mr. Alcock and Mr. Cipriani ; one he gave to Mr. Pitt, who appointed a gentleman who soon exchanged the place for another situation ; the fourth he conferred on Mr. Orde (my colleague), who appointed Mr. Joseph Smith, afterwards Mr. Pitt's private secretary. The fifth he gave to me, and I appointed Mr. Chinnery, a sort of secretary to Lord Thurlow, the Chancellor, who was likely to be turned adrift on his lordship going out of office, with little hope of receiving support from his father, who was a writing-master.

An intimation was conveyed to me by Mr. James Grenville that I might remain in the Treasury if I wished it, which he was authorized to suggest by Mr. Frederic Montague, one of the new lords : but I declined it, although I felt that I was at full liberty, not having been in Parliament, nor having mixed in Lord Shelburne's politics in any manner ; having certainly no obligations of any kind whatever to his lordship.

I went out of office with Lord Shelburne on terms of civility and good correspondence, though not with cordiality ; but an incident occurred a week or two afterwards which occasioned a final and determined separation. Before the Island of St. Christopher was taken in the war, Mr. Gammin (brother-in-law to the Duke of Grafton by having married the Duke's sister, and to the Duke of Chandos by the Duke having married Mr. Gammin's sister) was Collector of the Customs there. After the capture of the island Mr. Gammin was made Secretary of Excise. On the peace Mr. Gammin had the option of the two employments ; he chose the latter ; on which I requested Lord Shelburne to give the Collectorship of St. Christopher's to Mr. Diver, a brother of Mrs. Rose's, who was Collector of Dominica, not quite so good in point of income, and the society inferior. In this Lord Shelburne acquiesced ; but on the coming in of the new government, Mr. Gammin had influence enough to obtain his former office at St. Christopher's with the consent of Lord Shelburne, retaining also the secretaryship of excise, and Mr. Diver was not restored to Dominica, which his lordship had given to Mr. Grove, the brother of one of his agents in the city.

On this transaction I had an interview with his lordship, in which I stated to him in very plain and intelligible expressions the sense I had of his conduct, and my determination never to be in a room with him again while in existence. From Lord Shelburne's in Berkeley Square I went to Mr. Pitt, then staying with

his brother, Lord Chatham, in Savile Row, and explained to him all that had passed on this private subject, telling him at the same time the determination I had taken to separate for ever from Lord Shelburne; adding that it would be most painful to me if that should be the occasion of a separation from him also, but, distressing as such an alternative would be, I must encounter that rather than have any intercourse whatever in future with Lord Shelburne. Mr. Pitt expressed great regret at the communication, but entered on nothing confidential.

During the nine months of the administration I had not much intercourse with Mr. Pitt except at the Board, and sometimes at dinner at Lord Shelburne's; but such as I had was remarkably pleasant and satisfactory.

Finding myself quite at liberty, after the change of administration, I made a tour on the Continent with Lord Thurlow, from whom the Great Seal was taken. We started in the month of July, 1782, and went by Calais, through Lisle, to Spa; whence after some stay, to Aix-la-Chapelle, crossed the Rhine to Dusseldorf, and up the banks to all the places on the side of that river to Frankfort, from thence to Strasburgh, and followed the river to Basle. From Basle through Switzerland to Geneva, and from thence through Lyons to Paris. About ten days after my arrival at the latter place I received a letter from Mr. Pitt at Rheims, desiring I would stay at Paris till he could get to me, which he said he would do as soon as possible.

On our meeting, the conversation was quite confidential. In the course of it I found he was as little disposed to future connexion with Lord Shelburne as myself, and he manifested an earnest desire for a permanent and close intimacy with me. I explained to him, that, out of Parliament, I could be but little useful to him in politics. He, however, expressed so much anxiety on the subject as to induce me to a most cheerful and cordial assent; having hesitated only from a consciousness of my own insignificance as to any essential service I could render him, and I gave him my hand with a warm and consenting heart. From that moment I considered myself as inalienable from Mr. Pitt, and on that feeling I acted most sacredly to the last hour of his invaluable life; never for a single moment entertaining even a thought of separating from him, except in one instance. Nor do I recollect differing from him on more than two points. I may as well mention them here, though out of the order of time, because they are immediately connected with the ground on which I professed and maintained my attachment to him.

The first was on his plan for Parliamentary Reform. When that question was first agitated, I sat for Launceston, a seat of the Duke of Northumberland's, who told me he was sure I should vote with Mr. Pitt, and that I could not do otherwise. If, therefore, I had any delicacy towards his grace (which might have been embarrassing), this conduct of his set me perfectly free. I naturally gave such an important matter the fullest and most deliberate consideration, having before

often weighed it in my mind as a speculative point on which I was not likely to be called upon to act. The result of my deepest reflection was that, if the question of Reform should be carried, it could not fail to be attended with the most direful consequences. It is not necessary here to enter on all that occurred to me on the subject.

Mr. Pitt's plan was for a limited alteration, to suppress what were called the rotten boroughs, allowing compensation to those who had the influence in them; adding to the county members, and giving members to all towns in which there were three hundred taxable houses. In that, the reformers of all descriptions concurred, notwithstanding the avowed dislike of many of them to the insufficiency of the measure; but who concurred in it under a persuasion that if any change could be effected, it would not stop at the first inroad, but that the door being once opened, the Reform might be carried to the extremest length.

[Mr. Pitt had proposed another kind of Reform, in the interval between Lord Shelburne's Administration and his own in 1783, in favour of which he brought forward certain resolutions which were designed to secure purity of election, and gave the first impetus to the question which is still agitating Parliament.

1. That it was the opinion of the House, that it was highly necessary to take measures for the future prevention of bribery and expense at elections.

2. That for the future, when the majority of voters

for any borough should be convicted of gross and notorious corruption, before a select committee of that House, appointed to try the merits of any election, such borough should be disfranchised ; and the minority of votes not so convicted, should be entitled to vote for the county in which such borough is situated.

3. That an addition of Knights of the Shire and of representatives of the Metropolis, should be added to the state of the representation.

He also proposed Reform in the system of fees and patronage out of perquisites, the abuse of which had arisen to an almost incredible height. Lord North, it is said, cost the country £1,300 in one year for stationery ; one item being £340 for whip-cord.

In pursuance of the same principle, two years afterwards Mr. Pitt introduced the bill to which Mr. Rose objected. It transferred the franchise of thirty-six boroughs to counties and unrepresented towns ; but a clause for giving pecuniary compensation to the disfranchised boroughs, was the cause of its rejection.—ED.]

MR. ROSE'S DIARY RESUMED.

This great question had been discussed out of doors for a long time, particularly in Middlesex and Yorkshire. The general topic was, that taxation and representation should be inseparable, on which ground Mr. Pitt's plan was altogether unsatisfactory. In truth,

nothing could come up to the principle short of the Duke of Richmond's suggestion of an universal right of voting, because the lowest and meanest inhabitants of the country paid taxes in some shape or other, if they burnt a rush-light and used soap for washing their linen.

Under the strongest conviction that if a breach should once be made in the representation, all the talents and weight of Mr. Pitt and other moderate reformers would not be able to prevent, in a short time, its being widened to a ruinous extent, I determined against an acquiescence in Mr. Pitt's plan, which he pressed with enthusiasm, not only in the House of Commons but in private, with such friends as he thought he could influence. It was quite natural that he should urge me in a very particular manner; not from any importance that could be attached to my vote individually, but that a person in my confidential post, taking a different line from him on a question of such infinite magnitude, might lead to a doubt of his sincerity.

Mr. Pitt could not be insensible to that, and he pressed the question upon me with great earnestness, frequently when alone, during some weeks, never referring to the effect that might be produced personally to himself. I felt that most forcibly, however, and in the last conversation on the subject, I told him he ought to be aware that from my conduct his zeal at least would be questioned; that the only remedy for which would be my retiring, assuring him at the same time that my attachment to him would not be abated thereby; to

which he would not listen. On my going home after that conversation, I urged him earnestly to allow me to retire, which he answered very positively in the negative, and there ended our personal discussions on that distressing question.

I subjoin my letter to Mr. Pitt, on my declining, after repeated solicitations, to vote with him, on his motion for Parliamentary Reform.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I find it so painful, as well as difficult, to explain myself to you in conversation on the subject of Wednesday’s question, that I incline rather to attempt it in this manner. In doing so I avoid all professions of sincerity and attachment, because I am sure if your observation of my conduct does not impress you favourably on these points, nothing I can say will. Having never, however had a political connexion but with you, and looking to no other possible one, I shall be the more readily believed in declaring that in the line I am about to take on the present occasion, I act upon the advice of no man living, nor do I follow any one’s opinion. In so nice a matter I must be governed by my own feelings, were I even at liberty to consult others upon it.

“I will not trouble you with a repetition of the pain I have felt in differing with you in this only instance, which has been increased in proportion as I have observed your exertions to prevail with your friends to agree with you in supporting the measure. Every proof of your uncommon anxiety on

the subject, has added to my mortification ; and I do lament, from the bottom of my heart, that I cannot endeavour to promote the success of it as cordially as I am persuaded I shall wish to do every other attempt of yours to do good to the country. I have considered the heads of the bill very attentively, and I do assure you most solemnly that I could not give my consent for leave to bring one in upon the ground of them, without doing a violence to my feelings, which I know you too well to believe you would wish me to do. At the same time, however averse I am from neutrality, I feel so anxious a concern that your sincerity should not be questioned, from the circumstance of one in my situation taking an opposite part to you, that I have determined not to vote against the question, although I think I could state reasons for my conduct in such a case, incapable as I am of expressing myself in public, as would prevent malignity itself, from imputing insincerity to you on my account."

I need hardly add that at the distance of no very long period, as his judgment ripened and he derived advantage from experience, he came over decidedly to my opinion, and acted upon it.

The other point I have alluded to was the Slave Trade,—more painful in respect to feeling than the first. This trade, most highly objectionable as it was when considered as it ought to be with reference to general principles of humanity, had been carried on and encouraged by Parliament for more than a century. So lately as during the ministry of the late Mr. Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham) an Act of

Parliament was passed, the preamble of which ran thus: "Whereas the trade to and from Africa is very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for the supplying the plantations and colonies thereunto belonging, with a sufficient number of negroes, at reasonable prices."

This consideration for the West India colonists and others who were deeply interested in the question; who had expended large fortunes in the cultivation of lands there, or who had made heavy advances to the proprietors, could not be allowed to preponderate against the feelings of humanity; but it entitled those persons to expect that their interest would be attended to as far as might be found consistent with the principles which it was pretty generally intended should be acted upon.

It was with that view that I suggested to Mr. Wilberforce, on his first bringing forward the subject, the means of obtaining the abolition in a manner the least likely to be resisted by the African traders and the powerful body of the West India planters and merchants, and at the same time the most beneficial to the poor negroes. My proposal was, to impose a duty on the importation of slaves into the islands, increasing annually till it should reach such an amount as would be prohibitory; and in any event that the importations should finally be closed at the end of a period to be fixed, perhaps ten or twelve years. During that period a considerable revenue would be raised, which might be applied in bounties to the mothers, in proportion to the number of children they should rear to the age of five years. This would operate as an inducement

to the care of infants, to the almost universal neglect of which was justly attributed the decrease of slaves on the plantations. At the end of a term to be fixed, I suggested that freedom should be given to the good nursing mothers, and some provision for the remainder of their lives, out of the fund to be raised in the manner alluded to ; and if that should be insufficient, then by grants from the public.

I argued that a sudden and immediate abolition would probably be the occasion of much blood being spilt on the African coast, as the slaves are brought there from very remote countries, sometimes twelve, eighteen, and twenty months on their journey ; and if on their arrival no market should be found for them, they must inevitably be put to death, as the owners would not be at the trouble and expense of carrying them home again. The event proved that I was right as to the continuance of the trade by this country for many years, while the discussion was going on from session to session, at the end of which time the abolition was incomplete even in England ; and much more so with other nations, who, profiting by our competition having ceased, supplied their own colonies plentifully, and cheaper than before.

Laws of the utmost severity have hitherto not produced the complete effect, and the public has been put to an enormous charge in purchasing captured cargoes of negroes on their passage to the West Indies, infinitely to a greater amount than the sum that would have been necessary for premiums to the mothers for taking care of their children. Spain and Portugal are

still carrying on the trade to a great extent (in 1817) and France to a limited one.

It is not my intention to pursue the subject further. I have introduced it solely for the purpose of showing the ground on which I acted. I thought we
* had no right to interpose in the manner we were doing, and that we had no means of enforcing the assumption we attempted. I had not the satisfaction in this instance, which I had in the other in reference to Parliamentary Reform, of Mr. Pitt coming round to my opinion; he persevered in the course adopted by Mr. Wilberforce of immediate suppression of the trade in slaves. This drew from me the subjoined letter:—

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I have had more than a common degree of anxiety to continue to make the same sacrifice to you in the Bill respecting the Slave Trade that I did on another occasion by persevering in my resolution of not saying a word or giving a vote on the subject; but the provisions of the Bill, as it came from the Committee, render it, according to the best judgment that I can form, so severely mischievous, that I should do a violence to myself, you would not, I am persuaded, desire to have inflicted on me, if I were not to attempt to state my reasons very shortly against the measure.

“ It is not possible for me to have a clearer opinion on any point than on this, independently of any private interest whatever. But it would be uncandid if I were to pretend that the immediate hazard or certain gradual destruction, according to the strong impression on my

mind, of the property of myself and all my nearest connexions is a matter of indifference to me.

“ I remain, with the truest attachment,” &c.

I return now to the narrative from which I have digressed.

During my stay at Paris very little occurred worthy of notice ; but I was struck with surprise at the freedom of the conversation, on general liberty, even within the walls of the King's palace. On a Sunday morning, while we were waiting in an outer room to see the King pass in state to the chapel at Versailles, where several of the great officers were, there was a discussion almost as free as I have heard in the House of Commons, in which Monsieur Chauvelin¹ was the loudest, who was in some employment about the person of the King, for he dropped on his knee and gave his majesty a cambric handkerchief, as he went through the room.

My surprise, however, abated, on a little reflection as to the conduct of the Court. When France took part with the United States of America to weaken the power of Great Britain, the King was prevailed with to issue a proclamation, in which he stated, in substance, that the people in British America were not in possession of that degree of freedom which all mankind were entitled to by nature. Weak man ! To suppose his own subjects would not apply the sentiment to themselves ! The young men of rank who were sent to America to assist in the Revolution there, returned with enthusiastic notions of general freedom, very dif-

¹ He was first Valet de Chambre.

ferent from those formerly prevailing ; and the Queen actually went to meet the greatest of all mischievous and conceited coxcombs, Mons^r. de la Fayette, on his approach to Paris, and took him into her carriage.

A few days before I quitted Paris, I discovered, by the information of Mr. Walpole's servant, that the man I had taken to travel with me was under a very strong suspicion of having robbed and murdered his former master. The character I had with him from Mr. Woodly, through his sister, Mrs. Bankes, was an unexceptionable one, and as he had acquitted himself in a remarkably useful manner through the whole tour, which was so near the close, I determined to take no notice of the information. I brought him home, and then discharged him. It had been my intention to have kept him in my service ; he was a Frenchman, of the name of Ami Ramel, and I believe he afterwards figured in the Revolution.

On my return to England, in October, 1783, I found Mrs. Rose in a furnished house at Portswood, near Southampton, rented of Mr. Lintot. I went there in a day or two after my arrival in England. I travelled post to Winchester, where my phaeton met me. It was on a Sunday, and as the horses did not get there till after me, I set off on foot, with orders to the coachman to follow me when the horses should have had their bait and sufficient rest. At Compton, a little village two miles on the road, I was overtaken by a shower, which made me seek shelter in a small public-house, the extreme neatness of which I could not help contrasting with the dirt

and inconvenience of the houses by the roads on the Continent. The parlour, in which the family were going to sit down to dinner, was as clean and neat as possible ; and on the table were a nice piece of roasted beef and a plum pudding,—articles I had not seen for a long time.

I found Mrs. Rose quite well ; the two boys were at school ; George, at the College at Winchester ; William, at Mr. Richards's, a private seminary there. I remained quietly with them till the meeting of Parliament, soon after the opening of which I repaired to town at the pressing instance of Mr. Pitt, but not till after the second reading of the celebrated India Bill. The history of this measure, of such infinite importance in its consequences, I had, till I received the summons, learnt only from newspapers.

Mr. Fox having, by his union with Lord North, formed, as was generally believed, an exceedingly strong government, was desirous of making it a permanent one. In order to that he resorted to the measure above-mentioned. There had been for a long time well-founded complaints of abuses and incapacity in the management of the affairs of the East India Company. For the avowed purpose of finding a remedy for these, but for the real object of establishing his own power permanently, he framed this famous Bill. Under the provisions of it, a supreme Board was instituted, at the head of which Lord Fitzwilliam was named, and in the members of this Board, the whole patronage of India was placed. Not only the appointments, civil and military of every description, governors, com-

manders-in-chief, councillors at the several inferior Boards, judges, collectors of the revenues, and all the immensely valuable employments in the different settlements at Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; but also the writerships at home which were to lead to those employments. In the military line these Commissioners were invested with as extensive an authority, from the nomination of officers of the highest rank to the appointment of cadets who were to go out for the junior commissions. So far for direct patronage; but, in addition to that, the Commissioners were to control and direct the whole commerce of the country; and, of course, to bestow on their mercantile friends, with whom they might connect many of their political and private adherents, the profitable purchases and sales of the Company.

In this patronage, divided amongst four-and-twenty private individuals, not nearly so extensive as intended, now to be concentrated in one person, the President (for he would, as in other political Boards, have had the influence exclusively), no danger had been apprehended; but these Commissioners were not to be removable by the Crown; they were to be established for a term of years. The King might change his ministers, but he could not shake the Commissioners; they were unalterably fixed for five years, within which period there would be a general election; on which occasion the exercise of their widely-extended influence would have enabled them to exert themselves with great effect. It was quite evident to the most common observers that this patronage, taking in the

whole scope of it, would operate much more powerfully than the patronage of the Crown could possibly do, curtailed and cut down as the latter was by various recent laws and proceedings of the Treasury. It might fairly, therefore, be considered, without exaggeration, that Mr. Fox was by this measure taking to himself a much larger share of power than the King possessed or the Minister could exercise. It was a bold one, and the produce of a daring spirit. He was encouraged in it by the opinions of some of his devoted followers, but warned by others of the risk he was about to incur. Amongst the latter was the Chief Justice, Lord Mansfield. Relying upon a strong support, he determined to proceed, and the Bill went through the House of Commons with triumphant majorities.

I had thought, from the first formation of the coalition, that Mr. Pitt was extinguished nearly for life as a politician, and wished to see him at the bar again, under a conviction that his transcendent abilities would soon raise him to great eminence in his profession. In this opinion I was strongly confirmed by what occurred on the Indian Bill; I mean as to the exclusion of Mr. Pitt from high office.

The bill had not, however, been in the House of Lords more than a day or two before matters assumed a different appearance. The King felt how deeply his authority would be wounded, and how entirely he should be placed in the hands and under the dominion of Mr. Fox, from which he had suffered severely during the recess, principally in matters respecting the Prince of Wales. The whole correspondence on that point, his

Majesty put into the hands of Mr. Pitt, who showed it to me, consisting of letters from the King, the Duke of Portland, Lord North, and Mr. Fox. Those from his Majesty to the Duke and Mr. Fox were eloquent, dignified, and admirably well-reasoned; to Lord North, they were equal to the others in those respects, while they were also deeply affecting. The King remonstrated with his Lordship on his putting him, bound, into the hands of Mr. Fox, after all that had passed. He reminded him of the steady support he had given him for twelve years, through the whole of his administration, till his lordship had himself desired to retire, from the impossibility he found of carrying on the Government; and, in a very gentleman-like way, called to his recollection the protection and reward he secured to him on his going out of office; alluding to the circumstance of the Duke of Richmond and Lord Shelburne pressing urgently for some punishment on Lord North when he went out of office; instead of which the King insisted peremptorily on a reward for his Lordship's long services, by a grant of the Cinque Ports for his life, with an income of 4,000*l.* a-year; which he held before during pleasure, with the military salary of 1,200*l.*, or something thereabout.

The feeling which led to that correspondence was awakened and very naturally greatly strengthened by the certain consequences which could not fail to attend his Majesty being put, completely fettered, into the hands of Mr. Fox. This induced him to adopt any course that could afford a chance of his being extri-

cated from the perilous situation in which, unhappily, he was placed. The King, therefore, certainly conveyed to some peers about his person, and to others over whom he had or was supposed to have some influence, that he wished the Bill might not be passed. How far his Majesty, in this, acted upon his own judgment, or was encouraged to it by the advice of Lord Temple, who had access to the Closet, and spoke the opinions of others, could not, I think, be ascertained by any one; but it can hardly be doubted that there was a mixture of both.

The effect produced by this intimation from the King soon became manifest; and on some inquiries made by myself, chiefly through Lord Stafford, with whom I had long been in habits of intimacy, it appeared to me to be very well worth while to try what could be done by active exertions. Lord Stafford encouraged this with animation, at his advanced time of life. He had no acquaintance with Mr. Pitt, never having been in a room with him, but he was impressed with a belief that the country could be saved from the impending danger only by him. He applied himself, therefore, with uncommon zeal to the undertaking, keeping an open table for the purpose; and the Duke of Bridgewater, who never before went across a room for the attainment of any political object, exerted himself in a most extraordinary manner, by seeing every one he thought he could influence or make sensible of the threatened mischief. At night we used, at Lord Stafford's house, or at dinner, to talk over the occurrences of the day.

The effect of these very earnest endeavours was the loss of the Indian Bill in the House of Lords, on the 15th of December, by a majority of eight ; the numbers were 79 to 87.

The debate lasted to a late hour. Now long before the conclusion of it I went into Waghorn's coffee-house for some refreshment, and met Mr. Adam and Mr. St. John coming out. In the dark they did not observe me, and I heard the former say to the latter, " I wish I were as sure of the kingdom of heaven as I am of our carrying the Bill this evening." I returned into the house, and on the steps of the throne I witnessed the effect of the division on the countenances of those gentlemen. The Earl of Marchmont was the first peer who went below the bar ; on seeing which Mr. Adam made an audible exclamation.

The resignation of the Ministers followed the rejection of the bill ; and a loud cry was instantly raised by them against the means that had been resorted to for obtaining the rejection, as unconstitutional on the part of the King to interfere in a measure depending in either House of Parliament. It was urged with great violence that his Majesty had done this with the Lords of his Bedchamber, and others, by which the question was carried ; and it was imputed in particular to Earl Temple, that he had been very instrumental in this proceeding ; which he and his friends defended as perfectly constitutional, even if the King had acted on such advice as was alleged ; because a peer, as an hereditary councillor of the

crown, had a right to approach the throne to suggest opinions on extraordinary occasions.

Measures of attack and defence were resorted to with great vehemence on both sides ; the one charging the Ministers with a deliberate plan to destroy the very essence of the Constitution, by transferring to a party the power and influence which belonged only to the sovereign, by which they would be enabled to maintain themselves in office, however offensive their conduct might be to the King, to Parliament, or to the people. This ground, as before stated, was well founded. If the Bill had been carried Mr. Fox's power would have been established. He boasted, indeed, during the debates on the India bill, that he owed the consequence he had to the support of a number of great families and interests, and not to the crown.

On the other hand, the Ministers alleged that Mr. Pitt and his friends availed themselves of the dislike the King had to them, for their conduct during their short administration, (principally respecting the Prince of Wales,) to persuade his Majesty, by secret advice, to take steps for their removal, which they worked up with great industry.

The resignation of the Ministers having taken place, the formation of a new Administration became, of course, indispensibly necessary : in that there was great difficulty. All those who held office under the late Government were unavoidably excluded ; so were Lord Shelburne and his immediate friends, with whom there had been no direct communication from the time of his Lordship's retirement.

These difficulties led Mr. Pitt, who was struggling under them, almost to despair. Lord Stafford, personally almost a stranger to him, had told me he thought Mr. Pitt was the only man who could extricate the country from its perilous situation ; and he would therefore take office, if it should be thought his doing so would give strength to a Government to be formed ; or he would give his best support to it without taking office,—much preferring the latter, for his own convenience. While these endeavours by Mr. Pitt and his friends were going on, the King remained in a state of the utmost anxiety. While the success of forming the new administration continued somewhat doubtful, his Majesty wrote the following note to Mr. Pitt :—

“On the edge of a precipice, every ray of hope affords some comfort. I have the utmost confidence that Lord Gower,¹ Lord Thurlow, the Duke of Richmond, and Mr. Pitt, will be able to fill up the several

¹ As Lord Gower here stands first on the list of the King's friends on whom he relied for the construction of a new cabinet, and as some of his letters will be introduced, it may be necessary to state a few circumstances which marked his accession to office. He was very much opposed to Fox's East India Bill, and when it was rejected, and the Whigs resigned, he offered his services to Mr. Pitt, with whom he had no personal acquaintance before, in any situation in which he could be useful. From his character and position he was appointed President of the Council ; but he was so much above the ordinary meanness of pride, that in the following year he willingly descended from that high office to the inferior post of Lord Privy Seal, in order to accommodate Lord Camden, who having been Lord Chancellor, thought it derogatory to accept any but the highest office in the Council. Two years afterwards he was made a Marquis, and was much consulted by Mr. Pitt. His intimacy with Mr. Rose has been already shown.—ED.

offices ; if that however fails, you know my determination. One o'clock will be quite agreeable to me."

[In the brief sketch of Mr. Rose's life, by his daughter, it may be observed that he is said to have owed his seat in the House of Commons, for the borough of Launceston, to the private friendship of the Duke of Northumberland, the grandfather of the present duke, and of his successor also. Of the first Duke's friendship there is no other evidence ; but with the second he seems to have been on terms of great intimacy as long as he remained Lord Percy.

His letters to Mr. Rose were very numerous, and some extracts from the earliest of them are here given, which describe a season of remarkable severity and very unfavourable to health. A few of the others show his dissatisfaction with the Government, on account of the neglect with which he had been treated, and which certainly seems inexplicable, in the absence of all evidence as to the motives. His admiration of Mr. Pitt was great, and his determination to support him in the general election of 1784, was probably influenced by this feeling. In return for which, he seems to have thought himself at liberty to ask for various favours, some of which, it will be seen, were instantly granted, but not all ; and hence arose the quarrel between him and Mr. Rose, which ended in

the latter declining to be his nominee for Launceston. As it is of some importance to correct the mistakes of preceding historians, and to shew what erroneous conclusions may be drawn by those who are not admitted behind the curtain, to view the working of the machinery, it is worth while to notice, that Mr. Grenville writes thus to the Marquis of Buckingham :—

“ Our cousin of Northumberland, has, I think, decidedly joined the independent party.”—ED.]

LORD PERCY TO MR. ROSE.

“ Stanwick, June 15th, 1782.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I wish I had any information to send you from hence that could amuse you; but, except that our grounds are drowned with rain and chilled with cold, and that within this fortnight the hills to the west of us were covered with snow, I think we have nothing extraordinary. The season is more unhealthy in this neighbourhood than ever was known, owing to the unseasonable weather, No family is exempt from illness, whether rich or poor. A great number of the lower people here have died. Two clergymen, with whom I conversed the other day, assure me that they have buried more persons within this last fortnight than they have done for three years before. My family amongst the rest has not been free from sickness.

“ Your’s sincerely,

“ PERCY.”

LORD PERCY TO MR. ROSE.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Stanwick, Sept. 28th, 1782.

“You will easily conceive my astonishment at that part of your letter, which mentions the intention of appointing Lord Faulconberg our *Custos Rotulorum*. What encouragement is there for any man of rank to exert himself in the service of his King and country, when the only reward he is likely to meet with is total neglect and inattention, and constantly to have the mortification of seeing every person, without either weight, consequence, or merit, preferred before him in every instance, both civil and military? I may without vanity assert, that there is not an officer in the army who has done his duty, in the line of his profession, with more zeal and attention than myself; and, in consequence of that, it is now fourteen years since I have received the smallest mark of approbation from his Majesty or his Ministers. You may depend upon it I shall mention nothing of this matter till I hear from you again. I beg you will be assured that I ever am, with the greatest truth,

“Yours most sincerely,

“PERCY.”

LORD PERCY TO MR. ROSE.

“DEAR SIR,

“Stanwick, Oct. 6th, 1782.

“Many thanks to you for your kind attention in sending me any news which occurs; and particularly for your last good accounts from Gibraltar. I do trust that something will be done by Government for its gallant governor. The army want a spur; and now

is the time for Lord S. to ingratiate himself effectually with his old profession. I protest I have neither private views nor private friendship to gratify, in urging some mark of approbation for General Elliot, for I have not the happiness to have any particular intimacy with him; but I wish well to my profession, and, after the shameful prostitution we have seen of military honours, I want merit for once to be rewarded; that the army may recover the spirit which they have almost quite lost; and may hope, for the future, that their services will meet with some encouragement and reward. As for myself, the event of every day confirms me still more and more in my idea of quitting the public service. With respect to the appointment of Lord F. the affair is now over, and I shall not give myself the trouble to think any more about it. I am very willing to believe Lord S. could not prevent it; indeed, I am sure of it, as you say so. Adieu, dear Sir, and be assured I ever am, with the greatest truth,

“Your most sincere friend,

“PERCY.”

LORD PERCY TO MR. ROSE.

“Stanwick, Oct. 31st, 1782.

“By the by, I see the papers announce an intention of sending Lord Cornwallis out to Command-in-Chief in India. I believe I have often told you my opinion of his Lordship. He is a worthy, honest, brave man; but more than all that is necessary to make a good general. I know him well; and I

thought, since his last business in America, everybody else had known him also. One thing I will venture to foretell (and I beg you will remember it), that if this step is determined upon, he will lose his reputation—and we, our territories in that part of the world. He is as fit to Command-in-Chief as I am to be Prime Minister.

“I ever am, with the greatest truth,

“Yours most sincerely,

“PERCY.”

LORD PERCY TO MR. ROSE.

“DEAR SIR,

“Stanwick, Dec. 9th, 1782.

“I never thought that the pleasure of your acquaintance could ever have been of any disadvantage to me, but really the millions of applications I have, under the idea that you, or I, or both of us, are omnipotent, make me almost think the contrary. In short, it is ridiculous to conceive the number of letters, containing the most extravagant requests, which I receive by every post, founded on my intimacy with you, and the certainty that if I would solicit, and you would only speak, even the most absurd and preposterous demands would be complied with. Amongst this variety, I endeavour to select only such, to trouble you with, as I really think deserve to be noticed; and am ashamed of the continual trouble I give you on this head.

The occasion of my writing to you at present, is in consequence of a letter which I have received from the Rev. Mr. Nicholls, at Leicester. He is one

of the unfortunate American sufferers, who have lost everything for their loyalty and attachment to this country. He is the child of misfortunes; having begun life with the prospect of an ample inheritance, in the island of Barbadoes, which was totally destroyed by the great fire at Bridgetown. Since this time he has been struggling with adversity."

[In the conclusion of the next letter Lord Percy renews his complaints of neglect; but at this time was so far from being discontented with the political state of the country that he was very much opposed to the schemes of the Reformers. Though Mr. Pitt was the person who had been propounding an extensive measure of Parliamentary Reform, the sentiments of both afterwards diverged in opposite directions.—Ed.]

LORD PERCY TO MR. ROSE.

"DEAR SIR,

"Stanwick, Dec. 21st, 1782.

"With regard to my resignation, I can only say that fourteen years' unnoticed services have almost wearied me out. Especially as during that time, except for the three last years, I have paid an attention to my duty unequalled by any officer of the same rank in the army. And, to add still to my mortification, I am the only officer, who served in my rank from the commencement of the American war, to whom some particular mark of approbation has not been given. This, you must own, is not exactly the light in which a military man likes to be held out

to his brother officers. Not feeling conscious that I deserve less than others who have served with me, some of whom are even my juniors, I confess I am not quite satisfied with such treatment. However, as I shall soon be in town, I shall at present take no immediate steps. Our Yorkshire meeting have drawn up a moderate petition to Parliament, in order, if possible, to take in the moderate men. I wish their resolutions had been as decent. As for myself, not wishing any alteration in our most excellent Constitution, I cannot approve of their proceedings, even though I am convinced that if they are carried into execution it will be the means of flinging the greatest weight into the aristocratical scale that ever was yet done. However, I hope I am too good a patriot ever to wish my own advantage to the prejudice of the public in general.

“ I ever am, dear Sir,

“ Your most sincere and much obliged friend,

“ PERCY.”

LORD PERCY TO MR. ROSE.

“ Stanwick, Jan. 25th, 1783.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ You know I never had much hopes of success with respect to Johnston’s business. The event will prove whether I judged right or not. To tell you the truth I have been so long used to the unmeaning professions of Ministers, that I am rather become a sceptic as to their sincerity. The great comfort, however, is that I do not want them ; for, being always

determined to live within my income, I trust I shall be ever independent. It is true, indeed, in the younger part of my life I was foolish enough to pant after military fame and reputation ; but having lived to see the first honours of the profession prostituted to party purposes, and that whilst abilities and faithful services lay neglected, the loss of armies and empires met with the greatest rewards, I am, thank God, now most perfectly cured of my folly, and only wonder at my former blindness. I have, however, the comfort to reflect that I have acted my part in my profession like a good citizen and zealous servant.

“ Yours, most sincerely,

“ PERCY.”

LORD PERCY TO MR. ROSE.

“ Stanwick, Nov. 26th, 1783.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ The last post brought me your letter of the 22d, for which I return many thanks. I see with horror for this country the fatal effects that Mr. Fox’s Bill will produce if it is carried ; but surely you yourself must own that neither any party, nor my country itself, has any right again to expect exertions from me. When I went to America in 1774, I sacrificed for its sake every domestic ease and comfort that a mortal could enjoy ; I devoted my poor abilities and my life to its service, and the only return I have ever met, is the most perfect indifference and neglect. Nay, you yourself know many instances in which I may almost

say I have been treated with insult. All this surely ought to have taught me philosophy enough, to look with the most perfect indifference on every occurrence that may happen.

“I lament the blindness of the public, who prefer the tinselled show of oratory to the more substantial good qualities of the head and heart; but as it is out of my power to correct that blindness, I can only lament and despise their ignorance. I will, however, make one effort more (as far as lies in my power) to save them from destruction; thoroughly convinced, at the same time, that I shall meet with no thanks for any inconvenience I may put myself to on the occasion. If, therefore, the Bill should pass the House of Commons—and you will be kind enough to give me timely notice when it is expected to be debated in the House of Lords, I will set out for London to attend it, notwithstanding the inconvenience of travelling 500 miles at this time of the year (for I shall return the moment the business is decided). You will please to remember that the post is three days in coming down here, and that it comes to Stanwick only on the general post days, and that I shall be three days in going up. Adieu, dear Sir, and be assured I ever am,

“Yours most sincerely,

“PERCY.”

LORD PERCY TO MR. ROSE.

“DEAR SIR,

“Stanwick, Dec. 25th, 1783.

“I have this instant received your letter, and cannot say I am grieved at the contents of it, for I

am really angry. You knew what my opinion was from the beginning of this business :—that it should not be undertaken at all unless they were certain of being able to go through with it ; and, in that case, that it should have been done directly, and a dissolution take place immediately. I am sure no House of Commons can be more against them than the present one, with which I can easily foresee that it will be impossible for them to go on. The only thing that can now be done is to form something like the following arrangement :—Mr. Pitt should be Minister and Secretary of State, Lord Gower first Lord of the Treasury, Thomas Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Stormont President of the Council, and Sir Joseph Yorke Secretary for the Foreign Affairs.—Depend upon it the high opinion in which he is held abroad, added to the perfect knowledge he must have of the political interests of the different powers in Europe, will greatly outbalance any slowness in negotiation which he may have acquired by his long residence in Holland. It is absolutely necessary to widen the bottom as much as possible ; and, after all, if there is not energy enough in Government to put an effectual stop to illegal and improper violence, wherever it is found, and at all risks, no administration will be able to go on long. One hint I must give you in case of a dissolution ; that is, that Mr. Drummond, the late Archbishop's son, is the most popular man in York ; and if he is with you, and will stand, nobody can possibly oppose him to effect in that city. I am not at all sorry for the long journey

I have taken. The Bill was of such a nature that it became every man, who wished well to this country, to stand forward in opposition to it, exclusive of every party motive whatever.

“ I shall be much obliged to you if you will write now and then, for I cannot help, I own, being very anxious about the final issue of all this bustle.

“ Yours, most sincerely,

“ PERCY.”

[The great interest which the King felt in the election, on the issue of which the existence of Mr. Pitt's newly-formed administration depended, is shown by the minute information he collected about the politics of the candidates, and the care he took to have the most exact intelligence concerning the returns and the probabilities of success. In supplying him with this information, Mr. Rose seems to have been most assiduous.—ED.]

THE KING TO MR. ROSE.

“ Queen's House, April 5, 1784,

“ 52 min. past 7, A.M.

“ The comparative statement Mr. Rose has sent is very satisfactory. I desire he will continue it, as also the sending the list of returns as they arrive. I can correct his list, and make it still more favourable. Mr. Pultney, brought in by the D. of Rutland for Bramber, certainly should have stood amongst the Pros., and also Mr. Richard Howard, brother to Lord

Effingham, the new member for Steyning (by mistake called Pultney, by the post-master). I have reason to believe Mr. Penton, the member for Winchester, may at least be called hopeful; and, by his declaration at Cirencester, Mr. Blackwell.

“G. R.”

THE KING TO MR. ROSE.

“Queen's House, April 4, 1784,

“20 min. past 9, A.M.

“I am much much pleased with the punctuality and expedition shown by Mr. Rose in transmitting the list of members returned, which seem on the whole more favourable than even the most zealous expected. I am sorry to hear Sir Richard Simmonds will probably be defeated at Hereford.

“The reason of my writing this morning is from a desire of knowing how the election at Cambridge has terminated, though I trust, Mr. Pitt must prove successful.

“G. R.”

CHAPTER II.

1786—1789.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. EDEN, AFTERWARDS LORD AUCKLAND,
RELATIVE TO HIS EXPECTED PEERAGE—THE KING'S ILLNESS—THE
PRINCE OF WALES'S DEBTS.

[THE subject of Mr. Pitt's next letter is the commercial treaty with France, which Mr. Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, was authorised to conclude. It was the first service he had rendered to Mr. Pitt, and laid the foundation for his employment in other missions, which enabled him to display his diplomatic skill, and contributed to build up his fortunes, the progress of which the ensuing correspondence explains.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD.

“Hollwood, Sunday, Aug. 27th, 1786.

“MY DEAR LORD,

“The papers which accompany this letter will show your Lordship the state of the French negotiation; and, as it seems drawing to a point, I am anxious to know your Lordship's sentiments upon it. On the different occasions in which this has been under consideration, I think we have been all agreed that the concessions in favour of France were such as we might very safely make; and we

certainly shall procure a most ample equivalent by the admission of our manufactures on the terms proposed. I flatter myself, therefore, that there will be no objection to empowering Mr. Eden to sign, if he and the French Ministers agree in the manner we may expect from his last dispatch. Indeed the advantage to be gained by this country seems to me so great that I cannot help feeling impatient to secure it.

“Colonel Cathcart has arrived from the Mauritius, to which place he had been deputed by the Government of Bengal, and has brought with him a provisional treaty concluded with the French Governor-General on the point of dispute which had arisen in India. It seems to be a subject which will still require much discussion, but, in the mean time, everything bears the appearance of its being amicably settled.

“I am, with the greatest respect and esteem,

“My dear Lord,

“Your Lordship’s most obedient and faithful servant,

“W. PITT.”

THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD TO MR. PITT.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have despatched the messenger back as soon as it was possible, considering the voluminous papers that were to be read by the Chancellor and me, especially as a public day here took place the day after the messenger’s arrival on the night preceding. I am extremely sorry to find that though the affairs

of Holland are now more likely to come to a point than when I quitted London, yet that point is not of the most eligible sort—an amicable adjustment of the business. France seems to me to drive her friends in that country to an unaccountable extremity, unless she foresees at a distance some additional aid to her efforts there. I am sorry to find that we are at last forced to take that disagreeable step of hiring troops upon the Continent, which will eventually embark us further than we at first intended, and will, I am afraid, be an unpopular measure in this country. France could certainly have prevailed upon Holland to have made submission to Prussia for the insult offered to that monarch's sister, which would probably have been sufficient in the outset of that business. She must, therefore, have had some reasons for not advising that measure. May it not be to draw off the Prussian forces from the side of Silesia to favour the Emperor, if he chooses the opportunity; or to use the Emperor's forces that are drawn to the Netherlands, if the Brabantine troubles should subside?

“These may be foolish conjectures at a distance, and I must own that having thought originally that it would have been unpardonable in this country to allow France to avail herself of the powers and faculties of that Republic against England in a future war, and stand by indifferent spectators, so I at present see *vestigia nulla retrorsum*; and if I. W. F. must go, he must go, though I wish our assistance to the Republic could have been restrained to pecuniary aids.”

[The uneasiness occasioned by the information sent by Mr. Eden (our Minister at the Hague), in August, 1787, though not so alarming as that which arrived in the following month, was sufficient to call for some demonstration in favour of the established order of things at the Hague; and Mr. Pitt having determined to make it, sought for the approbation of his colleagues. It was a constant feature of his policy to preserve or restore the balance of power in Europe, to hire foreign mercenaries to be placed under our own command, or to subsidize one power against another. The germ of this policy was developed in both ways on this occasion, when the fermentation of revolutionary principles threatened the subversion of all constituted authorities, and even the republic of Holland was not republican enough. A timely demonstration of resistance, it was hoped, might deter France from lending her aid to the malcontents. It will be seen that the event justified the calculation, and the danger was staved off for a time by the interposition of a Prussian army. But Lord Stafford was doubtless right in his anticipation, that the employment of foreign levies would be unpopular in this country. The measure has always been viewed with considerable jealousy, however great might be the necessity and the advantage.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD.

“MY DEAR LORD,

“Downing Street, Aug. 24th, 1787.

“I have postponed troubling you on the subject of what is passing on the Continent, because it seemed each day likely that the situation would draw more to a point. The last communications from Prussia, and what is now going on in Holland, seem to have that effect. The despatches sent herewith will explain fully to your Lordship the actual situation. The object which you long ago wished for, of Prussia being completely embarked, appears now to be fully attained. We seem, therefore, to have no choice left but to encourage that power to proceed, by showing a readiness to give our support, if necessary. At the same time I have little doubt that by making our conduct towards France temperate as well as firm, we may avoid extremities and bring the business to a better issue than could have been expected.

“As the King of Prussia’s marching will probably be followed by the assembly of a French army, it seems impossible for us to do less than to endeavour to secure German troops, though I hope we shall have no occasion to use them. The measures taken in Holland seem also to require farther pecuniary assistance to enable our friends to meet them; and what is spent in this way, for the purpose of prevention, will in the end, I hope, be good economy. I regret much the distance of your Lordship and the Chancellor; but I trust you will approve of the steps we have recommended

under circumstances which would not well admit of delay.

“ Believe me, My dear Lord,

“ Most sincerely and faithfully yours,

“ W. PITT.”

“ Marquis of Stafford.”

[The following letter was written in consequence of some information received from Paris, which prepared Mr. Pitt for a notification made to the English Court, at a later hour on the same day, by the Court of France, threatening to take part with the Dutch democrats against the Stadtholder. Mr. Pitt replied that, in that case, England would take part with the Stadtholder. Warlike preparations were made on both sides, and hostilities seemed to be imminent, when the danger was averted by the King of Prussia throwing his sword into the scale of his brother-in-law. The Duke of Brunswick was sent with an army to his assistance, and soon overran the United Provinces, and brought them back to their allegiance. France was glad enough to back out of such a hopeless quarrel; and in November disavowed the intentions which in September she had announced. The only light which this letter throws upon the transaction is the perfect confidence in the soundness of Mr. Rose's judgment, which Pitt must have felt when he summoned him instantly to his aid on a

political subject of great importance, with which, as Secretary to the Treasury, he had nothing whatever to do.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“DEAR ROSE, [*Secret.*]

“Despatches came late last night from Eden, which look very serious. As much will have to be done in a short time, I do not scruple to beg you to come up as soon as possible, but occasioning as little observation as you can.

“Ever yours,

“W. P.”

“Hollwood, Sept. 16th, 1787. 9 A.M.”

[The early information which Mr. Eden seems to have communicated to the Government on this occasion was, no doubt, one of those services for which, in the two next letters, he claims a reward which most persons in these days will think more than commensurate with the duties performed. He was a shrewd, ambitious politician, with a very inflated opinion, not only of his importance to the Government, but of his merits in the eyes of the world at large. A remarkable confirmation of Walpole's satirical axiom, that every man in the British Legislature had his price; for Pitt thought him worth purchasing. And, though he had previously been engaged in active opposition to him up to the

session of 1785, when he censured the Minister's plans, and denied the accuracy of his statements, yet he evinced so much insight into matters of finance and trade, that no pains were spared to secure his co-operation. He endeavoured to bargain for the office of Speaker, but to that Pitt could not consent. It was then proposed to create a new place for him, as Superintendent of the collection of the Revenue; but that scheme was also abandoned. At last it was resolved to send him to Paris, in January, 1786, not as an ambassador, though he seems in his argument to assume that dignity (for the Duke of Dorset was the ambassador), but as an envoy to negotiate a commercial treaty with France, which he accomplished very satisfactorily in September 1786, and more completely in January 1787. It was in that capacity he was remaining at Paris, and being more expert than the ambassador in diplomacy, supplied Mr. Pitt with useful information. He did not succeed immediately in the object which he had so much at heart, but probably strengthened his claims by similar services, first at Madrid, and afterwards at the Hague; for in the following year he obtained an Irish peerage, and, in 1793, the reward which he most of all coveted, and for which he argued with so much dexterity,—an English peerage. But the third letter shows the truth of the proverb, that "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick." When

he entered on the scene of his labours in Spain, he could no longer contain his ill-humour at the delay, and it was necessary to pacify him with the Irish peerage, though it was only like throwing a tub to the whale.

The Duke of Buckingham gives some additional particulars of his claims upon Pitt, in chronicling these transactions. The commercial treaty with France, curiously enough, was negotiated by Mr. Eden, who had held the office of Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, under the coalition, and who was the first person to break away from that heterogeneous confederacy, and ally himself with Mr. Pitt. His defection was the more memorable from the fact that the coalition is said to have originated with him. At all events he divides the credit of the project with Mr. Burke. Distinguished by his zeal and activity, he was soon afterwards raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Auckland.—ED.]

MR. EDEN TO MR. ROSE.

“Paris, January 27th, 1788.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I am deeply and cordially sensible of the kindness with which you invite me to tell you freely what mark of approbation of my public service I alluded to in my late letter to Mr. Pitt. I will profit by it to unbosom myself in confidence upon the subject. If I had had any settled and specific ideas respecting it, I would have expressed

them long ago ; but I have only general or confused notions.

“There is not, I believe, any party or description of political observers in Europe, who do not think and say that my situation here has eventually been instrumental in obtaining great and brilliant advantages for England. I fairly and honestly give the principal merit to Mr. Pitt’s government, and in truth to his personal communications and exertions ; but I fairly and justly feel at the same time, that the predicament in which it places me, however subordinate in point of deserts, is at the moment not inconsiderable in the eyes of Europe. I feel also that his credit will receive no diminution by my being ostensibly distinguished as the instrument selected by him (such was the wise and just policy of his father with regard to those whom he employed) ; and I at least have the merit of having exerted a most indefatigable zeal and integrity in his service, with an activity and perseverance which those only can conceive who have been witnesses of it, and to whose despatches and testimony to every court in Europe I am willing to refer.

“Lastly, I feel that if the moment is lost, it may be irrecoverably lost. Still, however, you will reply, ‘What is it you seek?’ and there is my embarrassment. Perhaps I ought to answer, I can only regret that the pretension is not seen by Government in the same light as it is seen by me ; and even by some who profess political enmity to me, but who tell me, generously and without scruple, to make the best use of the crisis in which I find myself. If government

had the same sentiment respecting me, instead of my being sent to be buried (perhaps in all senses), in a distant part of the globe, ideas would have occurred which I am unable to form, because I have not sufficient information. Still you ask me, ‘What are my own ideas?’ and I am unable to answer you. Shall I say an English peerage? I feel that I have no chance of obtaining it, if I were to look towards it, and if I were sure that I ought to look towards it. At the same time I must assert that my pretensions in point of services are at least equal to any of the professional pretensions which in my experience have led to peerages. In point of family I have no difficulty; for mine has been opulent and respectable upon the same spot above three hundred years, and is intermarried also into all the first families. But I am sensible that it is bad policy for the country to multiply peers who have not fortunes, nor the prospect of fortunes, to maintain the dignity. Shall I say an Irish peerage?—Certainly, if I thought it expedient to accept it, I should not think it too much to ask. I have pretensions in Ireland, exclusive of all other claims. I framed and established their National Bank; I moved the Habeas Corpus, &c. &c. &c. &c.; and I have the friendship and almost the attachment of all the leading people of that country.

“The ancient seat of my family, and still in their possession, is Auckland; and Lord Auckland, of Ireland, would sound better as ambassador to his Catholic Majesty, than plain Monsieur. But this would give all the inconveniences of the peerage to my son,

without any of the advantages ; and the only benefit of it would be that it affords me some security for provision against events, instead of leaving me without any. Shall I say the Red Ribbon ? To tell you the truth,—though I am in a career where every minister, even in the second and third order, even poor Saxony, Denmark, Wirtemberg, &c., except the Duke of Dorset and myself, is covered with stars and decorations, and still more in Spain than here,—I look forwards to passing fifteen or twenty years of my life at Beekenhams, and such gew-gaws will make a laughable appearance in my shrubbery. Nor could this commonest of all the orders, ever have been an object to me unless it had come in some particular mode and moment calculated to give credit to it. By the by, in constituting the Irish order, it would in many points of view have been useful if two had been appropriated to the foreign ambassadors, and would have given to Ireland an ostensible as well as a real connexion with foreign politics.

“Last of all, there remained merely the finding and grabbing some respectable office for life ; and I discovered long ago, that such a speculation was not to be encouraged. Here then we come to the point from which we set out. I feel that I am losing a moment most important to me, and I should have hoped, not unacceptable to Mr. Pitt ; but I can only say so, and I can say nothing further ; ‘*si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperti.*’

“There is nothing new here. I inclose an impudent piece of sedition, as an *échantillon* of the liberty of the French press.

“I happened yesterday at dinner to meet a Comte de Châteaueux, a most respectable Swiss, who talked of your son with all the affection and cordiality that you could have done, and told us many little anecdotes respecting the young man’s character and conduct at Geneva, which do great credit to him.

“I am, my dear Sir,

“Ever most sincerely yours,

“WILLIAM EDEN.”

MR. EDEN TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“Paris, Feb. 21st, 1788.

“MY DEAR SIR,—

“I will not abuse your friendship and indulgence by writing more than seems necessary in reply to your last. It must be unpleasant to you, and troublesome to Mr. Pitt, and I need not add that it is painful to me to prolong our present discussion. You tell me, however, ‘that I ought to communicate freely as the only chance of enabling those who wish well to me to do good.’ I feel the force of this, and in truth I have no reserves as to any part of the subject in question. It is fair, and reasonable, and honourable, (in every sense of the word) that I should seek to elevate myself and my family upon the ground of public services, as far as all candid observers may think those services entitled to recompense from the King and from the public; and I certainly am at the crisis where, if I receive no mark of approbation, I must

never expect to receive any. For I am now quitting the French mission, and am entering into a distinct and distant career, in the course of which the impression of what has passed will gradually be superseded by new events, and will be weakened, obliterated, and in effect forgotten.

“It is not an answer to this to tell me that at the close of my embassies I shall be entitled to the usual retirement. If I live to that day I feel that such a retirement would be a just expectation, even if I had no other pretensions than other ambassadors have had (and have), who have gone through the same career inoffensively and inefficiently. In short, I consider it as the prospect of a retreat at which I may possibly never arrive; but which the justice of my sovereign and the general sense of mankind would of course open to any person who had filled offices of such responsibility as I have done and shall have done. Turning, therefore, from that prospect as a distant and unconnected speculation, I consider myself as having two years ago undertaken a public enterprise of great importance, risk, and difficulty. It is known that under Mr. Pitt’s instructions I accomplished it most successfully. It is also known to have been followed by several other services equally signal and successful, and of essential consequence; and though I was only the fortunate instrument in able hands, Mr. Pitt is too classical in his sentiments to throw aside with disregard the weapon which he used in the field of his victories, and to let it rust and waste forgotten in a corner.

“Here then I place my pretensions; and I consider the present moment as the properest, and indeed the only one, for urging them. Under this impression I ‘communicate freely’ the hope entertained by me, that my arrival at the Court of Madrid may be preceded or accompanied by some ostensible testimony that my conduct and exertions in the French mission have been honoured with approbation. I rest that hope on the reasonings which I have stated. Yet I might add, that such a testimony, exclusive of its importance to me personally, would be ministerially useful at the high-minded Court to which I am going; that it would become farther useful if I am to pursue this line of foreign service, and that it is an under-rating of the foreign politics of the last two years if the epoch is to pass undistinguished by any mark of favour.

“Your letter has fairly discussed all the modes which occur. You state, and I cannot dispute it, that at present Mr. Pitt has no means of giving an office for life. Ought I to seek for my son the second reversion of a Tellership? Would it be worth seeking (subject, of course, to the resignation of the pension)—would it be attainable? Upon the chapter of ribbons, I am sure you feel with me, that a mere red ribbon is not what I ought to have or accept. It was honourable to the late Sir Thos. Wroughton, at the Court of Stockholm, and to Sir Horace Mann, at Florence. It was even a decoration to my friend and predecessor, Lord Grantham, because he supported it with his peerage, and such exterior circumstances are not indifferent in a foreign Court. But if I were to take it without any

other distinction, it certainly would be considered as a pendant or companion to the Duke of Dorset's blue ribbon, and would not add credit.

“Next, you remark (and I feel the justice of it), that as none of the ribbons of the order of St. Patrick were originally reserved for Englishmen, it would not easily be practicable now to give one, and, at all events, not without the peerage. Thus we seem to be reduced to the single consideration of the peerage, and I acknowledge, on the first view of it, that if I should not live to see my son established in life, it might become an incumbrance to him. But the question is whether, subject to that objection, this pursuit of the peerage is not preferable to relinquishing all pursuits whatever; for we agree that there are no other opened to me. Reduced to this point, and I feel that I am reduced to it, I incline to think that I ought to seek the English peerage; or even, in the supposition of its not being given, the Irish one. I have thought much and coolly upon the subject. After a residence of two years in a Court so constituted as that of France, it is possible that my English ideas on such a point may be erroneous. But proceeding as I am from this Court to a considerable embassy, I feel it better to have even the Irish peerage (under the presumption of not obtaining the other), than to go without any mark of the King's favour. Though in some respects it might prove inconvenient to my family, in others it would be advantageous, and at all events honourable.

“Having now stated explicitly and unreservedly all that occurs, I leave it in your hands. I have not yet

mentioned the subject to any other person, not even to the Archbishop of Canterbury, because, whatever may be the result, I should be sorry to give a colour to the surmise that I shall feel myself treated by Mr. Pitt otherwise than with justice, friendship, and even favour. Such a surmise would be grating and injurious to me, whatever may be the event. I shall now, however, in consequence of your suggestion, write in confidence to the Archbishop, and state to him the substance of what has passed between us; and if anything should arise respecting me, on which Mr. Pitt might have the goodness, either through you or personally, to confer with the Archbishop, his affection and judgment will furnish the best aid that I can have.

“As I take leave on Tuesday next, and shall go from Paris in about three weeks, you will allow me to conclude by recommending this letter to an early attention.

“I am, dear Sir,

Most sincerely yours,

WM. EDEN.”

MR. EDEN TO MR. ROSE.

“St. Ildefonso, Sept. 25th, 1788.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I wrote fully to you a few days ago, by a servant whom I had occasion to dispatch to England, and who will probably arrive about the first of October. I have already requested that what was there said may be considered as addressed to the owner of Hollwood; and this saves the pain of writing to him, in

consequence of the friendly letter which arrived this day from you at the same time with the news of certain promotions.

“In writing thus by the post, though on matters merely private, some obscurity of expression must be adopted. Certainly the person who feels himself so sincerely sensible of your kindness would have reason to complain, not only of a want of friendship in the owner of *Hollwood*, but he might carry his complaints beyond that want. It is not easy to forget by what authority he was informed in September, 1786, of its ‘being the first object of anxiety to communicate some distinguishing mark of royal approbation’ for services which, in point both of brilliancy and solidity, were afterwards multiplied tenfold, and which remain not only unacknowledged, but effectively depreciated in the eyes of the world, by ostensible marks of attention to all who acted subordinate parts in the several businesses. Neither is it easy to forget by what authority ‘those services were formally and repeatedly acknowledged as essential, both politically and commercially.’ Nor, lastly, let it escape recollection, that when the English peerage (for the Irish is utterly out of the question) was talked of, it was answered, ‘that whatever might be the wish, there were insurmountable objections which prevented any from being given to any person.’

“In short, it is not possible for your friend to suppose that those for whom he continues to feel both respect and affection, and to whose fair conduct he committed his whole public existence, implicitly and unreservedly,

are capable of acting towards him unkindly, unjustly, and ungenerously. He must, however, presume that there is elsewhere an ill-will of a superior influence which prevails against him; and under that construction, all that is left for him to request is, that he may be withdrawn to privacy as speedily and with as little éclat as possible. When it is asked whether in the meantime, and even before that termination, it would be agreeable to him to have the security fixed, though upon the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cents.; there can be no doubt that that security should have been fixed long ago in some shape or other, and for life; nor is it easy to persuade one who knows something of the nature and resources of Government, that means were wanting, even without having recourse to pensions. But that point your friend never urged; it was superseded by higher pretensions, which have now been treated as ‘the baseless fabric of a vision.’

“ His amusement for some weeks to come will be to receive from those who foretold, near three years ago, what now happens to him, such paragraphs as the inclosed.

“ Believe me, my dear Sir,

“ Ever most sincerely yours.”

[Mr. Eden’s praise of young Rose (afterwards Sir George Rose, and for many years representative of our Court at Berlin), on the Report of the Count de Châteaueux, in the first of his letters, may very fitly

be accompanied by an earlier testimony in his favour from the principal of St. John's, while he was an undergraduate at Cambridge, not only on account of the services which he himself performed for his country, but still more because he was the father of one who has attained so much distinction both at Constantinople and in Central India, Sir Hugh Rose. The parentage of an eminent man is not a matter of indifference to his countrymen — *Nec imbellem feroces progenerant aquilæ columbam.*—ED.]

MR. WOOD, PRINCIPAL OF ST. JOHN'S, CAMBRIDGE,
TO MR. ROSE.

“St. John's, June, 29th, 1791.

“DEAR SIR,

“I will give you my opinion of Mr. G. Rose with great pleasure, and from the plainness with which I give it, judge of my sincerity. I think his abilities very considerable; at our examinations he has always been ranked in the first class, though I am convinced he has never given his mind fully to mathematics, or paid that attention to them he will to any subject which accords more with his inclination. I am in doubt whether he will make a good speaker. He does not want quickness of conception, but he seems not to have the art of arranging his ideas to the greatest advantage. I think I can perceive that in any sudden emergency he will judge at once what line of conduct he ought to pursue, and act with firmness upon that judgment. In his conduct, he has been

much more manly than young men of his age usually are, and I have never heard him spoken of in this respect but with approbation. His goodness of heart (in that I cannot be deceived) is such as I should wish in my most intimate friend. At present he intends to read those subjects which will prepare him for the Senate House Examination, and I trust he will persevere in this resolution.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ JAMES WOOD.”

“ DEAR SIR,

“ St. John's, Dec. 4th, 1791.

“ From every account I have heard of your son's Act, it appears that he has exceeded not only his own modest expectations, but the expectations of all his friends. I have just called upon the Moderator who presided at the disputation. I am happy to add his testimony in your son's favour. You will easily conceive that I am greatly pleased with the credit he has gained on this occasion, but I am much more so to be convinced that, so far from wanting abilities, he is possessed of great powers of mind. The preparation for this exercise was short. He had a Latin dissertation to write upon one of the subjects, and I know he had not taken the least trouble or thought about the questions he had to defend, before he received the exercise from the Moderator. Your worthy friend, the Bishop of Lincoln, will be able to tell you pretty exactly how he kept this act, if you inform him that the mark in the Moderator's book is (A).

“ Mr. Rose has never shown any fondness for mathematical studies, and he had, I believe, for some time given up all thoughts of prosecuting them. His friend, the Bishop of Lincoln, has prevailed upon him to resume them; and from the proficiency he made in a few days, I will venture to affirm that he will make himself master of any subject which he seriously undertakes.

“ I am, Sir,

“ With the greatest respect,

“ Your obliged humble servant,

“ JAMES WOOD.”

[It is a remarkable proof how much the sagacity of even the most experienced statesmen may be at fault, when we find that within a year of the time when the revolutionary volcano exploded in France, Mr. Pitt viewed with so much complacency, as the next letter to Lord Stafford expresses, the state of our foreign relations, and the little apprehension he had of any danger from the seething materials of that aggressive spirit which was so soon to boil over in a violent eruption.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD.

“ Hollwood, Saturday, Sept. 6th, 1788.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ When your Lordship left town the business respecting Sir James Harris’s proposed peerage was

left in suspense. The conclusion, however, of the provisional treaty at Loo, on which the alliance since concluded was founded, has considerably strengthened his former claim to distinction, and so many circumstances have concurred to make him extremely anxious for its not being deferred, that notwithstanding the awkwardness of having Sir Joseph Yorke the companion of his honours, I have been induced to renew the request, even with that condition coupled with it, and both are to be gratified.

“ Our accounts from India of the Chev^r de Conway’s return from Trincomalé, without having done anything, and of all being quiet in that quarter, are very satisfactory. The state of France, whatever else it may produce, seems to promise us more than ever a considerable respite from any dangerous projects, and there seems scarce any thing for us to regret on our own account in the condition of foreign countries, except the danger that the King of Sweden may suffer too severely for his kindness. I conclude you are returned by this time to Trentham. I hope Lady Stafford has found benefit by Scarborough, and that both she and your Lordship are perfectly well. My holidays have not yet commenced, so I am obliged to give up the prospect of my northern excursion, and with it the pleasure of accepting your obliging invitation.

“ I am, my dear Lord,

“ With the greatest regard and esteem,

“ Faithfully and sincerely yours,

“ W. PITT.”

[In the years 1788 and 1789 two events occurred of great domestic importance (of which, however, no great notice is taken in this correspondence), the King's illness, and the payment of the Prince of Wales's debts by a grant of Parliament. With respect to the former, Mr. Rose has preserved a few curious particulars of the conduct of some of the great actors on the political stage at that crisis, in which Mr. Pitt's straightforward character shows to great advantage. In Gifford's "Life of Pitt" it is stated, that the first symptoms of the King's illness appeared on the 12th of June, and, on the 24th of that month, the derangement of his mind was very visible at the levee.—ED.]

MR. ROSE'S DIARY RESUMED.

Early in October, the King was taken suddenly ill with spasms in his stomach, and suffered much for a few days.

On the 10th, his Majesty was at the levee, in order to discountenance the reports, which were circulated industriously, of his being in danger; particularly as there were speculations on the circumstance of Sir G. Baker's attendance. After which he continued unwell, and incapable of reading papers of business. No dispatches were sent to Windsor, nor even warrants to sign, for several days, when five or six warrants were sent, which were the last. Mr. Pitt saw him at Kew, and was with him three hours and forty minutes, both on their legs the whole time.

His Majesty went to Windsor on Saturday the 25th of October, and on the 5th of November he showed strong symptoms of a disordered understanding. The first decided manifestations were at dinner, on addressing himself to the Duke of York, relative to a murder. Between the 5th and the 9th, the King was thought in great danger of dying, the fever very high; but on James's powders being administered, that was got under, leaving the delirium, which continued with little alteration during the remainder of the month. He was never violent or outrageous; wandering in his discourse exceedingly, but talking coherently on the subjects to which he wandered, with intervals quite rational though of short duration.

On the 6th, the Chancellor went to Windsor, and dined and supped with the Prince of Wales. The avowed purpose of their meeting was to consider the mode of treating his Majesty, as he had been somewhat ungovernable during the night.

On the 12th, Mr. Pitt saw his Royal Highness, and had much conversation with him, chiefly on general subjects; but Mr. Pitt stated that on the meeting of the two Houses at the time to which they were prorogued, in the week following, he meant to propose an adjournment for a fortnight, to which his Royal Highness replied, 'No objection could arise to that from any one.' He expressed a wish to have further conversation with Mr. Pitt before the Houses should meet.

Mr. Pitt went again to Windsor on the 15th, with the Duke of Richmond, and saw the Prince of Wales, but the conversation was quite general.

On the 17th, Mr. Pitt went again to Windsor for the purpose of stating exactly to his Royal Highness what he intended doing on the meeting of the House of Commons ; but his Royal Highness declined seeing him.

During this time there had been much conversation between his Royal Highness and Mr. Sheridan, chiefly through third persons ; but one evening Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Payne,¹ and Mrs. Fitzherbert went to the Prince at Bagshot.

On the 23d Mr. Pitt went to Windsor for the purpose of effecting Dr. Addington's² seeing the King, and, on the 24th, received a letter from Lady Courtoun,³ acquainting him that the Queen would take measures first, if the Duke of Montagu, Lord Aylesbury and himself would make it their joint request, which was done accordingly ;⁴ and, on the 25th, Mr. Pitt went to Windsor to arrange the matter, and it was settled that Dr. Addington should see the King the next day. On the same day (the 25th) the Prince of Wales sent to know if Mr. Pitt had anything to propose to him, which was answered respectfully in the negative. On the 25th, the Chancellor also was at Windsor, and kept late there, in company most of the time with the physicians, without coming to any precise point. On his return to town at night,

¹ Captain, afterwards Admiral Payne.

² Lord Sidmouth's father, who had been the late great Earl of Chatham's physician.

³ Wife of Lord Courtoun, the Queen's chamberlain, and also her private friend.

⁴ Mr. Fox arrived on the 24th, in nine days, from Bologna.

he came to Mr. Pitt's, in Downing-Street, where I was.

On the 26th, at night, or rather at half-past one in the morning of the 27th, Mr. Pitt was waked with a letter from the Chancellor, summoning the Cabinet to meet at Windsor, by command of the Prince, on that day (the 26th). The servant who ought to have carried the letter at nine in the evening, neglected it, and the one who came with it at the before-mentioned late hour, being asked whether the Chancellor was then up, replied, Yes, and that Mr. Fox was with him; a fact which his Lordship had not noticed. The next day when the Cabinet met at Windsor,¹ the members were long in deliberation, principally about moving the King to Kew. Previous to their meeting, the Chancellor had been with the Prince of Wales; and when all the rest of the confidential servants of the Crown went to Salt Hill to dinner, his Lordship returned to the Prince's apartments, where he had refreshments provided for him, the Prince sitting with him, having previously dined. Most of the Cabinet slept at Salt Hill. Mr. Pitt returned to town late on the 29th. He did not dine with the Master of the Rolls, but was at a Cabinet again at Lord Carmarthen's office at eight in the evening.

In the course of that meeting many inquiries were made by the Lords as to whether any one knew if Mr. Fox had seen the Prince of Wales, or held any

¹ Mr. Fox came straight from Saint Anne's Hill to the Chancellor's, and found that the Prince of Wales and Mr. Sheridan had been a long while with him.

communication with him, or if any one present knew anything about him;—of all which the Chancellor, amongst others, professed perfect ignorance. He even asked if anybody knew the colour of Mr. Fox's chaise, in order to form a guess from them whether it had been seen on the road to Windsor. Mr. Pitt desired to ascertain the opinions of the members of the Cabinet respecting the propriety or expediency of joining the opposition, if it should be in their choice, under any circumstances whatever. He put the question directly to the Chancellor, who said he considered it an abstract question, and could not answer it distinctly. Mr. Pitt said it was a plain question,—Would his Lordship join with the opposite party under any circumstances? to which he would give no answer. Other members, by their silence, more than anything else, left an impression on Mr. Pitt's mind that they were impressed with an idea that a junction of some sort might be expedient for the country, but his own determination was fixed beyond all possibility of being shaken—not to entertain the idea of a junction at all. No determination taken yet, though the subject was much discussed, whether on the meeting of the Houses on the 4th of next month, any proposition should be made for seating a Government.

On the 28th and 29th, Mr. Pitt saw the King at Windsor. His Majesty uncommonly kind in his manner; had great pleasure in seeing him; talked of matters which he had discussed with him in their last meeting before his Majesty was ill, but wandered incessantly from one subject to another.

On the 29th, his Majesty came from Windsor to Kew in his coach with three equerries.

On the 30th, the Chancellor saw his Majesty, by his Lordship's own desire, but left him very suddenly.

December 1st.—The Cabinet dined at the Marquis of Stafford's, for the purpose of further deliberating whether to proceed to the consideration of settling a temporary Government or not on the 4th,—when the Houses met, pursuant to their adjournment.

[During all this time, and the next three months, Mr. Pitt kept steadily in view the personal interests of the King. For this purpose all the restrictions on the exercise of the Regent's authority were introduced into the Bill proposed to Parliament, so that, in the event of the King recovering, he might not find the whole system of his Government overthrown by the rashness of unprincipled men. And for the same reason Mr. Pitt resisted the proposal to form a junction with the Whig party. For though it might have ensured him a longer continuance in office, and he knew, if he rejected it, the first exercise of the Regent's power would be to turn him out, yet he would not expose his sovereign to the pain, on his recovery, of seeing a coalition between his friends and enemies, so contrary to all his feelings.

Notwithstanding the slight symptoms which heralded the approaching disease, the King appeared in public

and moved about till the month of November; and it was not till the fifth, that it assumed an alarming appearance. As soon as Mr. Pitt received the intelligence, he immediately imparted it to Lord Stafford in the following letter, and in another, four months afterwards, addressed to his son Lord Gower, requested him to move the address of congratulation in the House of Commons, on the King's recovery.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD.

[*Secret.*]

“Grosvenor Square, Nov. 6th, 1788, 6 P.M.”

“MY DEAR LORD,

“I write from Lord Carmarthen's, having just had an account from Windsor, by which I learn that the King's disorder, which has for some days given us much uneasiness, has within a few hours taken so serious a turn, that I think myself obliged to lose no time in apprising your Lordship of it.

“The accounts are sent under considerable alarm, and therefore do not state the symptoms very precisely; but, from what I learn, there is too much reason to fear that they proceed from a fever which has settled on the brain, and which may produce immediate danger to His Majesty's life. You will easily conceive the pain I suffer, in being obliged to send your Lordship this intelligence; but as you may probably think it right, under such circumstances, to be on the spot as soon as possible, I thought

no time should be lost in letting you know the situation.

“ I am, with great regard, my dear Lord,

“ Your obedient and faithful Servant,

“ W. PITT.”

“ Marquis of Stafford.”

MR. PITT TO EARL GOWER.

“ Downing Street, Friday, March 6th, 1789.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ Under the peculiar circumstances of the speech that is to be made on Tuesday by the Commissioners appointed to hold the Parliament, which will announce the happy event of his Majesty’s recovery, I cannot help expressing a wish, that your Lordship would undertake to move the Address to be proposed in the House of Commons. The nature of the occasion will, I hope, justify my troubling you with this request, and it will afford me on every account particular satisfaction, that the first step previous to our entering again on public business should be brought forward with so much advantage. I shall be extremely happy if your Lordship will permit me to take an early opportunity of communicating to you the particulars of the Speech. I have the honour to be,

“ My dear Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s most obedient and faithful Servant,

“ W. PITT.”

“ Earl Gower.”

[Miss Rose has preserved the following particulars of the occurrences of that interesting period not mentioned by her father.—ED.]

1788. The King stopped at Kew on his way from Windsor to London; ate a pear, got his shoes and stockings wet, and did not change them Sometimes he talked rationally, which continued through every return of his illnesses. Dr. Baillie told us, that in the last, there was no sign of failure of intellect; that he always thought and reasoned correctly, though on certain points under erroneous impressions; and that if once the diseased impression was removed, the mind would act with its former power.

Sir William Grant, the Master of the Rolls, repeated the same thing, giving two instances. He said, the King's insanity was on two points; one that all marriages would soon be dissolved by Act of Parliament; the other that his Hanoverian dominion was restored, and that he was shortly to go there.

The physicians attended in rotation. Dr. Halifax had been some time absent, and returned to his attendance, when the Commissioners made their usual visit. To engage the King in conversation, some one said, "Dr. Halifax is returned; he has lately been in Dorsetshire." The King inquired for many residents there, remembering the members of their families as agreeing or not agreeing with Dr. Halifax's report. At last he mentioned the family of the Deputy Judge Advocate. The King said, "When I go to Hanover, Mr. — must go with me." "Why so, Sir?"

“Because the Deputy Judge Advocate must be with me to correspond with the Judge Advocate, who cannot leave England, and he must have a direct official correspondence with me.”

No one present was aware of that but himself. If Hanover had been restored during his life and insanity, his reasoning would have been erroneously true. The other instance was, on being asked if he would like to hear news, he replied, “any common occurrences, marriages, deaths, &c. &c.” (he always avoided the subject of politics or official concerns, except as to Hanover). Amongst the news of the day was the almost sudden death of the Marchioness of Buckingham. He said, “He was very sorry for it, she was a very good woman, though a Roman Catholic.” He expressed great regret for the Marquis, saying, “that he believed if she had lived till the marriages were dissolved, he would have desired to renew his. By-the-by,” he added, “I do not think many of my friends would do so.”

Lord Eldon, in his “Recollections,” states that he did not believe Lord Thurlow had any communication with the opposition at the time of the Regency !!! He must have known it from those he afterwards lived with. He subsequently states that he did not know the cause of his dismissal from office; though he proves at least the expediency of it, stating that Lord Thurlow said that he could not blame Mr. Pitt, as he would have done the same by Mr. Pitt if he could. Assuredly Lord Thurlow, whatever was his motive, provoked it, but worked less on Mr. Pitt’s temper than on Lord Grenville’s, who was then leader on the

side of Government, in the House of Lords. Lord Thurlow continually impeded, and at last treated him with insolence. Lord Grenville was speaking; Lord Thurlow rose from the Woolsack, and addressed the House, "Is it your Lordships' pleasure to adjourn?" Lord Grenville continued to speak, merely waving his hand. Lord Thurlow repeated the question, and Lord Grenville his sign of hearing and disregarding it, without noticing it in words. My brother William, then reading Clerk, came to us as soon as the House adjourned, and described the scene. We learned from my father that Lord Grenville went from the House of Lords to Mr. Pitt, and told him, that if Lord Thurlow continued Chancellor, he must resign his office. Mr. Pitt acquainted the King with the whole, and he at once acceded to the dismissal. Next day the King came in from Windsor full of the surrender of Seringapatam, and rode gaily through the Park.

Mr. Pitt, quite convinced that if Fox had carried the India Bill, he would have the Government entirely in his own hands, and the King be a cypher, had resolved to make no sacrifice of principle to obtain a share of power, but, to use the phrase I then heard, "to take his blue bag, and return to the bar."

[After the Regency Bill had passed through the Commons, and was still under debate in the House of Lords, the arduous contest was terminated by the

King's recovery, and Mr. Pitt was rewarded for his fidelity by receiving the following letter from his Majesty.—ED.]

THE KING TO MR. PITT.

“Kew, Feb. 23d, 1789.

“It is with infinite satisfaction I renew my correspondence with Mr. Pitt by acquainting him with my having seen the Prince of Wales, and my second son ; care was taken that the conversation should be general and cordial ; they seemed perfectly satisfied. I chose the meeting should be in the Queen's apartment, that all parties might have that caution which, at the present hour, could but be judicious. I desire Mr. Pitt will confer with the Lord Chancellor, that any steps which may be necessary for raising the annual supplies, or any measures that the interests of the nation may require, should not be unnecessarily delayed, for I feel the warmest gratitude for the support and anxiety shewn by the nation at large during my tedious illness, which I should ill requite if I did not wish to prevent any further delay in those public measures which it may be necessary to bring forward this year, though I must decline entering into a pressure of business, and indeed for the rest of my life, shall expect others to fulfil the duties of their employments, and only keep that superintending eye which can be effected without labour or fatigue. I am anxious to see Mr. Pitt any hour that may suit him to-morrow morning, as his constant attachment

to my interest and that of the public, which are inseparable, must ever place him in the most advantageous light.

“G. R.”

[The reader will doubtless have observed that the Chancellor had reduced himself to a very unfavourable predicament, by the trimming policy which he desired to adopt. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Pitt's friends should have jumped to a conclusion adverse to him, with the precipitancy of partisans, who are apt to overrun the intentions of their leaders. It is impossible not to admire the considerate and judicious tone of this remonstrance, showing, as it does, the great forbearance with which Mr. Pitt endured the weaknesses of his adherents.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“Priory, Sunday, 1 P.M., Nov. 8th, 1789.

“DEAR ROSE,

You will stare a good deal at the circumstance which makes me write this letter, and which you will perceive must not be taken notice of to any one else, but which I think it as well to mention to you without delay. A person, on whom I can entirely rely, told me yesterday that the Chancellor had said to him very lately, that he understood he should probably soon receive a letter from Mr. Grenville to give up the seals, for that Mr. Rose had said before a person, who he

must have known would repeat it, that we had made up our minds to it and would go on very well without him. You will easily imagine what degree of credit I give to this absurd story; but strange as it is, it is very capable of making an impression on his mind. The chief thing I wish is, that you would recollect whether in any company, where you thought yourself safe, you have used any warm expression about him, as might very naturally happen, which could afterwards be exaggerated or perverted into something that may have laid the foundation for this suggestion. As to your having said anything like what is represented, I do not entertain a moment's idea of it; and my object is to trace, if possible, where so mischievous a suggestion has originated, and to consider whether it may be worth while to convey some contradiction of it to the Chancellor. This I can easily do if the circumstances make it prudent; but if you recollect any expression on which this idea can have been engrafted, and which any one can have been base enough to repeat and to give such a colour to, it will be best to say nothing at all about it.

“Yours most sincerely,

“W. PITT.”

“P. S.—For a reason, which I will explain to you when we meet, I wish you could let me know pretty nearly what are the profits which Cowper has from his office of Clerk Assistant, compared with yours, and on what the profits depend.”

[Under the Duke of Portland's administration in 1787, Mr. Fox being one of the Secretaries of State, the Prince of Wales came of age, and it was proposed to apply to Parliament for an allowance of 100,000*l.* a-year; but we learn from a letter of Mr. Fitzpatrick, that the King disapproved of it, and said, that he could not think of burthening the public, but was ready to give 50,000*l.* a-year from the Civil List, which he thought sufficient (the Prince had 12,000*l.* a-year besides from the Duchy of Cornwall, and Parliament was asked to grant 30,000*l.* to pay his debts); and that he found, that notwithstanding all the professions of the ministers for economy, they were ready to sacrifice the public interests to the wishes of an ill-advised young man. These Whigs had certainly a right to be called a *liberal* administration.

During the next three years this prodigal son so wasted his substance in riotous living, that he contracted debts beyond his income to the amount of more than 100,000*l.*, besides 50,000*l.* laid out on Carlton House. The following document is introduced only to show that Mr. Pitt's government resisted the reckless extravagance of the Prince.—ED.]

[1789.] The Chancellor of the Exchequer acquaints the Board that he had received a letter from Lord Southampton, enclosing, by the command of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, several papers and estimates respecting the expenses at Carlton House. That not being certain, from the nature and

terms of the communication, whether it was intended to be laid officially before the Board, or to be submitted in the first instance to his Majesty, he had requested Lord Southampton to signify to him his Royal Highness's commands on this point. That in consequence of Lord Southampton's answer, he thinks it his duty to lay these papers before the Board.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer also communicates the estimates received from his Royal Highness's officers on the 14th May, 1787; the copy of the report made to Mr. Lyte by Sir Wm. Chambers, Mr. Couse, and Mr. Craig, on the 20th July, 1787, and a memorandum delivered by Mr. Holland, 14th March, 1789.

Read these several papers, and also the resolutions of the House of Commons of the 24th May, 1787, 10th of December, 1787, and the 15th of June, 1789.

The Board observes that the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 24th of May, 1787, humbly desires His Majesty to be graciously pleased to direct the sum of 20,000*l.* to be issued on account of the works at Carlton House, as soon as an estimate should be formed, with sufficient accuracy, of the whole expense for completing the same in a proper manner.

That previous to this resolution an estimate of the works at Carlton House appears to have been delivered by his Royal Highness's officers on the 14th of May, 1787, stating the sum of 49,700*l.* for the expense of those works; and at the same time an

estimate for the furniture, stating that as several of the apartments and rooms are not built, formed, or finished, and as a great part of the furniture is in an unfinished state, it is impossible to ascertain or describe exactly what will be wanted ; but from as exact an account as can be ascertained, the sum of 5,500*l.* will be necessary.

The estimate of 49,700*l.* for the works at Carlton House, appears to have been referred to the examination of Sir William Chambers, Mr. Couse and Mr. Craig, and to have been reported upon by them on the 20th July, 1787.

That, on the 17th August, 1787, the sum of 10,000*l.* was issued for the works at Carlton House, under the King's warrant ; and a farther sum of 10,000*l.* for the same purpose, and in the same manner, on the 23rd of November following.

That a further sum of 10,000*l.* was issued for the same purpose, and in the same manner, on the 5th September, 1788.

On the 10th December, 1787, the House resolved that a sum not exceeding 20,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty, to make good the like sum which has been issued by his Majesty's order, in pursuance of the address of this House for carrying on and completing the works at Carlton House.

That on the 14th March, 1789, an application was made to the Treasury by Mr. Holland, referring to both the estimates above mentioned, but observing that the estimate for the furniture was not likely to prove sufficient, referring also to the resolution of the

House of Commons of the 24th May, 1787, and stating that Mr. Holland was informed that payments had been made since that time to the amount of 30,000*l*.

That in consequence of this application, the further sum of 15,000*l*. was issued under the King's warrant, on the 1st May, 1789; and on the 29th May, 1789, a further sum of 10,200*l*., being the remainder to complete the sum of 55,200*l*.

That an account of these several sums issued in 1788, and 1789, was laid before the House of Commons; and on the 15th June, 1789, it was resolved, that a sum not exceeding 35,200*l*. should be granted to his Majesty, to make good the like sum which had been issued by his Majesty's orders, in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons, for carrying on and completing the works at Carlton House.

The Board observes that the account, No. 2, transmitted by Lord Southampton to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, states a sum of 56,950*l*. as the estimated expense "of furniture and decorations
"ordered for the state apartments, to replace some of
"that which was intended at the time of the appli-
"cation to Parliament in 1787, and to furnish other
"apartments not then projected, together with an
"estimate of the expense thereof."

Under these circumstances it does not appear to the Board that this additional estimate of 56,950*l*. comes within the intention of the resolution of the House of Commons of the 24th May, 1787, and the

Board does not think itself authorised to direct a warrant to be prepared for the issue of any further sum out of the Civil List in pursuance of the said resolution. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is desired humbly to submit the foregoing minute to his Majesty.

[It must be admitted, that the leaders of both the great political parties were very indulgent to the royal spendthrift; for the House of Commons offered no opposition to grants which amounted in the course of three years to 161,000*l.* for the payment of his debts, and 55,200*l.* for Carlton House, although the King had, in the meantime, added 10,000*l.* a-year to his income, out of the Civil List, and exacted from him a promise that for the future his expenditure should not exceed his income. But it must be remembered that the finances of the country, under the management of Mr. Pitt, were then in a very flourishing condition, and that both the leaders were men who could not be very sensitive on such subjects, since both of them afterwards incurred a large amount of debts, which were discharged either by their friends, or by the nation; but there was this difference between them—Mr. Fox's debts were contracted by gambling; Mr. Pitt's by inattention to his pecuniary concerns; all his thought being occupied not only with great schemes of policy, but by attention to the minutest details of administration. In

the management of these, he depended very much upon the assistance of his friend, Mr. Rose; and his letters show that the least things appertaining to the conduct of affairs were not exempted from his care. The following concerns the payment of the Prince's debts :—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Hollwood, Sunday, July 14th, 1789.

“Half-past 4 P.M.

“DEAR ROSE,

“I do not think there would be much objection to authorising Mr. Coutts to issue the money to any persons whom the Prince shall direct, provided it is once arranged beforehand amongst his officers, in what proportions it is to be applied to his debts. The only person with whom I have had communication is Mr. Anstruther. He has, I believe, seen the principal creditors, and formed a plan, according to which the sum of 40,000*l.* would answer the present purpose. Most likely as large a sum as 3,000*l.* would have to be allotted to the Brighthelmstone creditors, and Captain Payne may be as good a channel as any other. But it might lead to great confusion to settle anything with Captain Payne, except in concert with Mr. Anstruther. The only thing, therefore, which occurs to me in the first place, is, that you should see Mr. Anstruther first, and afterwards Captain Payne with him. If you find from them that it is arranged to Mr. Anstruther's satisfaction, I should see no objection to making any alteration in the letter to Coutts which may be neces-

sary. I have, to save time, written to Mr. Anstruther to desire him to call upon you before eleven to-morrow. If it prove necessary to alter the authority given to Coutts, the best mode will be to withdraw your original letter and send him a new one.

“I have marked words which I imagine would answer the purpose, but I shall like any others as well. You will, of course, mention to Mr. Anstruther all that I have here said.

“Yours sincerely,

“W. PITT.”

CHAPTER III.

1790—1798.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR WITH FRANCE IN 1793—WHIG CALUMNIES
AGAINST MR. PITT'S GOVERNMENT, ETC.

[THE trafficking in Church preferment, and the exercise of patronage from interested motives, merely for the sake of obtaining some return for it from those who sought the favour, without the smallest reference to the worthiness or fitness of the persons recommended, several instances of which occur in the following correspondence, painfully remind us that we are engaged in the history of the eighteenth century.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Downing Street,

“Monday Evening, April 5th, 1790.

“DEAR ROSE.

“I have made up my mind to offer the Deanery of Canterbury to Dean Butler; and you will be so good as to inform him of it, contriving at the same time to make sure of the *return* we wish, as far as you can with *propriety*.

“I have got your's respecting Southampton; and am very glad the point is likely to be settled by a

meeting, the result of which will at all events, I think, set us quite at ease. I found everything at Cambridge very favourable both for Euston and myself.

“Yours sincerely,

“W. PITT.”

[The next series of letters, in the years 1790, 1791, and 1792, are on matters of business, the allusions in which it is not worth while to disentangle from their obscurity, and therefore most of them are omitted; they have little or no other interest, except as they serve to show the character of the communications which passed between the two friends. It is a remarkable feature in this correspondence, that while the revolutionary mania in Paris was disclosing its horrors and crimes more and more, we look in vain to these letters for any intimation of what was going on. There is not a symptom of alarm or indignation, or even astonishment; both writers seem to be wholly intent upon the interior administration of the country, in a calm and undisturbed atmosphere. A few, however, of these letters of business are given, because they illustrate the nature of Mr. Pitt's administration, which was not a government by departments, except so far as those who presided in them attended to the ordinary routine: but it is evident that Mr. Pitt himself transacted much of the business of the Foreign, Colonial, and War Offices, and of the Commissariat also; not only as to the appointment of the inferior

commissaries, but even as to the contracts for provisioning the army.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Stowe, Sunday, June 10th, 1790.

“DEAR ROSE.

“I forgot before I left town to mention to you that I wish much to employ Scott, the East India Director, to converse confidentially with a certain Mr. Vander Meulen, who has been sent over from Holland for the purpose of trying whether any plan can be formed for a commercial arrangement of mutual benefit, between our Company and the Dutch. Vander Meulen has no ostensible commission, and the matter would at present be considered as entirely private. I think Scott, from his being so conversant with the details of Indian commerce, is fitter than any one else for such a discussion, and I imagine he would have no objection to being so employed; but I understand he is at Bath, or at least was very lately. If you find he is still there, I wish you would write to him, stating the business, and desiring to know when he will be in town. It is material that, if possible, it should be within a week from this day. I mean to stay here to-morrow, but shall certainly be in town by five on Tuesday, and shall be very glad if you can dine with me.

“Yours sincerely,

“W. PITT.”

[In order to explain the latter part of the following letter, it is necessary to remark, that peace between

Russia and the Porte was concluded at Gralutz, on 11th of August, by the mediation of Prussia and the threats of England, whose forces were augmented to enforce her remonstrance. By this treaty Russia acquired the fortress of Oczakow, and all the country between the Bog and the Dniester, with the only condition that the navigation of the last named river should be left free. Better terms for Turkey might have been obtained, had not Mr. Pitt been thwarted by Mr. Adair, who was sent to St. Petersburg by Mr. Fox, for that very purpose.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Downing Street, August 10th, 1791.

“DEAR ROSE,

“I have an application to present to a living, on the ground of the right coming to the Crown, in consequence of its having been disposed of simonically by the patron. I recollect an application of the same sort, which you brought me some months ago, respecting another living, which I think I complied with; but some previous inquiry was made to ascertain that there was sufficient ground to proceed upon. If you recollect in what manner the inquiry was made, pray let me know that I may put this in the same train.

[*Secret.*]

“We have an account from St. Petersburg of the Empress’s answer, which contains assurances of not obstructing the navigation of the Dniester, and which

modification (slender as it is, our ministers will have accepted, and there the business will end; not very creditably, but better so than worse.

“The Gralutz Congress is resumed, and in a fair way of terminating very well. The consequence is, that I hope we shall very soon begin to disarm, and shall be able so to manage it as to have no additional bill to pay. In the mean time our revenue still continues to rise; and, including the present week, we are already 178,000*l.* gainers in this quarter. So much for news.

“I know of nothing that need disturb your holidays at present, and I rather hope in about a fortnight or three weeks to call on you in my way westward, if you continue at Cuffnells.

“Yours sincerely,

“W. P.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Downing Street, Tuesday, Aug. 30th, 1791.

“DEAR ROSE,

“I shall leave town the end of this week, in my way westward; and mean to have the pleasure of calling on you in the course of my journey. If I find the Speaker is at liberty, I must stop at Woodley for a couple of days, and in that case shall not be with you till Monday; otherwise I perhaps may by Saturday, supposing you have no engagement to interfere with it. If you have pray let me know, and I will take my chance as I return. I enclose you a letter from a Captain Smyth, concerning whom you may perhaps be able to give some information, and whose

style is rather suspicious. Return his letter that I may order some answer to be given him. Do you know of any person who has strong pretensions, and would be fit for collector in the province of Upper Canada, and any other who would make a good consul at Tripoli? I have an application for the former from a Mr. Antrobus, a Cambridge constituent, which I am rather inclined to attend to.

“ Yours sincerely,

“ W. PITT.”

[The following letter is given as a specimen of the spirit of jobbing by which ministers were formerly pestered in the administration of civil as well as of ecclesiastical patronage, and the ridiculous length to which it was sometimes carried. Happily, in these days of severe responsibility and competitive examination, such things are no longer possible.—ED.]

“ Burton Pynsent, Sept. 10th, 1791.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ Since I wrote to Long yesterday I have seen a Mr. Metcalfe, whom, I know not why, Sir J. Honywood chose to employ instead of a messenger, to bring a letter applying for the Receivership of Kent, either for himself (I mean Sir John) or his son, a child of five years old.

“ The latter request is ridiculous. I told Mr. Metcalfe I could say nothing at present to the first. I gave much the same answer, though rather more dis-

couraging, to a Mr. Retford, the present deputy, who came with a recommendation to Sir Charles Farnaby. Gipps, of Canterbury, has also written to me for himself, and the Duke of Dorset, with a different suggestion. I enclose the Duke's letter, and my answer both to him and Gipps, that you may see how the business stands. Be so good to forward the two last letters. I think the whole must stand over for consideration, and it will be material to know what Sir E. Knatchbull says, from whom I have hitherto heard nothing. Is Bamber Gascoigne at last dead or alive? My last account from Long prevented my writing to the Duke of Beaufort and the Duchess of Rutland. I shall go from hence on Wednesday, and probably to Weymouth Thursday or Friday.

“Yours sincerely,

“W. PITT.”

[Mr. Pitt was appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1791. The King insisted upon his taking it; declared he would receive no other recommendation to the office, and signified his resolution to that effect to the other chief ministers. He was anxious to make provision for a man who, during the seven years of his premiership, had not only not asked, but had refused to take anything for himself. The simplicity with which he relates the fact to his friend is very observable, and how immediately he passes from it to a matter of business. The reduction of taxes shows the increasing prosperity of the country.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“DEAR ROSE,

“Burton Pynsent, Aug. 7th, 1792.

“I have had a letter from the King making the offer in the handsomest way possible, and have accepted. The advertisement is very right except that, with a view to effect, it would be better to enumerate the taxes repealed.

“Ever yours,

“W. P.”

[The next is an important letter, because it shows so clearly what Mr. Pitt's political views were at a time when the crimes of France had alarmed all sane politicians. Bound as we were by treaties to protect Holland, not revolutionized Holland, but Holland under her old established form of government, some demonstration was necessary to produce the desired effect; but, if that should prove successful, Mr. Pitt's next object was to produce a general pacification of the European powers by persuading them to abstain from meddling with France; to leave her to arrange her domestic concerns, and to work out her social system in any way she liked. Lord Stafford seems to have been more in favour of stronger measures.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD.

“MY DEAR LORD,

“Downing Street, Nov. 13th, 1792.

“The strange and unfortunate events which have followed one another so rapidly on the Continent, are

in many views matter of serious and anxious consideration.

“That which presses the most relates to the situation of Holland, as your Lordship will find from the enclosed despatch from Lord Auckland, and as must indeed be the case in consequence of the events in Flanders. However unfortunate it would be to find this country in any shape committed, it seems absolutely impossible to hesitate as to supporting our ally in case of necessity, and the explicit declaration of our sentiments is the most likely way to prevent the case occurring. We have therefore thought it best to send without delay instructions to Lord Auckland to present a memorial to the States, of which I enclose a copy. I likewise enclose a copy of instructions to Sir Morton Eden, at Berlin, and those to Vienna are nearly to the same effect. These are necessarily in very general terms, as, in the ignorance of the designs of Austria and Prussia, and in the uncertainty as to what events every day may produce, it seems impossible to decide definitively at present on the line which we ought to pursue, except as far as relates to Holland.

“Perhaps some opening may arise which may enable us to contribute to the termination of the war between different powers in Europe, leaving France (which I believe is the best way) to arrange its own internal affairs as it can. The whole situation, however, becomes so delicate and critical, that I have thought it right to request the presence of all the members of the Cabinet who can, without too much inconvenience, give their attendance. It will certainly be a great

satisfaction if your Lordship should be of that number. At all events, I wish to apprise you as well as I can of what is passing, and shall be happy to receive your sentiments upon it either personally or by letter.

“ I am, with the greatest regard,

“ My dear Lord,

“ Faithfully and sincerely yours,

“ W. PITT.

“ Marquis of Stafford.”

THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD TO MR. PITT.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ It is difficult, I believe, for the best informed of his Majesty’s servants to give a decided opinion as to what this country ought to do in this alarming crisis of Europe. Such mystery has accompanied the negotiations and transactions of the Austrian and Prussian cabinets, that I wonder not that you have dealt in general language; at the same time procrastination (unless the adverse armies were in winter quarters) may give opportunities to embarrass the present untoward situation of affairs still more.

“ Uninformed as I have been for these four months respecting the connexions, the jealousies, &c. of the Courts of Europe during this unprecedented state, it is impossible for me to enter *en détail*. I wish our interference respecting Holland, and our adhering to the faith of treaties, may produce the desired effect; and France indeed can have no just reason to attack Holland, even upon her own avowed system of politics, if she has any system.

“These times require such attention and circumspection at home, that every political question must be now doubly embarrassing. I wish you may not find it necessary at the meeting of Parliament, by some means to strengthen the hands of the executive government, for the seditious are going great lengths; and, if possible, the *principiis obsta* is the wisest doctrine.

“I trust and believe that the King’s Ministers have done the best that could be done in the present posture of affairs. I know how very desirous you gentlemen of finance are to avoid giving the least alarm to the funds; otherwise not being unprepared for events might give confidence, and have some effect on our allies the French, who, more cautious I understand, are equipping a fleet to recover their West India Islands. I mean to be in town the middle of December; you will scarce have got your answers from the respective Courts to whom you have written, before that time.

“I am, my dear Sir,

“&c. &c.

“STAFFORD.”

[The subjoined letter from Captain Mackintosh, who accompanied the expedition when Mr. Pitt sent an embassy to Pekin, throws all the blame of its failure upon Lord Macartney. It would be unjust, therefore, to that nobleman to withhold two letters of his which point to a very different conclusion; not that they contain anything relative to the embassy itself, for they are both of an earlier date; but, from the evidence they give of the character of the man, the

truth of the charge appears to be utterly improbable. They are the letters of a man without foolish pride, self-conceit, or any disposition to domineer, or to give needless provocation. The spirit of self-sacrifice and the humble-minded anxiety which he showed to do his duty to his country, and to those who appointed him, are wholly inconsistent with the frame of mind which would offer unwarrantable insults to the Emperor or his mandarins. Captain Mackintosh took too mercantile a view of the case; he expected great advantages to accrue to this country from facilitating commerce with China—advantages which still are doubtful, though the road to them has since been opened by coercion—and to obtain them he would have sacrificed the honour and character of Great Britain. It is evident that he did not understand the Chinese Government—that Government of which the proverb is eminently true, that if you give it an inch of concession, it will take an ell. There would have been no end to the oppressions and humiliations to which the English would have been forced to submit, if Lord Macartney had consented to perform the degrading ceremonies required of him; and the French missionary, Huc, has shown how much may be done by invariably asserting the dignity of his nation, and not swerving a hair's breadth to the right hand or to the left from the strict line of equity by which European dealings should be guided. If Lord Elgin has been more successful than Lord Macartney was, it is

not because he was more flexible, but because he was armed with sufficient power to administer a wholesome correction to the vanity of the Celestial Empire, and to assert international rights with a determination not to be trifled with.—ED.]¹

LORD MACARTNEY TO MR. ROSE.

“DEAR SIR, “LION, Spithead, Sunday, Sept. 23rd, 1792.

“I AM to acknowledge the honour of your letter, covering Mr. Pitt’s speech, which you were so good as to send me by Sir Andrew Douglas. I have been highly gratified by both. The speech I had already seen, but I have perused it again more at leisure, and together with your tract, which had particularly engaged my attention in the winter, it has given to my mind a degree of information and satisfaction which I do not recollect to have experienced before, on any political subject; independently of the composition, which, however masterly, is, I know, with the authors of those writings, only a secondary consideration. The view of the present, and the prospect of the future afforded by them, are so clear and pleasing, that merely as a well-wisher to the public prosperity, I ought to hope for its continuing to be long entrusted to the same hands which have brought it to the pitch at which we now see it. My private feelings of the very handsome and liberal proceeding of Mr. Pitt in

¹ Recent events fully confirm this view of the subject. Mr. Bruce’s mission failed because he was not accompanied by a sufficient force to make himself respected by the most perfidious of mankind.—ED.

the whole course of the business of the embassy, lead me likewise to form the same ardent wishes ; and the assurances you are pleased to give me of his cordiality towards me, and of the entire confidence he is so good as to place in me, are not only peculiarly grateful to my mind, but give fresh alacrity to all my undertakings in the public service ; and he may firmly depend both upon my personal attachment to him, and upon my most zealous and honest exertions in whatever station he may think fit to place me. Accept, at the same time, my dear Sir, my best thanks for the kind disposition you have testified in my favour, and for the opportunity you have lately afforded me of cordial and confidential conversation at your own house ; and since I wish to consider it as fixing an intimacy and friendship which I shall, at all times and from all places, endeavour to cultivate, equally from public motives and private regard, I beg you to believe me, with every sentiment of respect and esteem,

“ Dear Sir,

“ Very sincerely yours,

“ MACARTNEY.

“ P.S. Sir Erasmus Gower says he thinks we shall sail to-morrow. We have been settled on board these three days.”

LORD MACARTNEY TO MR. ROSE.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ LION, at Sea, April 14th, 1793

“ As my despatches to Mr. Dundas, which no doubt you have seen, contained everything worth

mentioning that has occurred since our leaving England, I did not mean to trouble you with a letter before my arrival at Pekin ; but having some days since met a French ship in her way from Manilla to the Isle of France, I thought you might not dislike to hear from me the latest news of that part of the world. Though the Spaniards there are a good deal discontented with their own Government, yet they entertain a strong abhorrence to the late subversion in France, and have manifested it on every occasion to the people of that country, wherever they come among them. The ship we spoke with, which is called the 'La Fayette,' but is immediately to have another name (Petion, Marat, or Robespierre, I suppose), sailed with two others, a few months since, from the Isles of France and Bourbon to Manilla, where they sold their cargoes, amounting to the value of 60,000 to 80,000 dollars, through the medium of a French agent, resident there, and had agreed to take sugars in return, which are now equally excellent and plentiful at that place ; but their countryman, having got their affairs entirely into his hands, it seems, played the rogue with them, and refused either to supply the sugars, or to refund the money. The Government connived at his conduct, and denied them justice, so that the three ships have been obliged to come away empty ; the consequence of which is a very serious loss to the navigators and owners. They talked very loudly on the subject, and of complaining at home, and returning to redress themselves. 'The place,' said the captain, 'we could easily take ; or I wish,' addressing himself to one of

our people, 'I wish you would take it again from them, which would be the same thing for us.' They represented the island of Luconia as a most valuable possession, and which, in any other than Spanish hands, would in a short time become one of the most opulent and important settlements in the East, abundantly producing sugar, cotton, rice, indigo, wheat, and cattle of every kind. Nevertheless, from ill policy, prejudice, or ignorance, all foreign trade was, till lately, prohibited to this island; an island possessing, as above mentioned, such ample materials for being enriched by it. The port of Manilla is at present only open for a limited time, which expires in September next. The people, indeed, have written home in the strongest manner for a prolongation of the term, but they complain much of being neglected, not having had any ship direct from old Spain these three years past, nor any letters or news from thence, but through the channel of the Acapulco galleons.

"I understand that the Isles of France and Bourbon are in a state of considerable improvement, and that their attempts to cultivate the clove, nutmeg, and cinnamon, have been attended with success, and promise great advantage. Most of the French whom we have met in our passage are strong partisans of the late subversion at home. This happens to be the passion uppermost at present; but with regard to England, there is little doubt of their entertaining at bottom as much envy and animosity as ever.

"I know not how your affairs are likely to turn out with Spain, nor what order of things may arise from

the present anarchy in France, but I am disposed to flatter myself that the connexion between those two nations (which, in truth, was only a connexion between their two Courts) is now almost entirely at an end, and that the advantages which Spain might derive by renewing her ancient friendship with England, she might repay us with large interest, and, at the same time, suffer no real prejudice herself. But I fear you will think me travelling very fast at this distance from the source of proper information; I shall, however, beg leave to add to you what I hinted to Mr. Dundas, in a private letter, that if, after we have executed our present instructions, it should then be found, from the circumstances of things, that either my services, or those of the ship and people who are with me, could be employed with any prospect of utility to the public, either on the North-west coast of America, or in the South Seas, in giving assistance, making observations, or obtaining intelligence, I should readily obey any commands that might be laid on me. This I mentioned without the smallest idea of offering new projects, or proposing new undertakings, and merely to show my attachment to Government and my zeal for its success. In this light I trust it will be understood, and that you will do justice to my public sentiments, as well as to those private ones of esteem and regard with which

“ I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

“ Your most faithful

“ And affectionate humble servant,

“ MACARTNEY.

“P.S. I flatter myself you will excuse my using Colonel Benson’s hand on this occasion, as I am at present disabled by the gout, which, for the first time, has very unseasonably and very painfully attacked my right wrist.”

CAPTAIN MACKINTOSH TO MR. ROSE.

“April, 1795.

“DEAR SIR,

“Motives of prudence, as well as a conviction that the failure of the Chinese Embassy was beyond any present remedy, have induced me hitherto to be silent respecting the causes of its not succeeding. But, weighty as these considerations have been in my mind, I really feel myself now compelled, by a strong sense of duty to my country, my employers, and the Ministers, to state, for the information of the latter, what fell immediately under my own observation in the course of that business. How reluctantly I do this, you, Sir, will easily believe, from the readiness with which I undertook to be the bearer of Mr. Pitt’s wishes to Lord Macartney, respecting his going on the mission, and the partial opinion I entertained of his lordship, whose kindness to me was almost uninterrupted, and who even offered unequivocal and considerable proofs of his liberality.

“I premise this, to impress on you my real inducement for this communication, which are, most sincerely, no other than a love of truth and an anxious wish that the mistakes committed on the late occasion may,

if possible, be prevented in a future one. I am led to make it now, from understanding that another mission to China is proposed, and, in a certain degree, acceded to ; which, however it may answer the purposes of individuals, I cannot think is the best adapted to obtain any important national benefit. I therefore send you, herewith, a plain narrative, by attending to which, it will be seen that, instead of giving readily in to the sober and orderly manners of the Chinese, we did nothing but tease, irritate, and provoke the Ministers and Mandarins, and that at two different times the Emperor was actually insulted in person. If we had conducted ourselves properly, we might have remained at Pekin till this time ; and I have no hesitation in declaring my most sincere and firm belief that all the principal objects we had in view might have been obtained, which may fairly be inferred from the following circumstance.

“ The favourite Calao, and Minister of the Emperor, was afflicted with a disorder that the medical men of China had not been able to cure, and our physician was requested to attend and prescribe for him. On that very evening, several persons came to our apartments, and repeatedly said to the interpreter, *Cure him*, (meaning the Minister) and get into his good graces, and, (with strong asseverations) if you want *a Province, you will get it*.

“ I have further to observe, that in the arrangements now thought of, I am recommended to a flattering and a very lucrative appointment ; but if it be adopted in its present form I certainly shall withdraw my claim,

determined not to be an instrument in the hands of any men, to carry on a measure of which I disapprove. My principles would prevent me, in any situation, from embarking in the business as concerted ; and my circumstances lead me to no temptation to act contrary to these, if my feelings did not restrain me. Having premised so much, I have only to add, that I am particularly anxious that this disclosure, made under the strong impression of private friendship and of public trust, be communicated only to those more materially interested,—I mean Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas,—and to them, under a solemn pledge of secrecy ; for to speak in the language of a seaman, Lord Macartney carries too much weight of metal for me ; and unpleasant consequences might arise from my being rendered an object of resentment, not only to all those who composed the Embassy, but to every other adherent and dependent on his Lordship and Sir George Staunton.

“ Whenever you may think it a proper time to communicate this information, I should wish to be present to give further explanation, or answer any questions that may occur.

“ I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

“ Your obliged and very obedient servant,

“ W. MACKINTOSH.

“ George Rose, Esq.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Downing Street, July 31st, 1793.

“DEAR ROSE,

“I enclose you two letters from Brook Watson, which accompanied the account of the surrender of Valenciennes. The terms are still more satisfactory than those at Mayence, as the French deliver up their arms. Our loss is very slight; but I am afraid from what I hear, the Lord D——, who is mentioned to be wounded, is a relation of Mrs. Rose. I ventured to open Brook’s letters, thinking they might contain something material to be attended to, and I will take care that he shall have directions about the bāt and forage money.

“The account of the supplies of forage is, on the whole, satisfactory, as I take for granted, after October we shall have no great difficulty in procuring further quantities of oats; but I mean to see the comptroller and Scott on the subject to-morrow. The banks seem likely to give us some time in discharging the Exchequer Bills.

“Yours sincerely,

“W. PITT.

“I have kept Watson’s official letters.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Downing Street, Sept. 13th, 1793.

“DEAR ROSE,

“Before I received your letter respecting the Southampton livings, I had had one from Sir H. Martin, recommending the schoolmaster, which I

forwarded to the Chancellor, and he told me yesterday that he would give him the living applied for. He did not return me Sir H. Martin's letter, but I take it for granted the person and the living in question are the same you mention.

" I hardly think it worth making a second application for the other living ; but, under the circumstances you mention, the recommendation of the Corporation seems likely to succeed. You will have seen the accounts of our disappointment before Dunkirk. It is certainly a severe check, but I trust only a temporary one ; and it ought only to have the effect of increasing, if possible, our exertions. By the last accounts the Prince of Cobourg was on the point of making the attack on the covered way at Quesnoy. After that event is decided his army will probably draw towards the Duke of York's. In the meantime, General Beaulieu's success is a great circumstance.

" Yours ever,

" W. PITT."

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

" DEAR ROSE,

" Downing Street, Sept. 16th, 1793.

" The enclosed letter to you came last night, and was brought to me. It would be hardly worth forwarding, but for what it mentions about *the bread*, which puzzles me, as I never heard of his applying for anything but biscuit ; and, on the most diligent search, no trace of any application for *bread* can be found, nor would such a supply answer any purpose. I rather imagine he uses the term bread, as

synonymous with biscuit ; if so, part is sent, and the rest going as quick as possible. I shall write to Mr. Watson on the subject to-night. The Dutch have been driven from Menin with, I am afraid, a good deal of confusion, and our army obliged, in consequence, to fall back to Thurot ; but I am in hopes will make a stand there, and be joined by Beaulieu. The enclosed *Gazette* confirms in the most satisfactory manner all the particulars from Toulon.

“ Yours ever,

“ W. PITT.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ Downing Street, Sept. 23rd, 1793.

“ IF any thing should arise to make you wish to stay beyond to-morrow se’nnight, you need have no scruple in doing so, as I must be here, and no inconvenience will arise from a short interval between Long’s going and your arrival. I have fixed, at Sir C. Grey’s recommendation, on a Mr. Jeffray as Commissary General for the West Indies ; we want besides, a Commissary of accounts, two assistant Commissaries at 20s. per day, and three more at 10s. I have consulted with the comptrollers, and do not find much prospect of filling their places from the half-pay list, which consists of but few, and those chiefly superannuated. Does any body occur to you ?

“ I believe the Chancellor has determined to give Mr. Meares the living.

“ The accounts from the interior of France are

excellent, and we are preparing very fast to make a good use of Toulon.

“Yours ever,
“W. PITT.”

[With all this multifarious business occupying Mr. Pitt's time and thoughts, it is no wonder that the trivial impertinencies of some of his correspondents, and the importunities of others, did not meet sometimes with that attention which in their self-complacency they thought their due. But as most people resent the appearance of being slighted or neglected, this was the source of much dissatisfaction and unpopularity, as the following letter from Lord Bulkely to the Marquis of Buckingham, shows.

“I left Percy in town, and I set Rose and Steele to coax him a little; for the old grievance sticks by him, and he wants much persuasion to efface the memory of it. Sir Hugh is here, and complains much of never having had one letter answered since Pitt has been in power. I am afraid more rats will run in consequence of Pitt's inattention to these trifles, than on any other account whatsoever. Indeed, I heard as much in town. Rose and Steele may laugh at such details, but they are necessary, and the constituent will not believe the member's assiduity, unless he sees real or ostensible evidence. I gave my 100% to the Westminster election in consequence of a letter

from Rose. I could ill spare it; but finding others were dosed in the same manner, I gulped in the grievance.”¹

If a private Secretary had been invented then, this inconvenience might have been avoided.²

The unfortunate event alluded to in the following letter, was a gallant, but ill-managed exploit at Toulon. When it was in our possession the French had opened a battery to cannonade the town, and it was necessary to destroy it. Our troops got possession of this battery and the height on which it was placed, but, flushed with victory, they rushed on the flying enemy with disordered impetuosity. The French general rallied and reinforced his troops, and drove back the broken ranks of his assailants. The English commander, O’Hara, arrived at the redoubt too late to remedy the disaster, and while he was endeavouring to organize the retreat, received a wound from a bullet which disabled him, and he was taken prisoner.—Ed.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Wimbledon, Wednesday, Dec. 25th, 1793.

“DEAR ROSE,

“Your account of what you have written to Chamberlayne is perfectly satisfactory, and also the enclosure from Mr. Reid respecting the Scotch remit-

¹ Duke of Buckingham’s Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 116.

² In a letter which Lord Grenville sent to Lord Wellesley, in 1804, he speaks of the bad habit which Pitt had contracted, of never writing to any one.

tance. You will see that we have already gained considerably in this week's revenue. The letter from Mr. Halyburton seems to be a sensible one. I am sorry to say that the account of General O'Hara has proved true. You will see the particulars in a Gazette Extraordinary, which we thought it best to publish immediately, that the public might know exactly what has passed.

"On the whole, the event, though unfortunate, is far from uncreditable, and I think there is still a very good chance of all proving right in that quarter.

"I have not yet had time to look at your notes, having had a good deal of different sorts of business on my hands, but I hope to accomplish it to-morrow. I have not, however, received any fresh papers from Chinnery.

"It will be necessary to make some inquiry as to the deputy recommended by the Duchess of Manchester, as I suspect the Duke thinks he has a right to recommend; and another Duchess will then have something to say upon it.

"Ever yours most sincerely,

"W. PITT.

"I missed Mr. Gurton every time he called. Where can I send to him?"

[Mr. Rose collected together a great number of remarkable facts, bearing upon the relations between England and France before the breaking out of the

war in 1793, showing that Mr. Pitt wished to avoid going to war until it was forced upon him by the progress of events. These facts seem to have been designed for the heads of an argument, which may have formed the substance of a speech in the House of Commons, though not embodied in any written form; but since a great deal of undeserved obloquy has been heaped upon the Minister of that day, by his Whig opponents, it is worth while to notice the succession of events, which are indicated rather than detailed by Mr. Rose. Nobody could doubt Mr. Pitt's pacific views in 1792, when he repealed taxes, and reduced the naval establishment, especially the number of seamen, to 16,000, although France had 80,000; and although the year before, a French frigate had violated the treaty of commerce by a positive aggression. When, in April, France declared war against Austria, measures were taken to ensure the neutrality of Great Britain; and Mr. Pitt made a formal avowal to a deputation from the city, that she would not meddle with the affairs of France. The proclamation against seditious writing was made a grievance; but it was only aimed at those who were in correspondence with the French Revolutionists, who proclaimed open war against all the higher ranks of society. On December 15th, the National Convention avowed itself faithful to the principles of the sovereignty of the people, which does not permit them to acknowledge any institution that militates against it, and

instructs the French generals, into whatever country they may go, to proclaim this same sovereignty, and the abolition of all constituted authorities: and also declares that the French will treat as an enemy that nation, which, refusing liberty and equality, should choose to preserve its Prince and privileged orders. The executive council in commenting upon this, strengthened the language, and concluded thus:—"The general interest of restoring peace to Europe, can be obtained only by the annihilation of the despots and their satellites. All conspires in inducing us to treat such a people according to the rigour of war and conquest." This is applied particularly to England, and Holland, and especially to the church of the former. In like manner, during the previous month, the National Convention had declared that France was ready to assist every state, which was willing to rebel against its own Government. That we were enumerated amongst the threatened nations was decisively proved by the rejection of Barrillon's proposal to exclude Great Britain, and confine the decree to countries in actual hostility with France.

On the 31st of December, the very day on which Lord Grenville signed his note stating the terms on which a rupture might be avoided, Monge, the Minister of War, in a circular letter to the seaport towns, said:—"We will make a descent on that island; we will hurl thither 50,000 caps of liberty; we will plant there the sacred tree, and stretch out

our arms to our brother republicans. The tyranny of their Government shall soon be destroyed." Equally violent and hostile language was used by other members of the Convention; but if such a dispatch had been issued by Count Walewski or any other Minister of Napoleon III., at the present time, the most factious radical in the House of Commons would have been clamorous for war. Chaussard, who was sent by the Council to execute their decrees in the Austrian Netherlands, about the same time announced their object in these unequivocal terms:—"A war *ad internecionem* is declared between the Republic and all monarchies."

On January 3rd, in the following year, instructions were dispatched to Genet for forming, with America, an offensive alliance against England; and on the 13th, the very day on which an evasive answer was given by the Executive Council to the conciliatory offers of Lord Grenville, orders were issued to commission thirty ships of the line and twenty frigates, in addition to the twenty-two of the line and thirty-two frigates already employed, and forty-five more of both were to be built; while the armament on our side, at which they took so much offence, only raised the total amount of British seamen to 25,000, which is not more than sufficient to man eighteen sail of the line, with frigates.

Another subject of complaint, in singular contrast with the existing state of things, was the Alien Bill, which applied to all foreigners, though it was only taken up by France. The objection was principally

founded on the 4th article of the Treaty of Commerce. But the French had violated that article much more, by a very rigorous decree, inflicting fine and imprisonment on all strangers resident in France, who neglected to make a certain declaration within eight days : and Lord Gower, our ambassador, had been arrested on his way from Paris till orders arrived for his liberation. Yet no complaint was made by us, because the step was declared to be necessary for internal tranquillity. But the rule which they pleaded in their own favour, they were not willing to allow to others. It was necessary to the tranquillity of England to prohibit the circulation of assignats, not only to save her inhabitants from the ruin of an inconvertible currency, but to preserve them also from the corruption which the bullion purchased by French Agents was employed to effect. It was a measure of domestic self-defence, which the French Government had no right to meddle with at all ; but they seemed bent upon quarrelling with our internal legislation. They complained of the bills which forbade the exportation of arms and of wheat, although they themselves had previously forbidden the exportation of both the one and the other from France. The singular fact, that they had been buying up all the wheat they could get in England, at a much higher price than they had to pay for it elsewhere, produced a strong conviction, that, knowing how much a scarcity of corn had contributed to their own revolution, they were desirous

that a similar discontent should effect similar commotions in England. Certain it is, that they neglected no means in their power to stir up rebellion in this country. Chauvelin, an impudent republican who had been the ambassador from Louis the 16th, was now the agent of the Executive Council to foment disturbances, by sowing disloyalty throughout the land with the aid of English Jacobins and revolutionists. But so great was Mr. Pitt's love of peace, which was quite necessary to the success of his most cherished plans, that he held conferences with this man, and with another unacknowledged agent, Maret, in the hope that war might yet be averted; for our ambassador was withdrawn from Paris after the death of the King, to whom he was accredited, and the Secretary of Legation also, in consequence of the murder of some Englishmen in the massacres of September, and there was then no settled Government to which credentials could be addressed. The changes of rulers were like the changes in a kaleidoscope; at least the variety was as great, though all the symmetry was wanting.

But all negotiation was useless. It was evident, that while Mr. Pitt was extremely anxious to preserve peace, France was determined on war, which was definitively shown by Le Brun's paper, considered as an ultimatum, and delivered to Lord Grenville on the 13th of January; and, indeed, the Convention had solemnly decreed that they would acknowledge no kingly government.

Chauvelin, who had persuaded the Convention to let him stay in London without credentials, because it would not be prudent for France to lose the fruit of his labours with Mr. Fox, and some of the opposition, and their *subsequent services*—had now proved himself, with their assistance, so dangerous an incendiary that it was necessary to check the mischief he was doing by sending him away; with a notification, however, that the Government would still listen to terms of accommodation. This step, his friend Mr. Fox chose to consider an act of aggression upon France. Unfortunately however for his argument, it appears that Lord Grenville's order to Chauvelin to leave the kingdom was dated January 24th; while, in a letter written by Dumouriez from Paris on January 23d, it is stated, that orders had been already given for his return. Now, it will be observed, that up to this time, not the smallest inclination to go to war can be discovered on the part of Great Britain; the object kept uniformly in view was an honourable peace. But what was the next event in this great drama?

In the beginning of February,¹ France formally declared war; which was announced by the King in the speech from the throne, and preparations were then made accordingly. It was, however, no more than might be reasonably expected from the doctrines propounded by one of the leaders in that revolutionary delirium. Brissot said, "War is now become neces-

¹ Gifford says the first; Alison, the third. ,

sary. France is bound to undertake it, to maintain her honour,—it is to be regarded as a public blessing ; the only evil you have to apprehend is, that it should not arrive :—it is no longer with governments that we must treat, but with their subjects.” He proposes, therefore, to get the start of those nations who are hostilely disposed, because “he who is anticipated is already half vanquished.”

In the face of all this mass of evidence, which after all is far short of what might be adduced, is it not most lamentable, that the three Whig historians of that time should be so blinded by party prejudices, as to lose the perception of truth in their narrative of the facts ? Of these, Lord Holland leads the way with a mild misrepresentation, which looks more like ignorance than malice. He says, “that it was neither wise nor just to involve Europe in a war, from feelings of commiseration for Louis the 16th, who was not under the protection of our laws. But it was a moment of passion, and England has paid severely for indulging it.” Compassion doubtless was felt from one end of the kingdom to the other ; but to suppose that it influenced Mr. Pitt’s conduct, is to betray great ignorance of his character. No one could more regret the want of wisdom and justice that ruled the hour ; but folly and injustice held their throne on the other side of the channel.

The next assailant was that venerable statesman, in whose matured wisdom the leas of his Whig educa-

tion have not so wholly subsided as to leave it calm and pure ; and, therefore, the fermenting spirit will sometimes explode in vehement vituperation without sufficient regard to truth : and so he pours forth these groundless calumnies against the object of Whig antipathy. “The very worst offence of which a Minister can be guilty, is the abandonment of his own principles for place, and counselling his sovereign and his country, not according to his conscience, but according to what being most palatable to them, is most beneficial to the man himself. Mr. Pitt joining the war party in 1793 is the most striking and most fatal instance of this offence. His thoughts were all turned to peace, but he preferred flinging his country into a contest, which he and his great antagonist, by uniting their forces, must have prevented ; but then he must also have shared with Mr. Fox the power which he was determined to enjoy alone and supreme.”¹ This Lord Brougham calls “a flagrant political crime.” Even if this accusation had been true, such a coalition was plainly impossible. It could not have outlived the ridicule of being represented like the two Kings of Brentford smelling at the same nosegay. The constitution of our Government required that one should be premier, and the other subordinate.

Superior talent has sometimes submitted to own another head of the Cabinet, on the condition of being

¹ Historical Sketches of Statesmen in the Time of George III. By Lord Brougham.—p. 62.

leader in his own house; but it is ridiculous to suppose that the leaders of two rival parties could ever work together long in the same chamber of Parliament. It is true, that Mr. Pitt had refused to submit to this inferiority when office was offered to him in the Coalition Administration. What does Lord Brougham himself say upon that subject? "Mr. Pitt, though a man of vast talents as well as spotless reputation, was not permitted, without a sacrifice of personal honour, to be the ally of Mr. Fox in serving their common country."¹ If then Mr. Fox was wrong in imposing this condition when the Minister was young in office, and scarcely the leader of a party, how could any man in his senses expect that Mr. Pitt would voluntarily descend from his throne of power and popularity, to lay himself at the feet of Mr. Fox, especially when there was no rational prospect, that, even by this self sacrifice, he could purchase the success of his favourite policy? For this is the acknowledgment of the same high authority when, spurning the trammels of party, he paid homage only to truth. "There is not," he says, "much reason to suppose that, had the parties changed positions in 1792, the Whigs would, as a matter of course, have been against the war. How little disposed they showed themselves after Mr. Pitt's death to make sacrifices for the great object of pacification!"²

But the accusation is not true in any part. It is not true that Mr. Pitt joined the war party from selfish

¹ Historical Sketches, p. 189.

² *Ibid.* 305.

motives, for it has been shown that he had no option ; that he was dragged into the vortex, not only against his will, but in spite of repeated struggles to avoid it ; and that he actually went to the extremest limits of forbearance that prudence could tolerate, for national amity with France in that crisis of which Lord Holland dreamed, would have been "concord with Belial ;" and to shew good feelings towards her new institutions would have been to encourage instability, bloodthirstiness, impiety, and the subversion of all social order. It is not true, therefore, that any union between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox could have prevented the war ; and it is wonderful how a statesman so well versed in public affairs as Lord Brougham, could have entertained such an opinion for a single moment. Lastly, it is not true, that Mr. Pitt would not share power with Mr. Fox, because he wanted to enjoy it alone. Lord Holland shews the contrary. He says, "Mr. Fox about this time had a very secret interview with Mr. Pitt, in which the latter proposed a coalition of parties with many conditions, somewhat unpalatable, though NOT *utterly inadmissible*, or in the least dishonourable, except the exclusion of men, and particularly of Sheridan, to which Mr. Fox would not listen. He would not sacrifice him to the popular clamour founded on the immorality of Sheridan's private character." ¹

Nothing can be more strangely improbable than

¹ Memoirs of the Whig Party, p. 31.

that Sheridan's private character should have prevented an alliance to which Mr. Fox was admitted as a principal; for if the former was more than "a gnat," the latter was not less than "a camel" of immorality. But, in point of fact, we know from a different quarter what the real obstacle was. In Lord Malmesbury's diary this statement occurs:—"June, 1792. Dined at Lord Loughborough's with Fox; he doubted Pitt's sincerity, and suspected he had no other view than to weaken their party and strengthen his own. He contended that it was impossible ever to suppose Pitt would admit him to an equal share of power, and that whatever might be his own feeling, or readiness to give way, he could not, for the sake of the honour and pride of the party, come in on any other terms. Pitt *must* have the Treasury; and he on his part had friends in the House of Commons he must attend to. He spoke with acrimony of Pitt, and repeatedly said, that the pride of the party must be saved. He held out on the *impossibility of his acting under Pitt.*"

It is now tolerably clear which of the two great antagonists was guilty of "the flagrant political crime" of sacrificing his country to the interests of his party, and refused to share power, when it was offered to him, because he "was determined to enjoy it alone and supreme."¹ Lord Brougham justly observes, that "he (Mr. Fox) constantly modified his principles

¹ Historical Sketches, p. 62.

according to his own situation and circumstances as a party chief, making the ambition of the man and the interests of his followers the governing rule of his conduct.”¹ It only remains to show, from Mr. Fox’s own confession, how much the noble lord was right when he surmised that, if the Whigs had been in power, their policy would have been the same. Mr. Fox declared in Parliament, that “the Decree of the 19th of November he considered as an insult, and the explanation of the Executive Council as no adequate satisfaction. It was said, we must have security; and he was ready to admit that neither a disavowal by the Executive Council of France, nor a tacit repeal by the Convention, on the intimation of an unacknowledged agent, of a decree which they might renew the day after they had repealed it, would be a sufficient security, if the invasion of the Netherlands was what now alarmed us; and that it ought to alarm us, if the result was to make that country an appendage to France. There could be no doubt, we ought to have interposed to prevent it in the very first instance.”

So that our fault was not in going to war, but in not having gone to war sooner. Having thus routed the enemies of Mr. Pitt with their own weapons, so far as his two principal opponents are concerned, we may well smile at the warlike aspirations of Lord John Russell, who sounds the alarm after this fashion :

¹ Historical Sketches, pp. 179—199.

“It will be my business, if I should be able to continue this work, to point out the utter want of foresight by which the conduct of Mr. Pitt was marked, when he led the people of England into a crusade against the people of France.” It might, perhaps, without injustice, be denominated a crusade against anarchy, and there was certainly a dash of chivalrous feeling in the hearts of the war party. This is a fault which was never charged upon the Whigs, and therefore Mr. Burke abandoned them. Mr. Fox might be pardoned for not foreseeing the events, which by his own admission would have altered his opinion, and which Mr. Pitt did foresee; but how any man, looking at the facts of history, can impute want of foresight to that Minister, would be quite incomprehensible, were there not proofs enough that writers who are afflicted with Whiggery labour under an incapability of discerning truth. As in physics, there is a condition of the sight called colour blindness, which disables individuals from distinguishing certain colours, so that red appears blue, or *vice versâ*,—so party blindness falsifies the aspect of truth, and incapacitates some persons from discerning its real hue. Herein lies the cause of the inconsistencies and fallacies which disfigure their writings. Thus Lord John Russell, in his anxiety to censure Mr. Pitt, states that at the commencement of the Revolution, “the fear of French principles, horror at French crimes, and disgust at French excesses, were constantly put forth as *incentives*

to war." If he had said in justification of the war, he would have spoken the truth. But why that term, "incentives?" It is plainly an insinuation that Mr. Pitt was pugnacious, and wanted to stir up a reluctant people to engage in the war. He might have learned better from his great ally, who, though equally bent upon assaulting the leader of the Tories, had yet the candour to allow that all Mr. Pitt's thoughts were ever turned towards peace, and that he not only professed, but undoubtedly felt an ardent love of peace;¹ and that was shown by his repeated efforts to terminate the war, as soon as a reasonable prospect of success appeared. At first negotiation was impossible; for during the chaos and anarchy that reigned in France for some time after she had declared war, and insulted, as Marshal St. Cyr acknowledges, not only all kings, but every existing government, there was no ruling power there in which any confidence could be reposed; none on the stability of which, from month to month, any reliance could be placed.² As soon as a somewhat more settled form of government gave the

¹ Historical Sketches, &c. by Lord Brougham, vol. i. book 2, § 193.

² "Mr. Pitt said, with great truth, At present (under Robespierre), there is no security for the continuance of peace, even if it were signed, for a single hour; every successive faction which has risen to the head of affairs in France, has perished the moment that it attempted to imprint moderation on the external or internal measures of the Revolution. It is a contest for the security, the tranquillity, and the very existence of Great Britain, connected with that of every established government, and every country in Europe." — *Alison's Hist.* vol. ii. p. 449.

slightest hope that treaties might be effected and respected, several attempts were made by Mr. Pitt to bring about a negociation.

The first overtures for peace from the British Government were made through Mr. Wickham, in Switzerland, in 1796, but failed, because France insisted on keeping all the conquered territories which had been annexed to it by a decree of its own legislature—Savoy, Flanders, both Dutch and Austrian, &c. The second attempt was made by overtures from Great Britain in the same year, through the Danish Ambassador; but they were flatly refused by France, on the ground of their not being made by a direct communication to the Directory; although Lord Grenville's note requested a passport for an ambassador, to go to Paris to negotiate. A third attempt was made in September of the same year, by a direct application, and at the end of October Lord Malmesbury went to Paris; but the terms were refused by France, without any counterproject being offered, and he was ordered to quit Paris. The terms were, that Great Britain should resign all her conquests; France to restore the Netherlands, to evacuate Italy, and to make peace with Germany. Lastly, another attempt at negociation was made in June, 1797, in consequence of the preliminaries being signed at Leoben between France and the Emperor, and the plenipotentiaries met at Lisle. The terms offered on our side were most liberal;—to surrender all our conquests

from France, and to claim nothing in return; but France required the cession of all that we had conquered from Spain and Holland besides; and, by insisting upon this as a preliminary, the treaty was broken off. And who was it in England that opposed this peace? Who was it that put forth arguments as incentives to war? It was Mr. Fox, who objected to the Ministers getting out of a contest, which, at the same time, he styles most unjust and most impolitic, by a peace *quel-conque*; and would not acquiesce in their making such a peace as could be justified only upon consideration of the condition in which they had brought us.¹

But as Fox was thus blind to the fact, which has been incontestably proved, that the war was not unjust, and that the Ministers did not bring us into it, and that it was not their own policy, but a policy to which they were reluctantly obliged to submit,—so Lord John Russell is equally unable to see the natural consequences of the war; and the sagacity of Mr. Pitt's foresight is favourably contrasted with the retrospective blindness of his critic. He asks with the most *naïve* simplicity, how war could extirpate French principles, or arrest French crimes? As if Mr. Pitt or any one else ever contemplated the possibility of extirpating the one, or arresting the other in France. And yet, if they had really wished it, it would not have been unreasonable to expect that war, by diminishing the power of the criminals, who were a

¹ Mr. Fox to Lord Holland, *Hist. Sket.* vol. iii. p. 133.

small minority of the nation, might have encouraged the more sober-minded majority to resist their detestable proceedings. In all probability, if the abuse of power by the higher classes had not deprived them of sympathy, and left the bulk of the people in a profound indifference to political changes, the offer of foreign aid might have roused them from their apathy, and the successive factions that waded through blood to power might have been checked in their career; their principles might have been repudiated, and their crimes arrested.

But Mr. Pitt had no such object in view, which, indeed, his incautious censor himself elsewhere confesses. By his own acknowledgment, "Mr. Pitt was ready to admit that we had nothing to do with the internal government of France, provided its rulers were disposed and able to maintain friendly relations with foreign governments. He sought to confine France within her ancient limits, to oblige her to respect established treaties, and to renounce her conquests; he treated Robespierre and Carnot as he would have treated any other French rulers, whose ambition was to be resisted, and whose interference in the affairs of other nations was to be checked and prevented."¹ This statement is fully borne out by the historian of those times: "The basis of the alliance with Russia was, that the French should be left entirely at liberty to arrange their government and their internal concerns for themselves,

¹ Page 33. :

and that the efforts of the allies should be limited to prevent their interfering with other states, or extending their conquests or propagandism beyond their own frontier.”¹ But they did interfere with other states, and extended not only their conquests, but their propagandism beyond their own frontiers. The Convention infringed the treaty of Munster by opening the navigation of the Scheldt, and violated the rights of nations by a decree, that the Austrians should be pursued into the Dutch territories; and with what fatal effects the spirit of propagandism stalked abroad beyond the frontiers, the same historian thus describes:—“Addressing herself to the discontented multitude in every state, paralyzing the national strength by a division of its population, and taking advantage of that division to overthrow its independence, France succeeded in establishing her dominion over more than one half of Europe. Experience proved that the freedom which the Jacobin agents insidiously offered to the deluded population of other states, was neither more nor less than an entire subjection to the agents of France, and the peril incurred was even greater in peace than in war. The continuance of amicable relations was favourable to the secret propagation of the revolutionary mania, and she made more rapid strides towards universal dominion during one year of pacific encroachment, than in six years of hostilities.”²

These were the consequences which Mr. Pitt *foresaw*,

¹ Alison's Hist., vol. iii. p. 88.

² *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 619.

and from which he wisely determined to save his own country, when he accepted the challenge to battle thrown out by France. War was the *cordon sanitaire* by which he saved it from the contagion of her Jacobinical principles, and from participation in her destructive crimes. That the danger which reconciled Mr. Pitt to the abandonment of his pacific policy was real and alarming, is abundantly proved by the language used in the National Convention, when complimentary addresses were sent to them by the London Corresponding Society, and forty others of the same stamp. In November, 1792, they were convinced that England was labouring in the throes of a similar revolution to their own; and the President, Gregorie, is reported to have said, that “the respectable islanders, who were once their masters in the social arts, had become their disciples; and, treading in their steps, would soon strike a blow that should resound to the extremity of Asia.” What then but that party prejudice, which clouds the clearest understanding, could induce Lord John Russell to assert, that “there never was a more unfounded fear than that which induced the great majority of the nation to dread the overthrow of their constitution by a small minority enamoured of French principles;” an assertion practically refuted by the example of France itself, where the horrors of the revolution were perpetrated by a minority of the population; and contradicted, according to his own confession, not only by the great

majority of the nation, who were certainly better judges of their own danger than one who has had no opportunity of feeling the fevered pulse of those times, but also by the great majority of his own party. It is a singularly startling confession, and one for which his friends will not thank him. "Thus," says he, "while Mr. Fox gave to his friends the most PATRIOTIC (which means republican and revolutionary) counsels, the great Whig party, which he led, broke off into two divisions; he was left almost alone, his popularity was gone, and his name held up to detestation: he was purely and simply a Whig." What a severe satire upon his party! He then, who is purely and simply a Whig, is a person whose name is held up to detestation for his principles; who is renounced and denounced by his dearest friends.

The Duke of Portland, at the head of forty peers and a hundred and seven commoners, yielded to this necessity at last,¹ though he was long restrained from adopting such a course by personal partiality for the man. Sir Gilbert Elliot stated to him, in the strongest manner, the conduct of Fox; that it was founded on the worst of principles—on those on which the French Revolution was founded; that it went to overthrow the country; that it was essential, for the honour of the party, to separate from him; and that it was impossible for them not to express publicly their entire disapprobation of Fox's conduct and principles. And

¹ Lord Malmesbury's Diary, vol. ii. p. 482.

Lord Malmesbury says,¹ "It grieves me to separate from him; it grieves me still more to see how completely he has set the whole country against him. If he is sincere, he is dangerous, acting upon principle; if insincere, he is dangerous, acting without principle."² And he was very anxious to save his party from partaking of all the odium and disgrace which Fox had brought upon himself by his conduct.³ These partisans were evidently not of the right sort to please Lord John; they had not learned sufficiently from Fox's patriotic counsels, to hate the government of their country, and to rejoice in the successes of the Republic.

This is no prejudiced picture of that type and model of a pure and simple Whig; it is his own description of his feelings, for thus he writes to Mr. Grey: "The truth is, I am gone something farther in hate to the English Government than perhaps you and the rest of my friends are, and certainly farther than can with prudence be avowed. The triumph of the French Government over the English does, in fact, afford me a degree of *pleasure* which it is very difficult to disguise."⁴ The isolation of Mr. Fox may be thought to favour the assertion, that the fear of the Constitution being overthrown by the small minority of those who were enamoured of French Jacobinism,

¹ Lord Malmesbury's Diary, vol. ii. p. 416. ² *Ibid.* p. 600.

³ *Ibid.* p. 486.

⁴ Memoirs and Correspondence of C. J. Fox, vol. iii. p. 349.

was quite unfounded. But it is to be remembered, that those who deserted him were only the sensible, well-educated men in Parliament. But, again, no other confutation is needed than Lord John's own confession; for he admits that, at a later period, some violent men appear to have meditated a revolution, but "the conspiracies were abortive" (why?), "because their designs were shallow, and their plans immature." But what if their designs had been deeper laid, and their plans more matured? "the insignificance of the party" would not have prevented them from deluging the land with blood. The fact is, the party was not insignificant. How could it be so when the King was fired at in the park, and the mob had almost succeeded in dragging him from his carriage? when the cry of "No king—no nobles" was heard in the streets? when 2,000 people, at the Crown and Anchor tavern, drank the toast, for which the Duke of Norfolk was most justly deprived of his Lord Lieutenancy, "The people—the sovereign"? when conventions were formed in various parts of the country to coerce the Parliament, and demagogues were agitating the principal manufacturing towns, to organise a National Convention, in imitation of that in France? And what if Mr. Fox himself contradicted this rash assertion of unfounded fear?

In 1796 he thus writes to his nephew: "At present I think that we ought to go further towards agreeing with the democratic or popular party than at any

former period we as a party can do nothing ; and the contest must be between the Court and the democrats. These last, without our assistance, will be too weak to resist the Court ; or, if they are strong enough, will go probably to greater excesses, and bring on the only state of things which can make a man doubt whether the despotism of monarchy is the worst of all evils.”¹ Thus, with his eyes open to the probable consequences, he proposed to assist the democrats to do what he deprecated, rather than submit to a constitutional monarchy. And such were the patriotic counsels which he gave to his friends. But this is not all. In another letter he says, “The country seems divided between the majority who are subdued by fears, or corrupted by hopes ; and the minority, who are waiting sulkily for opportunities for violent remedies.” And again, “It is a duty to brave all calumny that will be thrown upon us, on account of the countenance which we shall be represented as giving to the Corresponding Society, and others who are supposed to wish the overthrow of the monarchy. My view of things is, I own, very gloomy, and I am convinced that in a very few years this Government will become completely absolute ; or that confusion will arise of a nature almost as much to be deprecated as despotism itself. . . . I cannot disguise from myself that there are but too many who wish for this.”²

In the face of this evidence—unexceptionable evi-

¹ Vol. iii. p. 135.

² P. 164, and 70.

dence, since it is furnished by Mr. Fox himself—Lord John Russell will do well to abstain from raking up the almost forgotten embers of Whig incendiarism, which only serves to throw a stronger light upon the superior wisdom of Mr. Pitt.

Since this vindication of Mr. Pitt from the imputations of Lord John Russell was penned, he, with the usual recklessness of his dauntless spirit, has actually attempted to redeem his pledge by repeating the same charges nearly in the same words, and with as little success. Still, as it occupies a considerable portion of his second volume of the “Life of Fox,” it is a duty to expose once more the weakness of the attack. Some apology is due to the reader for repeating several passages which have been already given; but when a man in the high position of Lord John Russell, deliberately endeavours to deceive mankind by repeating the old fallacies more insidiously and elaborately dressed up, apparently on the principle that water indents the stone,—not by any native force, but by the incessant repetition of its drops;—and when his settled purpose is to damage the character of a more exalted statesman than himself; to drag him before the bar of his country, and to impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanours;—the interests of justice require us to meet the enemy with the same weapons which have foiled him before, and, without expecting the reader to bear in mind all that has been already adduced, to lay before him again the strongest points

of evidence,—whether they have been used before or not,—in order to exhibit the light of truth in more striking contrast with the haziness of Whig sophistry.

Well, then; Lord John now renews his impotent attempt to prove Mr. Pitt guilty of needlessly involving his country in war at the time of the French Revolution; and in this second attack we may fairly conclude that he has exhausted his armoury, and used every argument which party zeal could suggest to favour his attempt.

It will be my business to show that he had much better have let it alone. Being, however, a cunning fencer, he makes many desperate lunges at his adversary whenever he thinks he can wound him. They are easily parried, but being constantly almost the same, the defence must partake of the monotony of the assault; and as there is little diversity in the arguments except in outward form, there must necessarily be much repetition in the confutation of them. After first explaining the position of Mr. Pitt and his government at that period, with remarkable impartiality and perspicuity, he seems to bethink himself that it is time to disparage him, in order to magnify his rival, Mr. Fox; for which purpose he proceeds to weave a web of sophistry, some of the salient points of which it is necessary to disentangle. He makes common cause with M. Chauvelin, the French Emisary, who had the assurance to ask our Government to recognise the justice and necessity of the war which

France had declared against Austria, after various outrages for which no reparation had been made, on the plea that she had sheltered the emigrants, and that England had not suffered other powers to lend the smallest assistance to rebellious subjects.

Had, then, France so soon forgotten the no small assistance which she had lent to British rebels in America? But he also pointed out the marks of a conspiracy against free states which threatened universal war, and England was called upon to stop the progress of that confederacy, which threatened the peace and happiness of Europe. Who could believe that this proposition came from a Government that had recently promised its assistance to all nations who wished to overthrow monarchy? Lord Grenville was not moved by these impudent suggestions to depart from the pacific policy of Mr. Pitt—the policy of non-intervention;—that policy on which Lord John now so strenuously insists. Nevertheless, in Lord Grenville, he imputes it to a secret wish for the success of a design to conquer and despoil France. And from this imputation he could only have escaped by making war upon the allies.

On this principle England has had a narrow escape from a declaration of war against Austria in the late Italian campaign; for the distinction which he proceeds to draw would have exactly reduced us to that dilemma. “It is one thing,” says he, “to decline to interfere in the internal affairs of another country; it

is a totally different thing not to interfere with an external war which is intended to effect the conquest and share the spoils of one of the great members of the European confederacy. The first is a due homage to the independence of another nation ; the second is a culpable indifference to the peace of Europe, and the treaties upon which that peace was founded.”¹ But Austria intended to effect the conquest of Piedmont, and actually invaded that member of the European Confederacy, and had set at nought the Treaty of 1815. Therefore, on his own showing, our Minister at War displayed a culpable indifference to the peace of Europe, and the treaties upon which that peace was founded, by not interfering against Austria. But in the war of the Revolution the truth is exactly the reverse of the representation of it by Lord John : for which nation was it that not only intended to conquer and despoil her neighbours, but had actually commenced that conquest and spoliation by a war wholly unprovoked ? It was France. True it is that, in 1791, Russia and Sweden had proposed an invasion of France to the German Powers in favour of the King ; but, at the interview which took place at Pilnitz, the King of Prussia betrayed violent signs of disapprobation, and the views of Leopold were too pacific to adopt so bold and hostile a measure.¹

Nevertheless, France declared war against the King

¹ Life of Fox, vol. ii. p. 298.

² Annual Register for 1792, p. 389.

of Hungary and Bohemia in the following year; and since it would have been "culpable indifference" in Prussia to take no part in resisting that unjust aggression, she joined the Emperor in his attempt to liberate France from the dangerous turbulence of anarchy. The allies had sufficient causes of complaint, as most people will think, in the confiscation of the feudal property of the German Princes, the opening of the Scheldt, the seizure of Avignon, and the conquest of Savoy. But Lord J. Russell is so determined to see everything from a French point of view, that although Mr. Fox had laid down this rule, that the justifiable grounds of war are injury, insult, and danger,¹ all of which were combined in these measures, and others which he overlooks; yet, he sets them down as mere pretexts,²—nay, even the declaration that the allies intended to restore the King of France to liberty, that he might confer a constitution upon his subjects, is asserted to have been only a pretext;³—the real motive being the conquest and spoliation of France,—a wild assertion, which will be noticed again before I have done with him. At present, it is enough to say that, so far from wishing to share in the spoils of France, the allies declared, in their proclamation, that in the just war which they had undertaken they entertained no views of personal aggrandisement, which they expressly renounced. And what nation was it that threatened the peace of Europe, and violated the

¹ Life of Fox, vol. ii. p. 336.

² *Ibid.* p. 231.

³ *Ibid.* p. 230.

treaties upon which that peace was founded? It was France, which had alarmed Europe by seizing upon her neighbours' territories without the smallest pretence of right: Savoy and Avignon, and Basle on the south, and Belgium on the north; for Belgium was invaded some time before the Austrian declaration of war. It was France that had violated the treaty by which the navigation of the Scheldt was closed against foreign nations,—a treaty, made with the sanction of England, between the two Governments of the countries through which that river flows.

Nor was this all. She had violated the treaty of Westphalia, which, with several subsequent treaties, guaranteed to the German Princes in Alsace and Franche Comté many political rights and ecclesiastical privileges which the Constituent Assembly had annulled. Surely, then, the best friends of Lord John will scarcely refrain from a smile when, from these premises, he infers that a fair and honest neutrality was not the policy of the Cabinet of England, and taunts the Government with looking on with complacency on the invasion of France, and being restless and menacing when Flanders was conquered. He may imploringly stretch out his hands to them, and say, "*Risum teneatis, amici;*" but it would be all in vain. There is something too ludicrous in his unhappy attempt to shift upon the policy of Mr. Pitt the blame which sits so heavily on the shoulders of France. It is not that he is enamoured with the French Revolution, like his hero,

Mr. Fox ; he does not, like that statesman, admire it as “ the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country.” On the contrary, he goes so far as to admit that the French were the aggressors against the institutions of Europe, and that the panic in England was increased by the insane provocations of the Convention. But, unfortunately, he had given a pledge to bring in Mr. Pitt guilty of the war, and he could not redeem it without plunging into various absurdities, and building up his indictment upon the quicksands of sophistry. Thus, for instance, he says : “ In the preceding spring, Austria and Prussia had maintained a large body of armed Frenchmen on the frontiers of France with the avowed intention of overthrowing the Constitution to which the King of the French had pledged his faith.”¹

Nothing can be further from the truth than this assertion. In March, Count Kobentzel assured M. Noailles, that his Court was far from wishing to intermeddle in the interior concerns of France, and that it by no means intended to support the interests of the Emigrants.² A short time before, the Emperor had insisted that the Emigrants should make no attempt to disturb the public tranquillity.³ Notwithstanding these pacific explanations, France declared war on April 20th ; and it happens that we know, from the best authority, what

¹ Life of Fox, vol. ii. p. 300.

² Annual Register for 1792, p. 281.

³ *Ibid.* p. 277.

was the real motive ; not the flimsy pretext advanced by M. Noailles, but “ it was the abolition of royalty,” said Brissot, in a pamphlet,¹ “ which I had in view in causing war to be declared.” No wonder, then, when they were thus compelled to stand on their defence, and felt the imminent danger of their positions, if the German powers resolved to unite, not against the King of France, nor against any constitution of which he approved, but against the wild beasts who were thirsting for their blood, the enemies of society, whose cry was, “ Havoc, and let slip the dogs of war.” These were the principles of self-defence which the Allies declared on entering France. But how could that justify the principles of universal aggression proclaimed by the bandits opposed to them, and the premium which they offered to rebellion in every nation they could reach ? What then could induce Lord John to ask so strange a question as this : “ Who could wonder that the French should proclaim their principles as loudly as the Allies had proclaimed theirs, and should offer the assistance of their arms to all nations which should accept their principles ? ”² The same remarkable ignorance of the true posture of the respective parties is shown in “ the real cure of the evil ” which he, with singular infelicity, suggests. He says, “ If Austria and Prussia had been called upon to renounce all interference in the internal affairs of France, the Convention might, on such a pledge being given, be called upon to repeal its decree of November. The hostility

¹ Annual Register for 1792, p. 273. ² Life of Fox, vol. ii. p. 300.

of England might well have been proclaimed the penalty of that power which should refuse to comply with such an impartial decision."

This passage must have been penned in utter ignorance or forgetfulness of the events which preceded the war. Germany had distinctly explained that if France would not interfere with her neighbours, they would not interfere with her. Nothing could be more impartial than the terms proposed; and since France rejected them, England was, by Solomon's own decision, justified in inflicting the penalty of joining the Allies. But even if Solomon's cure had been attempted, and Mr. Pitt had offered his mediation, the result would have very much resembled that of the cures proposed by other quacks; we have reason to know, that it must have failed. M. Thersaint, a zealous supporter of Brissot, stated in a semi-official report, January 1st, 1793, that one of Mr. Pitt's plans was to bring the Republic to a peace with its enemies by his mediation. He was, however, haughtily told, that "he deceived himself, for that France would receive laws only from herself. It is fit he should know you are not afraid of kings, and that if you allow them still to exist, as such, you will at least have no treaties with them, or only those which are ratified by their nations. The first cannon fired at sea would impose upon them the duty of emancipating Holland, Spain, and America."¹

Let us next examine another specimen of states-

¹ Annual Register for 1793, p. 182.

manship. "There can be little doubt that if instead of waiting till the end of December, Mr. Pitt had by that time obtained the co-operation of Russia; if this concert had been notified at Paris, and if part of the Low Countries had been ceded to France, or the whole of Belgium erected into an independent state, as was done forty years afterwards, peace might have been restored to Europe. Possibly the life of Louis XVI. might have been spared."¹ What a strange hallucination does this writer labour under! he assumes what is directly contrary to the truth; that France was then under the government of reasonable and moderate men, who would be contented with equitable terms. But let us look into the particulars upon which this "little doubt" reposes. Mr. Pitt knew perfectly well from what had occurred at Pilnitz, that he would not have the co-operation of Russia; the Czar and he entertained the most opposite views upon the subject: the one was for interference, the other was against it. The communication of December 27th, conveying Mr. Pitt's views, was only the reply to an inquiry without any hope of consent; and there were two other Courts to be consulted, one of which had only just lost the Netherlands, the cession of which is so coolly proposed. But this had occurred only three or four weeks before; for the citadel of Antwerp surrendered on the 8th, and Lord John must be sufficiently acquainted with diplomatic delays, and Austrian impracticability, to be quite sure how impossible it was

¹ Life of Fox, vol. ii. p. 303.

to bring things to such a conclusion in so short a time before the invention of electric telegraphs.

But why was Austria to surrender the Netherlands so easily without any compensation? On the principle of *uti possidetis*? But it was so recent an acquisition by France that it could scarcely be looked upon as a possession; nay, the French themselves did not look upon it in that light; they declared that it was only a temporary occupation till peace was restored, and that they did not covet Belgium; they only desired that its liberty and independence might be secured. Might then the Belgians have chosen to live under the Emperor again? No. They could not have become an independent state, as they became forty years afterwards, by accepting a monarchy. That was not French liberty. They who were so jealous of interference with their own Government, insisted upon dictating to others what theirs should be. But were all the four Courts to crouch under the heel of France, and sanction all her usurpations? Was she to be allowed to oust the German Princes from Lorraine and Alsace, and to retain Avignon and Nice, and Basle, and Savoy on the same principle of *uti possidetis*? of all which, according to the policy professed by Lord John, "no one would have any right to complain. There is "little doubt," therefore, that peace would not then have been restored to Europe; and any interference to save the life of Louis would have been treated with the same scorn as the remonstrances of the King of Spain.

Lord John's statement with regard to Holland is equally destitute of truth. He says, she was dragged by England most reluctantly into the war.¹ She desired, indeed, most earnestly, to be neutral; but her neutrality was most unscrupulously violated by France, who forced the passage of the river Scheldt in defiance of her protest, and ordered her generals to pursue the routed Austrians into the Dutch territory, if they retired there.² And though the French Government gave the most positive assurance that its conquest should not be attempted, so long as that country should confine itself within the bounds of a strict neutrality, yet, three weeks antecedent to that promise being given, it had resolved upon an invasion of the United Provinces, which was solely delayed for a time, that it might afterwards be undertaken with the greater safety; and accordingly it was included in the declaration of war made against England in the following year. In his anxiety to make out how much more folly there was on this side of the Channel than on the other, Lord John proceeds to say, that "a fear crept upon persons of property, that the democratic principles of France might take root in England; and it was thought, that by turning the thoughts of the people to foreign war this danger might be averted. . . . This view of the question shows very little trust in the attachment of the people of England to their own

¹ Life of Fox, vol. ii. p. 304.

² Annual Register for 1793, p. 165.

institutions, and very little disposition to do justice to the French nation. . . . Yet that the war was a war of panic I do not mean to deny.”¹ That is to say, the war was an unjust war, and the panic was irrational fear. But when there were about thirty clubs in London, the object of which was to disseminate seditious principles, besides twenty-two towns in which one or more corresponding societies were established for the same purpose; when it was shown in Parliament that in every town, and in almost every village in the kingdom their emissaries had found means to distribute gratuitously among the lower classes publications of a very dangerous tendency; that, under the specious mask of Reform, they had propagated the most destructive doctrines, sparing no pains to excite discontent in the minds of the populace; that they recommended to imitation the revolutionary example of France, for attaining their objects; that the time had now arrived for the people to redress themselves; and had held out to the lower classes the strong temptation of an agrarian law; that they had secretly negotiated with the Jacobins of France for the subversion of the British constitution; when to their machinations were imputed the most alarming of the riots which had broken out under various false pretences;—was it not unavoidable, was it not reasonable, that the public mind should feel a considerable degree of agitation, oppressed with anxious forebodings, and dreadful apprehensions

¹ Life of Fox, vol. iv. p. 304.

of some political convulsion already in preparation and ready to explode ? ¹

Mr. Pitt stated, that when the Convention received the addresses sent to them by several English societies, too contemptible in the opinion of some even for notice, they always considered such addresses declaratory of the sentiments of the English nation, and he quoted the letter of Monge, the minister of the French Marine, in which he said, “ The King of England and his Parliament mean to make war upon us : ² will the English republicans suffer it ? Already their freemen show their discontent, and their repugnance to bear arms against their brethren in France. Well, we will fly to their succour ; we will make a descent upon their island . . . then will the tyranny of their government be soon destroyed.” ³ Was there not a cause then, not for a panic, which is a foolish fear, but for rational alarm, not only amongst the landed gentry, but amongst all owners of property, and lovers of order ? And what could have averted some dreadful catastrophe if they had not combined to show these traitors, who scrupled not to say, that the attainment

¹ Annual Register for 1792, p. 247.

² He inferred this from the increase of our forces by sea and land, which was only a prudent precaution of self-defence against the known and avowed hostility of the Convention, who gladly made use of the inference as one of the pretexts for declaring war. It is to be feared there are those now in France, who, if they were at the head of affairs, would pursue the same line of conduct ; but happily for the peace of Europe, the destinies of that country are not now under the sway of a tyrannical and dishonest republic.

³ State Papers, Annual Register, p. 264.

of their objects would be worth the expense of blood, that there was a large majority against them, determined to frustrate their designs? Whenever a fatal epidemic breaks out, wise men will not sit down with folded arms to await their destiny; they will hasten to adopt remedies, to organize sanitary precautions, and to remove, as far as they can, all predisposing causes; but if they succeed, and because they succeed in arresting its progress, will any sane man argue that, therefore, there was no danger? It was because the majority of Englishmen were attached to their institutions, that it was necessary to use strong measures to prevent a turbulent and unscrupulous minority from disturbing the peace of the country. Yes,—it was well for England that her gentry were at last “thoroughly frightened,” and roused to stand upon their defence. Lord John would have had them resemble the lamb described by Pope,—

“Pleas’d to the last he crops the flow’ry food,
And licks the hand just rais’d to shed his blood.”

With respect to doing justice to the French nation, he will scarcely deny, that if any one is likely to do justice to them, it would be a countryman of their own, a general employed by the Convention—the general who won the battle of Jemappes, and conquered the Netherlands for them. What then is the picture which Dumouriez gives of them at that time, after the 10th of August? He says, “All the depart-

ments (but more especially the wretched city of Paris) were delivered up to pillage, to denunciations, proscriptions, and massacres. No Frenchman, the assassins and their accomplices excepted, had either his life or his property in security. Bands of pretended federates ran through, and laid waste, the departments; and of the seven hundred individuals who composed this despotical and anarchical body, four or five hundred groaned and decreed, and decreed and groaned, exposed to the exterminating sword of the Marats and Robespierres . . . The decree of the 19th of November has provoked all nations, by holding out to them our aid, provided they will consent to disorganize themselves During the last month all the decrees have been marked by the most insatiable avarice, by the blindest pride, and more especially by the desire of maintaining power by calling to the most important posts of the state no other than daring, incapable, and criminal men, by driving away or murdering men of enlightened and high character; and by supporting a phantom of a republic which their errors in administration and in policy, as well as their crimes, had rendered impracticable. . . . We see throughout the tyranny which flatters the wicked, because the wicked alone can support the tyranny; and in its pride and its ignorance this Convention orders the conquest and disorganization of the whole universe. . . . And what has it done to maintain the war which it has provoked against all the powers of Europe? ¹

¹ State Papers, Annual Register, p. 306. .

The only way of "showing a disposition to do justice" to these persons, would be by sentencing them to be hanged; and the proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick was, after all, not so much to be blamed, in making them responsible for the safety of the King under the penalty of losing their own heads. And here another gross misrepresentation has to be noticed. Lord John says, "If the Allies had reached Paris, if they had liberated Louis, if they had hung the majority of the Convention" (as they deserved), "and shot thousands of mayors, magistrates and peasantry, according to their own declared intentions, how would such proceedings have tranquillized France?" If they had liberated Louis and enabled him to take up his residence in some frontier town, which was their declared wish, where he could negotiate in safety with his subjects, France would have been tranquillized, as far as the Allies were concerned; for they would have gained their object. Their proclamations had distinctly stated that this was the only object of the invasion, and they disavowed, as already observed, all desire to intermeddle with the interior concerns of France. The imputation of sanguinary intentions is wholly incorrect: it was only in case of open resistance that punishment was to be inflicted, which is entirely suppressed in the accusation.

War without giving quarter is very shocking, but by no means unusual; and that was the whole amount of the threatened severities, threatened for the sake of

intimidation, but not carried into execution ; and even the Convention would have kept their heads, richly as they deserved to lose them, if Louis had been left uninjured. They, as well as the mayors, and magistrates, in the provincial towns, were made responsible for any crimes which they might and ought to have prevented ; so that a great deal of virtuous indignation has been thrown away upon imaginary crimes. But all this misrepresentation was not without an object. Lord John wanted it to assist him in his vituperation of Mr. Pitt, and give some colour to his next assault upon that minister. “The tacit consent and secret favour given to this invasion of France was a serious mistake” on Pitt’s part. As long as the favour was secret, it is difficult to see how any statesmanship was concerned in it. Lord John probably concurs with Mr. Fox in condemning it as “a horrid and profligate scheme to ruin the liberty of the world.” But most Englishmen, no doubt, viewed it with secret favour, in which I presume to think there was no harm at all. I should much wonder if it were otherwise : but why is “the tacit consent” of the Government to be reprobated ? What would he have had them do ? Go to war with Austria and Prussia if they persisted in the invasion, and so find themselves in the ridiculous position of being engaged in war with both the opposed parties at once ? With the Allies because they would not take our advice ; and with France, because we withdrew our ambassador from Paris after

the 10th of August, and would not accredit another to a government so unstable, that Brissot, who in the height of his popularity was the author of the war, was guillotined with twenty of his adherents before that year was closed.

As our connexion with the Allies had nothing to do with the war which Mr. Pitt declared; so our separation from them would not have prevented it. Even Mr. Fox with all his democratical sympathies, if he had been in office, would not have gone the length of entering into an alliance with France, and yielding everything that she demanded. Lord John Russell says, that "his course would evidently have been an armed negotiation!" A strange oversight for any one to make who has read the history of those times. Why it was the very fact of our having assumed the attitude of armed negotiation, which was one of the pretences for the declaration of war. Unarmed negotiation, if it means anything, implies a menace that if the negotiation fails the negotiator is ready to have recourse to arms. This course therefore Mr. Fox could not take, unless he had made up his mind to go to war in case of failure; for he had said in the debate on the peace with Russia, "I cannot conceive any case in which a great and wise nation having committed itself by a menace, can withdraw that menace without disgrace; . . . without seriously meaning to enforce it."¹ Again, "he would

¹ Life of Fox, vol. ii. p. 206.

have taken ample security for the independence of Holland.”—What security could he have had when dealing with persons of such bad faith, that at the very time when they were promising to respect its neutrality, they had issued orders to invade its territory?—And “he would have guaranteed France against another invasion.” As if Austria and Prussia were provinces of England, bound to make war or peace at her dictation. This is a specimen of that spirit, which in other persons would be called presumptuousness, but which is a well-known characteristic of the noble Lord; and what glory may we not expect to accrue to this country in her foreign relations under the conduct of a minister who has so much confidence in her political omnipotence, that he fully relies upon it as a means by which that success might have been achieved which Mr. Pitt failed to obtain.

Again, Mr. Pitt declined to expose England to the humiliation which Spain experienced, of preferring a request which was sure to be scornfully rejected; but that too was another “serious error.” Mr. Fox would have succeeded; and so would Lord John Russell; but how? He would have advised our King to say to the French Ambassador, in May, 1792, that “he would not allow any interference in the internal government of France, nor any conquest by France under whatever pretext it might be covered. He would probably have saved the King of France’s life, and prevented a war in

Europe.”¹ Can Lord John be really serious in making this statement, or is it a secret satire upon diplomacy to show with how little wisdom he thinks mankind may be governed? Of course, the Allies would have answered; “We have not the slightest intention or thought of interfering with the internal government of France:” nor had they till two months afterwards, and then only for the personal safety and liberation of Louis, who though not yet in prison, was not at liberty to go where he pleased. But they would have added; “We entirely object to your offensive language. You talk of not allowing us to do this or that! We cannot allow you to speak to us in that peremptory way.” On the other hand, the French would have equally objected to such dictatorial style, and might say as the Hebrew said to Moses, when he interposed, and asked, “Why smitest thou thy brother? Who made thee a prince and a judge over us?” As to their conquests, they would easily have contrived to delude our credulous Minister, and to pacify him with smooth words till interference would be useless, all the while laughing at him in their sleeves, from the knowledge that they had actually then 130,000 men ready to pounce upon the Netherlands, which were only guarded by 10,000 Austrians, and which they had already poisoned with discontent. After this, the conquest being once accomplished, according to Lord John’s own doctrine, and that of

¹ Life of Fox, vol. ii. p. 346.

Mr. Fox, "the only wise course that remained would be to make peace with events which had been completed, and accept a state of affairs, against which no providence had guarded."¹

And again, the enemy "stands upon the ground of conquest, and we must agree to treat with him with regard to his present posture."² It is true that the first attempt was not successful, but the second was, and France extended her frontiers on every side. She was obtaining that preponderance in Europe by appropriating to herself the territories of her neighbours on every side, by which the balance of power was destroyed; and therefore, on the authority of Mr. Fox himself, when he was in a patriotic mood, there was no alternative for the British Government but war: for even he did not counsel the indignity of submission, when there had been danger of a rupture with France, from her designing to assist the malcontents in Holland, to subvert their government. He maintained the soundness of "the political maxim, that Great Britain ought to look to the situation of affairs on the Continent, and take such measures as should tend best to preserve the balance of power in Europe: upon that maxim he had founded all his political conduct . . . there are but few and short steps between the maintenance of that balance, and the insecurity of our national independence; the balance of power can only be overthrown by the prepon-

¹ Life of Fox. vol. ii. p. 299.

² *Ibid.* p. 303.

derance of one great state . . . a great preponderant state would threaten the independence of all its neighbours, and Great Britain would only have a choice between submission and war.”¹ *Oh si sic omnia!*

Happily for us, our foreign minister acts better than he writes. He acts upon the political maxim of Mr. Fox, though he condemns it in Mr. Pitt. But it would have been better for his reputation as a statesman, if he had abstained from a sentimental lamentation about “the blood that flowed, and the treasures that were expended in the two wars; and about kings and nations engaging in a contest which the event proved to be unnecessary.”² Surely if Mr. Fox was right, nothing could more strongly demonstrate the wisdom of his maxim, than the event of those two wars. The preponderance of one great state was taken away, and that balance of power was restored which it has been the constant aim of the European nations in general, whether in peace or war, to maintain unimpaired. The event proved them to be necessary. After all, however, it appears that this lofty arbitration to be imposed upon the contending parties, by which the life of Louis might have been saved and war prevented, was not the right mode of proceeding; for Mr. Pitt “committed the mistake of thinking that England could remain an unconcerned spectator of a war against all liberty on one side, and all monarchy on the other.”³

¹ Life of Fox, vol. ii. p. 202.

² *Ibid.* p. 231.

³ *Ibid.* p. 346.

What! after labouring so much to prove that Mr. Pitt was guilty of involving his country in war, is he now to be condemned for his neutrality? If it was a mistake to suppose that England could be an unconcerned spectator of the war, it was necessary to side with one party or the other. For the futility of any other interference was manifest enough; and Lord Grenville stated with good reason, that though England was ready to concur in the re-establishment of peace, amongst the powers of Europe, by such means as were proper to produce that effect, yet the intervention of her counsels or good offices would be of no use unless they were desired by all parties "interested."¹ Since then to remain unconcerned spectators of the war, was either a great mistake or an impossibility, nothing remained for us to do, but to side with one party or the other; and we may conclude that if it had been our good fortune to have had Lord John Russell at the head of our councils instead of Mr. Pitt, he as a Whig would, Brennus-like, have thrown his sword into the scale of liberty and France.

But the dilemma is most inaccurately stated. It is true that on one side the war was against all monarchy,—for so it had been proclaimed in the Convention—but it is not true, that on the other side it was against all liberty. Here truth is sacrificed to antithesis. The Allies made no war against British liberty, or Swiss liberty, or American liberty; or even

¹ State Papers, Annual Register, 1792, p. 261.

against liberty in France to reconstruct any government they liked, under a monarch. They might have adopted the English model without one word of remonstrance from the Allies.

It was only a war against the French interpretation of liberty—liberty to commit crimes—to molest others—to impose their own laws and opinions upon their neighbours—to unhinge society, and to subvert governments by promoting rebellion and encouraging insurrection. No Englishman, except a disciple of Mr. Fox, could hesitate as to which side should be supported by those who could not be unconcerned spectators of the war. But Mr. Fox had said that it was a horrid league to effect the ruin of the liberty of man; and that was enough for Lord John Russell. It is not worth while to expose all the extravagant misrepresentations and sophisms of the great Whig orator, who might assert many things in the House of Commons, which he would not have committed to writing, although Lord John usually adopts his sentiments as the oracles of the idol which he worships. Nor indeed is it desirable to pursue the wearisome work of laying bare the fallacies of his disciple much farther. But there is one more floundering accusation of Mr. Pitt, which must not pass unnoticed;—"He made his country clearly the aggressor in the war."¹ Now, how does Lord John attempt to prove this? The argument upon which he seems

¹ Life of Fox, vol. ii. p. 347.

most to rely is, that our government had not committed the folly of offering to guarantee France against a renewal of the Duke of Brunswick's march, and the execution of the majority of the Convention as traitors and murderers.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader again, that the Duke's threat of vengeance was only intended to make the Republicans responsible for the life of the King, as long as such interference could save him; but when it was too late, nothing was ever said about punishing his murderers. Indeed, the Convention themselves took very good care in the course of the following year to save him that trouble. During the truce in September, before the retreat of the Prussians from the French territory, the Duke of Brunswick had thus expressed his objects to General Thouvenot: "We know that we have no right to prevent a nation from giving itself laws, and from tracing out its internal government: we do not wish it. We are only interested for the fate of the King. Assure us that a place will be assigned him in the new order of things, under any denomination whatever, and his Majesty the King of Prussia will return to his own states and become your ally."¹ Could any arbitration have proposed more moderate terms than these? But it was useless to negotiate with the men who then misgoverned France. At the time, however, when the probability of war was discussed in Parliament, the Allies

¹ Annual Register for 1793, p. 51.

were no longer on French ground ; the French army had invaded Germany, and the Allies had much more reason to ask for a guarantee against another invasion. But one of the most extraordinary assumptions of this strange expositor of statesmanship is, that we could have demanded in favour of the Allies the evacuation of the conquered territories without their being parties to the treaty, and consenting to the counter stipulations to which France would be entitled. The only other argument, if argument it can be called, by which he tries to bolster up his false reasoning, is derived from “the temper in which the Government viewed the failure of the attempt to divide France and to crush democracy.” Mr. Pitt certainly could not wish well to those principles which he described as breaking all the bonds of legislation that connected civil society, established in opposition to every law human or divine, and presumptuously relying on the authority of wild and delusive theories.¹ It is no wonder, therefore, that Lord Grenville expressed his disappointment that the attempt to make head against those democratical principles which threatened to desolate all Europe had failed ; but on this subject we may say to Lord John, in the language of Cicero : “Habes quod accusatori est maxime optandum, confitentem sereum, sed tamen ita confitentem, se in eâ parte fuisse, quâ te,” Mr. Fox ;² for he also had a share in it.

In the debate on the Canada question that gentle-

¹ Annual Register for 1793, p. 262.

² Orat. pro Ligurio.

man had complained of the unkindness of Mr. Burke in imputing to him democratical or republican sentiments. In fact, however much Lord John may take it under his protection, Mr. Fox had no affection for the democracy then reigning in France. But with respect to dividing France, nothing can be more unfortunate than his blind attachment to that charge. He reiterates it in every form of words ; he harps upon that string for ever, without perceiving the falseness of the note which it utters. He talks perpetually about “sharing in the spoils of France,” the “division of France,” the “partition of France,” the “dismemberment of France,”¹ till one is almost disposed to exclaim with the Latin orator, “Quousque tandem, Catilina, abutere patientiâ nostrâ”² (Catiline was a Whig) ; for there is not a shadow of foundation for the charge, in any speech, in any document, in any state paper, from first to last. Lord Grenville had said in a private letter, not meant for the public ear, not in his public capacity, but confidentially to his brother, that he was glad “we were not tempted to join in the glorious enterprise of the Allies by the hope of sharing the spoils in the division of France ;” alluding, of course, to the prospect of gaining possession of some of the French Colonies. From this vague and careless expression the whole accusation is inferred ; imput-

¹ Life of Fox, vol. ii. p. 272.

² “How long, O Catiline, will you continue to exhaust our patience ?”

ing views to the Allies which they distinctly denied. Both Courts declared in their manifesto, on August 4, that they entertained no views of personal aggrandizement, which they expressly renounced.

The Duke of Brunswick declared before he invaded France, that they had no intention to enrich themselves by making conquests; and the Prince of Cobourg proclaimed that he did not come upon the French territory to make conquests, but to give to France her constitutional King, and the constitution which she had formed for herself, and might rectify as she pleased, if it was imperfect. In the prosecution of the war, it may be said that Valenciennes was taken, and that the Emperor claimed it as his own. But what was this compared with the number of large territories which the French had previously taken possession of—the Duchies of Deux Ponts, and Luxembourg, Trèves, and the Netherlands? Will any one contend that the right of invasion was all on one side; that it was innocent in the Democracy of France, and criminal in the German Empire? That the one might exercise the severest tyranny (for at Deux Ponts, the clergy, the nobles, and the judges were banished), while the other was quietly to submit and be precluded from the most moderate retaliation, like the servant in Terence, who remonstrated with his master on the inequality of their position: “*Tu verberas; Ego vapulo tantùm?*”¹

¹ “You are the beater, I am only the beatee.”

So far were the Allies in the first instance from wishing to appropriate anything to themselves, that after their first successes, they issued a proclamation on the 20th July, not banishing the magistrates, as the French had done at Deux Ponts, but reinstating their predecessors in the offices which they held before the Revolution, and re-establishing the ancient laws.¹ They disclaimed conquest as long as they had reason to hope that the largest part of the population favoured their views; but after the death of Louis, when they encountered unmixed hostility, they naturally took the course which all nations adopt in war. The object of each party is to cripple the other as much as possible, by making conquests, which, according to their importance, and the relative position of the combatants, may either be retained at the conclusion of the war, like Malta and Gibraltar, and the Cape, or surrendered for equivalent advantages. Thus, the peace of Amiens was purchased, by the surrender of many conquests by England. We may well, therefore, “be lost in amazement at the effrontery” which could, in the first place, indite such maudlin sentiment as this, of which a schoolboy would be ashamed: “When we find an Emperor of Germany appropriating a fortress, and a King of Great Britain conquering an island, we are lost in amazement at the effrontery which could cover a scheme of plunder with the cloak of religion and

¹ State Papers, Annual Register for 1793, p. 310.

humanity ;”¹ and in the next place, could any one on such flimsy pretences accuse Mr. Pitt of being the aggressor in this war? In 1814, the nations of Europe, taught by bitter experience, and “the insane provocations” of Napoleon I., entered with heart and soul into that coalition which “the wisdom and foresight of Mr. Pitt” had projected long before, and effected the objects which he had in view. They marched upon Paris, and restored the constitutional King, and took from France her plunder and the dominions which she had unjustly usurped. But there was no partition, no division, no dismemberment, no sharing in the spoils of her proper territory, and the kingdom was preserved in its original integrity, as one of the first-rate powers of Europe. And now, *causa finita est*,—the pleadings are over; and to the shade of Pitt, if he could be supposed to care for the opinion of posterity, we may safely predict that this will be the verdict of mankind, “*Solventur risu tabulæ, tu missus abibis.*” That is to say, the lawyers will laugh as they fold up their briefs, and you may depart unharmed by this impeachment.

Lord John Russell, however, is a much more reasonable person when he throws off the shackles of party, and allows himself to take a common sense view of international law. In his speech at Aberdeen, on the state of Italy, he is reported to have made these just

¹ Life of Fox, vol. ii. p. 378.

remarks : “ I think with regard to this matter of state and nations regulating their own government, it is not very different from that of a man regulating his own house. But at the same time it is possible, that a man may manage his house in such a way as to be a great nuisance to his neighbours : for instance, he may start a pyrotechnic manufactory in his house, and amuse himself with sending up sky-rockets into the air every evening, in order to see the effect. This would not seem to be agreeable, because other householders might conceive that their houses might be set on fire. Instead of wishing to encourage the gentleman to do whatever he pleases in his own house, the Lord Provost might be called on to interfere with that gentleman, because he was likely to set fire to the houses of his neighbours. But has a ything of that sort occurred in Italy ?” Of course not, and therefore it is difficult to see why it was introduced, unless it is to be looked at as a palinodia which his conscience compelled him to offer as an atonement to the manes of Mr. Pitt ; for it is a full justification of that minister’s interference with France, even if he had been the aggressor, only the argument is much stronger in this case ;—because France had not only been indulging in pyrotechnic displays, but had set fire to her own house, and had declared her intention of involving those of her neighbours in the same conflagration. And they might well be startled by the truth of that saying, “ *Tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.*” In the spirit of good

sense he quite agrees with Mr. Pitt, in thinking all nations should be allowed to have the sort of government which they prefer, *provided they do not interfere with their neighbours*, as the French undoubtedly did.

If further proof be required of Mr. Pitt's devotion to pacific policy, as soon as a diminution of danger appeared to warrant a hope of success, we have it in the despatch of Lord Grenville, declaring the minister's anxiety to make it evident to the world that the negotiation in 1796 failed from the hostile determination of those who governed France, and from their resolution to admit of no terms of peace which were consistent with the safety, interests, and honour of the other powers of Europe.¹ And again, in the following year, when Lord Malmesbury was sent to Lisle to renew the negotiation, "Lord Grenville was decidedly opposed to this step," and long argued it with Pitt; but the latter remained firm, repeatedly declaring, that it was his duty, as an English Minister and a *Christian*, to use every effort to stop so bloody and wasting a war. He said he would stifle every feeling of pride to the utmost to produce the desired result.² Why, then, was this result not obtained? Because, as we learn from the negotiator, "there was a fixed determination on the part of the French Government to continue the war with England."³ Of the five Directors then

¹ Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, &c., vol. iii. p. 301.

² *Ibid.* p. 369.

³ *Ibid.* p. 518.

ruling in France, two, Barthelemi and Carnot, were moderate men, who would probably have listened to reason, and on that account were obnoxious to the other three, who were violent haters of England, and who succeeded in turning their colleagues out of office. The just conclusion, from all the correspondence is, that Pitt was not only sincere in his overtures for peace, but anxiously eager to obtain it on almost any conditions, short of dishonour.¹ Even this exception seems scarcely to have had due weight with the minister in the estimate of his royal master; as appears from a conversation between the King and Mr. George Rose, mentioned by the latter in a letter to his father. He says:—

“I hunted yesterday with the harriers, and had an hour and a half’s conversation with the owner of them. Nothing can exceed his eagerness for the result of Lord Malmesbury’s mission, respecting which, and a variety of subjects, his conversation was as unreserved as possible. We were nearly all the time *tête-à-tête*. I went out again to-day, in hopes of renewing the conversation, on account of the news of Lord Malmesbury’s arrival. After having told me the circumstances you mention, and that nothing could be inferred from what had passed, he seemed inclined to think the negotiation would fail; as, if the French were really desirous of peace, they would have made some opening, and not observed such extreme circum-

¹ Lord Malmesbury’s Diaries, vol. iii. p. 598.

spection, and waited to catch from Lord M. what he may have to offer. He stated that the hitch to be apprehended, perhaps foreseen, is respecting our allies; and, going into the question, considered it precisely in the same point of view in which it struck us, and dwelt forcibly, though temperately, on the precipitation which forced on the negotiation without a previous concert with the Emperor, when nothing rendered haste more necessary than it was some weeks back; and added, that though we felt strongly the necessity of pleasing Parliament, foreigners were not obliged to feel it equally with us, or be expected to understand it. All this rendered a perfect understanding the more indispensable. He doubted, extremely, whether the Emperor would agree to send any one to treat for him; and said, we must expect a good scolding from the Empress of Russia, to whom the Emperor has complained of us. He added that in one respect they gave us a right to insist upon bringing our allies into the negotiation, as they said they must consult theirs. He is extremely glad the business is in Lord M.'s hands, and not in those of a friend of ours (meaning Mr. Pitt), who, he says, would have begun by yielding up everything."

In an undated letter from the King, which, however, must plainly be referred to this same year, 1796, he expresses the same feeling on this subject more strongly in a postscript:—

"The paper received this morning from Mr. P. would require much more time for inspection, before

any opinion was given on its purport, than the press of the moment will admit. As it seems to allude to a decision of Council being made on the question in the course of this day, and I am desirous Mr. P. should communicate to them my view of the subject, previous to their forming any formal opinion, I therefore request that my suggestions may be canvassed, without attending to the irregular mode in which they are stated, as it was impossible to arrange them properly when placed so rapidly on paper.

“I think this country has taken every humiliating step for seeking peace that the warmest advocates for this object could suggest.”

It will be seen that this is a very sufficient refutation of the injurious and unjust suspicion, entertained by Lord Holland, that Mr. Pitt “would have sacrificed his opinion (with regard to the Roman Catholics) rather than his power, if he had not foreseen the necessity of making a peace humiliating to his pride.”¹ The former part of the King’s letter may possibly have referred to a proposition for strengthening the administration, by admitting into it some of the opposition; for Mr. Fox himself seems to have had a lucid interval at that period, though not indeed quite free from his usual obliquity of political vision. He told the House of Commons that the Directory was composed of very reasonable men, who would be quite ready to make peace upon any reasonable terms. We

¹ Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. i. p. 171.

have seen, that in this, as well as in most of his other opinions, he was entirely mistaken. However, he seemed to rejoice in the design of offering peace, and anticipated, in the event of its rejection, a unanimous support of the war. Mr. Pitt, therefore, not calculating upon the brittleness of his loyalty, seems, in the following letter, to have had hopes of his support; though, like a prudent general, he mustered all his forces, in case he should have to encounter war within the House, as well as on the Continent.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Downing Street, Dec. 26th, 1794.

“DEAR ROSE,

“It seems indispensably necessary that we should, in our address on Thursday, renew in the strongest manner the assurances of support, and express a decided opinion on the merits of the case. The enemy has given us, in all respects, such unanswerable ground that one hardly knows where there can be a difference of opinion: but the moment is so important, that I am more than usually anxious for as full an attendance as possible. I hope you will be able to muster some recruits, both from Hampshire, and on the road; and whoever comes, will, I am sure, pass his holidays more pleasantly afterwards in consequence. No news from our fleets. I am submitting to the confinement of a London fireside, in order to get rid by Thursday of a cold, which, if it continued, would place me rather *hors de combat*.

“Ever yours, W. P.”

[That some advances were made to the opposition at this time, may be inferred from an expression in one of Fox's letters: "There is a great unwillingness in our friends to have anything like a junction with the Pitts and Grenvilles."¹ There might be an unwillingness to change sides altogether, but there was no reluctance to disavow Fox's policy, for in the Commons he was left in a minority of 37 to 212, and in the Peers of 8 to 86. Two years previously, as has been already mentioned, a large body of his party deserted him, on account of his sympathy with the Jacobins of France, and the dangerous state of the country; and their leaders were admitted into the Cabinet. This, however, gave much dissatisfaction to Mr. Rose, who unburthened his mind upon the subject to the Bishop of Lincoln, in the subjoined letter.—ED.]

MR. ROSE TO THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

"I directed a letter to you on the subject of the new arrangement of the Government one day last week to Buckden. Since writing, I learn that Lord Spencer is to be the Privy Seal. The Cabinet therefore will stand thus:—

Mr. Pitt.	Duke of Portland.
Lord Grenville.	Earl Fitzwilliam.
Mr. Dundas.	Lord Chancellor.
Lord Chatham.	Lord Spencer.
Lord Amherst.	Lord Mansfield.
Duke of Richmond.	Mr. Wyndham.
Lord Hawkesbury.	

¹ Vol. iii. p. 222.

This is not what I think ought to have been proposed by the one or submitted to by the other. It has not now the appearance of taking in two or three men of considerable weight or talents who were acting with Mr. Pitt, and by whose means he wished to give additional efficiency to his administration ; but of a junction of parties on a footing of mutual interest, or of sharing power to preserve a continuance of it.

“I have my fears that this measure will convert an effectual support into a weak assistance, or what is worse, into embarrassments in the deliberations of the Cabinet. The only considerable talents gained are Wyndham’s, and I conceive him to be an impracticable man. These are the considerations which disturb me most. There are others from which much future inconvenience may arise. Numbers of Mr. Pitt’s friends, who would have liked marks of favour or of honour, remained perfectly contented and satisfied without them, aware of the difficulties in the way of their obtaining them ; almost every one of whom will feel mortification and grow uneasy when they see the Duke of Portland’s adherents carrying their point. His Grace, and those who come in with him, may be honourable, fair men, but he is an atrocious jobber. My next apprehension is, that Mr. Wyndham, who will lead that set, will induce Mr. Pitt, or strengthen him in his determination, to pursue the war in Flanders and on the Northern Frontier *offensively*, by sending farther numerous and powerful reinforcements from this country, when the Emperor and the King of Prussia are relaxing in their co-operation. The

number of lives, and the amount of finance expended in expeditions must render the Government unpopular, and disincline the nation to a war, the continuance of which I still think is indispensably necessary to our existence, and the tranquillity of all civil society.

“We cannot carry on operations on such an extended scale as I allude to, without increasing the capital of our debt next year four or five-and-twenty millions, if we borrow in the Three Per Cents. Such an enormous expense, and consequent taxes to the amount of a million, without a hope of attaining anything effectual, except in sanguine minds, is to me extremely uncomfortable.

“I have great confidence in Mr. Pitt. His full information on points which I know only superficially, and, above all, his superior judgment, sometimes encourage me even under the most unpromising appearances; but on this occasion I cannot raise my hopes much. I stated to him in conversation a few days ago what occurred to me respecting the carrying on the war *offensively* on the Continent; but on the Cabinet arrangements it would have been useless, as they were settled. From the very bottom of my heart I hope I may be mistaken as to the consequences of both; I wish for that, and pray for it on the strongest of all possible grounds—strong personal attachment and affection, and a conviction that his continuing to direct the councils of this country is absolutely necessary to our existence. There is not a personal motive which can influence my mind on the subject. I feel some relief in thus opening it to you, to whom alone

I can express myself with the freedom I have herein done.

“Mr. Pitt will learn from Lord Cornwallis the true state of matters in Flanders and on the Rhine; and we must trust he will decide for the best now. Respecting the next campaign, there will be time and opportunities for deliberation.

“You will, I am very certain, consider this communication as sacredly secret; part of it may be useful.

“I am,

G. R.

“Old Palace Yard, July 14th, 1794.”

[While these changes were going on in the administration of affairs in Great Britain, the fortune of war was turning against our arms. The allies, on whose assistance we had relied, preferred their own private quarrels to the public good. The jealousies that have always disunited the Courts of Berlin and Vienna, rendered all concerted plans of the campaign abortive; and the best and honestest general amongst them, the Duke of Brunswick, retired in disgust from the command of the Prussian army. But he thought it necessary to explain his conduct to the Duke of York in the following letter; and it is much to the credit of that prince, that the Duke of Brunswick seems to have held him in such high estimation.—ED.]

FROM THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK TO THE
DUKE OF YORK.¹

“ SIR,

Your Royal Highness inspires me with the most lively gratitude for deigning to interest yourself in my withdrawal from the army of the King. Nothing but circumstances as harassing as they are uncommon, such as those in which I find myself involved, could have induced me to take a step so afflicting to myself.

“ It has been infinitely flattering to me to have sometimes found occasion to approach your Royal Highness and to admire the talents which place you in the rank of the great men of the age. Europe has need of such, in a struggle where near 400,000 armed men and eighty vessels of the line, assisted by an intestine war, have not yet been able to check the confederation of crime which tyrannizes over France. I consider myself very happy that you have deigned to remark my zeal for the public good. What a misfortune it is that internal and external dissensions have often paralysed

¹ “ MONSIEUR,

“ Votre Altesse Royale m’inspire la plus vive reconnoissance en daignant prendre part à ma retraite de l’armée du Roi. Il n’y a que des circonstances aussi facheuses que peu communes, comme celles dans lesquelles je me suis trouvé enveloppé, qui ayent pu me conseiller une démarche aussi affligeante pour moi.

“ Il m’a été infiniment flatteur d’avoir trouvé quelquefois l’occasion d’approcher Votre Altesse Royale et d’admirer en Elle les talens qui vont la mettre au rang des grands hommes du Siècle. L’Europe en a besoin dans une lutte où près de quatre cent mille hommes armés, et quatre vingt Vaisseaux de Ligne, secourus par une guerre intestine, n’ont pas encore pu mettre un frein à cette fédération de crimes qui tyrannise la France. Je m’estime très heureux de ce

the movements of armies at periods when the greatest activity was required. If after the surrender of Mayence we could have fallen upon Houchard and beaten him, we might have prevented the march of the reinforcement towards the army of the north, and consequently the check before Dunkirk.

“ Saar-Louis ill-provisioned, and at that time almost without protection from bombs, would probably have fallen in a fortnight. Then Alsace would have found itself turned by the Saar; the taking of the lines of the Lantre would have been followed by solid advantages, and if the enemy’s army of the Rhine had by all these means been separated from that of the Moselle, and we could have gained the bridge of Boucquenom, Pfalzbourg would have been threatened, and Landau would probably have fallen. Pardon me for imparting to you my regrets: I feel all the uselessness of complaints, but they give me a momentary comfort. Permit me here to add, once more, that if you have any power over my successor, conjure him to employ all his credit to prevent the too great subdivision of the army into separate detachments. Every

qu’Elle a daigné remarquer mon zèle pour le bien. Quel malheur que des dissensions internes, et externes, ont souvent paralysé les mouvemens des armées, dans des époques où la plus grande activité auroit été nécessaire.

“ Si après la reddition de Mayence l’on fut tombé sur Houchard, qu’on l’eût poussé et battu, l’on prévenoit la marche du renfort vers l’armée du Nord, et par conséquent l’échec de Dunkerque.

“ Saar-Louis mal approvisionné et alors presque sans abri contre les bombes, auroit tombé vraisemblablement dans quinze jours. Des-lors l’Alsace se trouveroit tournée par la Saar; la prise des lignes de la Lautre auroit eu des suites solides, et si l’armée ennemie du Rhin eut été par tous ces moyens séparée de celle de la Moselle, et que

where feeble, it is thus reduced to act upon the defensive ; a species of warfare which it is necessary to avoid with the enemy opposed to us. I reckon upon departing hence on the 27th or 28th, according to the date of M. de Möellendorf's arrival, and when I shall have had time to put him in possession of all the details. I cannot say how much it costs me to separate from your Royal Highness, and to quit an army which has inspired me with the highest degree of esteem, admiration, and attachment. Nothing equals, nor ever will equal, the very sincere attachment and high consideration with which I have the honour to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your Royal Highness's

“ Most humble and most obedient servant,

“ CHARLES DUKE OF BRUNSWICK.

“ Mayence, 24th January, 1794.”

L'on eut gagné le pont de Boucquenom, Pfalzbourg étoit menacé et Landau seroit tombé vraisemblablement.—Pardonnez que je vous communique mes regrets. Je sens toute l'inutilité des plaintes, elles soulagent cependant un moment. Permettez que j'ajoute encore ici que si Elle a quelque pouvoir sur mon successeur, qu' Elle le conjure d'employer tout son crédit pour prévenir la trop grande subdivision de l'armée en divers Détachemens. Faible partout, l'on est réduit à la défensive, ce qui est un genre de guerre qu'il est nécessaire d'éviter avec l'ennemi qui nous est opposé. Je compte partir d'ici le 27 ou le 28, selon le jour que M. de Möellendorf arrivera, et que j'aurai eu le tems de lui remettre tout ce qui regarde nos détails. Il m'en coûte infiniment de m'éloigner de votre altesse Royale, et de quitter une armée qui m'a inspiré le plus haut degré d'estime, d'admiration et d'attachement.

“ Rien n'égale et n'égallera jamais l'attachement très sincère et la haute considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

“ Monsieur,

“ De votre Altesse Royale

“ Le très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

“ CHARLES DUC DE BRUNSWIC.”

“ à Mayence, ce 24 Janvier, 1794.”

[Mr. Pitt's attempts to conciliate the Duke of Northumberland, by acceding to his demands, totally failed, and his dissatisfaction continued to increase, till at last, notwithstanding his previously expressed contentedness with the constitution of the Government, he joined the revolutionary party, and open hostilities broke out between him and the minister, who shortly afterwards insisted upon his joining the militia or resigning his command.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Downing Street, Sept. 10th, 1795.

“DEAR ROSE,

“I have no scruple about attacking the Duke of Northumberland at Launceston, or anywhere else where there is a chance of doing it with effect ; and I think Cull's good intentions should be encouraged as much as possible. Saltash, I believe, must now wait till we meet. It is suggested to me that on the new right the Butler interest is far from decisive, and that government might with proper management do a great deal.

“The Duke of Leeds has written to his agent to do everything in favour of Gregor. I have just now written to Lord Hawkesbury to see what can be done respecting Lady Bute. You once mentioned an arrangement respecting the office in Bahama, which would open one here for Mr. Sturges, of Windsor. I wish you would send me the name. If this will answer, it must supersede Mr. Chrystie's application.

I shall stay in this neighbourhood another week at least, and probably a little longer if the King returns as is expected.

“Before that time I hope you will be perfectly recovered from your accident, and be able to return to town, as I should be glad of a day or two with you before I set out. I am very sorry for the awkwardness respecting Rolle, which is certainly unpleasant, though he seems to make it more serious than he need.

“Yours sincerely,
“W. PITT.

“I forgot to return Sir R. Cotton’s letter sooner. I had, before it came, engaged myself in favour of Mr. Seabright, who I believe has much the best interest, and is more to be depended upon than Sir Corbett, whom I do not take to be as steady as his relation, Sir R. Cotton.”

[Careless as Mr. Pitt was about his own affairs, his anxiety to make some provision for his friend, or at least for his family, is evinced in the two following letters; the conclusion of the second is, as usual, full of matters of business; but in the first we see him intent on recreation, which is very unusual.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“DEAR ROSE, “Downing Street, Friday, Sept. 11th, 1795.

“I have had an opportunity of conversing with the Chancellor respecting the reversion of Clerk of

Parliaments, and, as far as he is personally concerned I have the satisfaction of finding that he has no wish or object whatever respecting it; but he seemed desirous of ascertaining, more fully than he could then by recollection, the state of what had passed at different times in the House of Lords, which might affect the propriety or the mode of granting the office. He will probably himself trace it in the Journals, but it may perhaps be useful if you can furnish me with a note of reference to any passages that are material. Our intended party for Southampton is now fixed for Monday se'night, the 21st. As it is not impossible that there may be some difficulty at such a time in procuring lodgings, I should be much obliged to you if you could, without inconvenience, contrive to ensure that point for me, either at the hotel, or, if that is full, any where in the town; and I undertook to make the same request for Dundas, who will bring Lady Jane and his daughter with him. We have accounts from Paris, that most of the sections there have accepted the Constitution, but rejected the proposal for re-electing two-thirds of the present Convention, which is a very fortunate event.

“ Yours ever,

“ W. P.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Walmer Castle,

“ Sunday, Oct. 10th, 1795, 1 P.M.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ The Chancellor is perfectly satisfied with the reversion being granted to your son in the usual

form, and without any new limitation; and I have just written to the King, to propose it in the manner you suggest; and so as I think to avoid any chance of difficulty. I wish you would send me, with the papers about the register, a copy of your notes on the other taxes in question, to which I hope you will have been enabled to add an account of the value of different articles of manufactured cotton goods, and some estimate of the amount of funds on the Receipt Tax.

“ I shall also wish much to know the produce of the Consolidated Fund. Mornington has signed the warrants, which I have given to be forwarded to Townshend.

“ Yours ever,

“ W. PITT.”

[The observations alluded to in the following letter do not appear, but they are noticed in Mr. Pitt's answer. They seem to have contemplated a measure which has recently been the subject of much discussion,—the expediency of obtaining some agricultural statistics, either by compulsion or otherwise.—ED.]

THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD TO MR. PITT.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I have received, as *Custos rotulorum* for the County of Stafford, a letter from the Duke of Portland, conveying his Majesty's commands to convene the Magistrates, to take into consideration subjects of inquiry concerning the present high price of corn.

I shall not fail to carry these commands into execution, but I hope you will excuse my enclosing some observations on this measure. If they prove useless, you will have the trouble of throwing them into the fire; but I shall have the satisfaction that this gives me an opportunity of assuring you, with how much regard, I am,

“ Your faithful and obedient servant,

“ STAFFORD.”

MR. PITT TO THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD.

“ Downing Street, Nov. 6th, 1795.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ I think myself very much obliged to you for the suggestions which you have had the goodness to send me, relative to measures for ascertaining the stock of corn in the country. I feel very strongly the difficulty of obtaining accurate information without some compulsory power, but I have at the same time great doubts whether the alarm and dissatisfaction which would be produced by having recourse to those means would not outweigh the advantage to be obtained by them; and, as far as I have hitherto had any opportunity of judging, I am inclined to think this would be the general impression. We must, therefore, I believe, be contented with such general information as magistrates can furnish from their observation and inquiry, which, though far from precise, may lead to some tolerable ground of comparison with the ordinary produce.

“We are still without any direct accounts of a recent date from France, or any particulars of the late operations in Germany.

“Believe me to be, with sincere regard and esteem,

“My dear Lord,

“Your Lordship’s most faithful

“And obedient servant,

“W. PITT.

“Marquis of Stafford, &c.”

[The following letter, addressed to Mr. Valentine Jones (in the year 1797), then in the West Indies, shows what severe but well-merited rebukes Mr. Rose inflicted upon persons in the service of Government who were guilty of too great profusion in the expenditure of which they had the charge.—ED.]

MR. ROSE TO MR. VALENTINE JONES.

“SIR,

“In my public letter to the Commander-in-Chief and yourself of this date, I have communicated the opinion of the Board respecting your bills, which have lately appeared, and those of which there are threatening symptoms; for not having even the common advice of them, we can only conjecture what are to come, but I cannot let the packet sail without expressing my deep and sincere regret at your conduct, as well as the disappointment of what I thought well-founded expectations, arising from the experience we had of you in the situations of Commis-

sary at Barbadoes, and Commissary of Accounts on the Staff. I am not disposed to doubt but that the enormous sums for which you have drawn have been laid out, or that you will be able to produce probably regular vouchers for them hereafter to the auditors ; but that such expenditure can have been necessary appears to me impossible. I should entertain that opinion strongly if no services had been carried on in the West Indies previously to your present appointment ; but when the expenses during Mr. Jeffrey's time, when the most active operations were in progress, are compared with yours, it puts your want of economy in the strongest possible point of view. The situations you have held gave you a full opportunity of knowing how the services were carried on. We are so entirely in the dark relative to the expenditure under you that I cannot even guess from what source the great outgoings have arisen. The amount may be larger than in the period before alluded to. There were then, I think, about 20,000 men victualled ; but there can be no increased numbers to account for the immense difference. Mr. Jeffrey, too, was supposed to have left with you a considerable store of provisions, rum, and other articles necessary for the use of the troops. Serious as the immediate mischief is, attendant on the almost insurmountable difficulties you have involved us in at present, we have still some formidable ones to apprehend, as it will not be easy to get rid of the system of extravagance ; *but it must be done*, otherwise we shall be subject in times of peace to hearing demands from the islands altogether unheard of in former times.

“ As far as I am enabled to judge at present, the whole charge of the department of the Commissary-General, the Quartermaster-General, the Barrack-master-General, and the Hospital, did not amount to 1,000,000*l.* sterling, for the period preceding your arrival in the West Indies. Compare this with yours ! I had heard nothing of the circumstances you allude to in your private letter to me, except from the correspondent to whom you communicated them. If you had performed your duty in the way I hoped and trusted you would have done, no one could have hurt you ; but, in any event, the parties you alluded to cannot benefit by your suspension or removal.

[The following letter from Lady Chatham is here introduced, not only because it brings us into some acquaintance with the mother of so eminent a man as Mr. Pitt, to whose early training it is probable he was under considerable obligations ; but also because, being written at the end of 1798, it gives a distinct contradiction, in the happy account which she had received of his health, to a report which Mr. Addington seems to have joined in circulating with respect to some derangement of his mind. It would indeed have been a very singular coincidence, if the minister and the monarch had been subject to that calamity at the same time.—ED.]

LADY CHATHAM TO MR. ROSE.

“Burton Pynsent, Dec. 8th, 1798.

“SIR,

“I am most sincerely obliged to you for the great pleasure I received from the perfectly happy account of my dear son's health, after so long an exertion of his strength. I flatter myself he felt much satisfaction in the success that has attended his speech.

“Now, sir, I must desire you will accept my best thanks for the kind trouble which you have been so good as to take in giving me the true state of the wild and indecent behaviour of Croft. There certainly can be no excuse for him, and he has undone himself. What extravagance provoked him to such conduct there is no guessing. He has children by his *first* wife, who was a servant of mine, and a very honest, good woman. What power he has to take care of his family I know not; but I am inclined to imagine it very little. The only thing that he can be allowed to have must be of a totally private sort. If there should be any chance, so far, I should be glad for the sake of those belonging to him. However, I have no wish, if there is the smallest objection to what I have named.

“The weather is so horridly bad, in consequence of the continued fog, that one can neither see, nor feel at all comfortable. I hope in God the effects will be escaped by those I am interested for.

“I am really ashamed of having troubled you so

long, and will therefore add only that I beg you to believe me, Sir,

“Your obliged and most humble servant,

“H. CHATHAM.”

[Mr. Sheridan had stated in the House of Commons, that the Ministers were unpopular in America; and, with the violent democrats of that country, it is probable enough that they were; but the following letter from their Ambassador shows that it was not the feeling of her statesmen.—ED.]

MR. RUFUS KING TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“Great Cumberland Place, 23d June, 1798.

“DEAR SIR,

“Accept my acknowledgments for your letter of yesterday. I am very glad that it has been thought advisable to introduce the alterations which have been made in the Convoy Bill; the effect, I am persuaded, must be alike advantageous to both countries. It will be my duty, which I shall experience great satisfaction in performing, to represent this subject in its true light to the American Government, which must see therein the same sincere desire on the part of Great Britain that itself feels, to increase and confirm the friendship and intercourse that at present so happily subsists between the two countries.

“You will not doubt the pleasure it has given me to be assured of the friendly sentiments that I have

always flattered myself you entertained for my country, whose origin, language, laws, and manners are so many titles to the friendship of England.

“With perfect esteem and respect, I have the honour to be,

“Dear Sir,

“Your obedient and faithful servant,

“RUFUS KING.

“George Rose, Esq. &c. &c.”

[The two next letters relate to the King's subscription for carrying on the war. Lords Romney, Eldon, and Kenyon, Messrs. Pitt, Dundas, and Addington, subscribed on that occasion 2,000*l.* each, in lieu of their legal assessments; Lord Bridport and Admiral Colpoys, 1,000*l.* each. The King subscribed one-third of his privy purse, or 20,000*l.* annually.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Wimbledon,

“Thursday, half-past 8 P.M., Jan. 25th, 1798.

“DEAR ROSE,

“The mode of payment certainly ought to be by instalments. I have just now received a letter from the King, authorizing me to take all the steps necessary, and as I think a minute of the Board is the only way of stating the case publicly, I will return to town to-morrow morning, and wish you to fix a Board at half-past twelve. You will of course be enabled to say all you wish to Mr. Kemble.

“Yours ever,

“W. P.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Wimbledon,

“Friday, 10 A.M., Jan. 26th, 1798.

“DEAR ROSE,

“On consideration, I have thought it best simply to write a letter to the Bank, announcing the King’s subscription, and to give up the idea of a minute of the Treasury, which could not, I think, be so framed as not to appear a studied and laboured apology. You will probably have time to countermand the Board, and if not can explain to them the circumstances. Give my letter to Carthew to be entered before it is sent to the Bank. Pray bring Abbott’s paper with you to-morrow.

“Yours ever,

“W. P.

“Bring also the abstract of the payment in the different classes of the civil list, compared with the amount some years back, and with the estimate given in to Parliament under Burke’s bill.

“Some business will keep me here to-day, but you will be sure to find me at Hollwood to-morrow.”

[Miss Rose, who was a clever and strong-minded woman, took a great dislike to Mr. Addington, and no doubt exercised a considerable influence over her father’s mind, already predisposed to dislike any successor to Mr. Pitt, and to institute disadvantageous comparisons between them. Notwithstanding, how-

ever, the accusations so strongly urged against him, it will be seen in the end that the alienation produced by them was only temporary.—ED.]

EXTRACT FROM MISS ROSE'S DIARY.

In the autumn of 1799, my father was ill, and I went to London with my aunt Frances, to stay with him. Mr. Pitt, whose health had for some time been failing, was persuaded by Mr. Addington, then Speaker, to go to his house in the country rather than to Hollwood, under the plea that he would have more rest from intrusion of guests and from business. I had no liking for Mr. Addington. I thought him shallow, and mistrusted him from his conduct when Speaker; which, in fact, was the cause of the duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney. Not only by his conduct in the House of Commons, for which the opposition blamed him (Hendon saying he had said stronger things, and had taken stronger things, and would do so again), but from his knowledge of what was passing afterwards, and not taking any means of preventing the duel. During the time I was in London I found that a new set of people were about my father. Nicholas Vansittart, and Dr. Beck, who afterwards was his assistant financier, dined with him. I thought them shallow; very important about trifles and little matters, and very assiduous in getting information from my father. I remember when I returned to Cuffnells I told my mother that there were strange birds getting about my father, and

pecking his brains; that I did not understand what was going on, and did not like it.

The spring before, Mr. Pitt, whose health was then failing, was suffering great depression of spirits, arising, as I afterwards believed, from suppressed gout. He was advised to rest his mind as much as possible, and did not go for some time to the House of Commons.

For a time, except when the Bishop of Lincoln was in London, he saw only my father and Lord Melville. In the spring of 1800, we dined at the Speaker's. My father had that morning returned from Hollwood; and at dinner, Lord Bathurst, and other friends of Mr. Pitt's, talked of the place, and of the changes Mr. Pitt was making. He was always amusing himself with some work there. My father spoke of his having removed a plantation of willows, which his friends then present had disapproved of when made. I sat next to the Speaker, at the *side* of the table, he sitting at the bottom; Lord Bathurst sat on my right hand. The Speaker, in an under but distinct tone, said to Lord Bathurst, across me, "I do not think there could be a clearer proof of the aberration of Pitt's mind last year than his having made that plantation." Lord Bathurst made no reply; and I suspected at the time, from his manner, that he did not distinctly hear what Addington had said.

A few days before this diary begins, my father, who we had seen was annoyed, as he was occasionally when he could not fix Mr. Pitt's attention on business particularly under his management in the House of Commons, spoke of it at that time as particularly

inconvenient, as it related to some matters that must be brought into the House of Commons soon, and he said, "I will go to the Speaker to-morrow, and get him to remind Mr. Pitt that it must soon come before the House." I believed he had a false confidence in the man, and said hastily, "And do you think the Speaker is really attached to Mr. Pitt?"—"Yes, certainly."—"I do not," I replied. Then, on his questioning my reason for this opinion, I told him of the speech I heard Mr. Addington make to Lord Bathurst. My father was the more astonished, as he said, as he had before done to us, when such reports were afloat the preceding year, that there was not the slightest mental failure in Mr. Pitt, nothing but depression of spirits—overwork on a slight constitution. Before this conversation, my father had said to the Speaker that he would call on him. Going to his house, he overtook Mr. Hatsell, the Clerk of the House of Commons, who said if he was going in, he should not be able to see the Speaker before he went out, and that it would prevent his going out of town, as he wished to do, next day. My father then gave way to him, desiring him to tell the Speaker he would call on him on Monday. In the meantime the change took place, and my father wrote to Addington, that the matter on which he wished to speak to him no longer existed.

CHAPTER IV.

1798-9.

FIRST INTELLIGENCE OF THE VICTORY OF THE NILE—LORD NELSON'S PROCEEDINGS IN THE BAY OF NAPLES IN 1799—GROUNDS OF LADY HAMILTON'S CLAIMS—MR. ROSE'S EFFORTS TO OBTAIN COMPENSATION FOR HER, FROM 1804 to 1813.

[THE following letter from Mr. Pitt, amidst many matters of ordinary business, contains the first intimation that reached this country of the glorious victory achieved by Lord Nelson at Aboukir, on the 1st of August, 1798, over the fleet which conveyed General Buonaparte to the shores of Egypt; and it gives us a curious specimen of the system of averting discontent from the people of France by falsifying the events of the war.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Walmer Castle, Friday, Aug. 10th, 1798.

“DEAR ROSE,

“I return the draft of the warrant appointing the Commissioners for the sale of the Land-tax, and think it in general perfectly right, but have put two queries in the margin, which you can easily answer. In the

meantime, send the warrant to the King, without waiting to hear from me again. I think I shall probably be in town for a few days about the 20th, but shall hardly meet you on the 23d, as I have a scheme (which I mean to say nothing of) of running down for a week at that time to Somersetshire. On my return from thence, I hope we shall be able finally to arrange both the bills for the contribution and the warehousing. I am at present strongly prejudiced against a total repeal of the act of last year, and I know that Lowndes has always a rage for putting everything into one act of Parliament; whereas, nine times out of ten, and particularly I should think in the present case, the provision would be made much better by reference. I have received French newspapers of the 7th and 8th, containing vague reports of an action between Nelson and Buonaparte, and some pretending that the latter had been victorious. They serve only to confirm the belief that something has happened, but it may still be some time before we have any authentic account, though they probably will not be long able to disguise entirely the result, even in France.

“Yours ever,

“W. P.

“I enclose an application from Mr. Dornford to be a Commissioner, which, however, ought not to be attended to, unless approved by the Tax Office. Pray inquire, and let me know whether any thing has been done respecting the late Lord Montagu's estate. I

have an application on behalf of Lady Mostyn, desiring that no grant may be made of it till she has time to present a memorial to the Treasury, stating her claim, and I want to return some answer."

[But the glory of the victory of the Nile was dearly purchased by the loss of honour which flowed indirectly from circumstances connected with it, and which sadly tarnished the lustre of Lord Nelson's name. The facts are thus briefly stated by Lord Holland : " When, distracted at having missed the French fleet, he came to Palermo, he obtained, chiefly through the influence of Lady Hamilton (the wife of the ambassador), whom he had not seen since 1795, the stores and provisions which enabled him to put to sea again, and to overtake the enemy in the Bay of Aboukir. He returned therefore to Naples overflowing with gratitude for the service which she had rendered him."¹ Unfortunately, Lord Nelson's personal vanity came powerfully in aid of his gratitude, and completed a most infatuated attachment to Lady Hamilton ; for he is said to have pressed her to sing the most fulsome couplets to his honour, and to have acknowledged with the utmost naïveté that his preference of her society to Lady Nelson's arose from the warm praises she bestowed upon him ; after which the congratula-

¹ Redding, in his "Fifty Years' Recollections," says that Nelson was Lady Hamilton's dupe ; she persuaded him that *she* had obtained the victualling of his fleet. It was her husband, who made her his agent with the Queen (vol. iii. p. 103).

tions of his wife were, he said, cold, flat, and insipid. She thus alienated his affections entirely from his wife, ill estrangement led to a total separation when he returned to England, although he acknowledged that his wife had committed no fault. His biographer says, "Further than this there is no reason to believe that this most unfortunate attachment was criminal; but this was criminality enough, and it brought with it its punishment." Dishonour was the punishment of both, and the remark of the Roman moralist was signally verified :—

*"Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede pœna claudo."*

It was not, however, at a slow pace that retribution overtook these offenders. On his return to Naples, Nelson dishonoured his character and sullied his glory by listening to the violent counsels of a woman whose passionate zeal for her friends overleaped all the boundaries not only of discretion, but of justice. He became her accomplice in perfidy and murder. These seem to be hard terms to use of a man of whom in other respects England is so justly proud. But they are the terms used by Lord Holland, and not unwarranted by impartial history, as we shall presently see, on describing George the Third's reception of Nelson at Court, after his return from the Mediterranean; a reception which must have been peculiarly galling to Nelson, to whom worldly distinction was all in all. He had yet to

learn that England expects every man to do his duty in morals as well as in battle. The passage in which the charge is made is curious, because it brings before us in so broad a light the character of the writer, sneering at a morality with which he had no sympathy, and blinded to the most obvious truth by a Jacobinical hatred of royalty.

“It is certain,” says Lord Holland, “that her (Lady Hamilton’s) baneful ascendancy over Nelson’s mind was the chief cause of his indefensible conduct at Naples, and that neither he nor she was ever disavowed or discountenanced by our Court for that conduct. He never was a favourite at St. James’s; his amour with Lady Hamilton, if amour it was, shocked the King’s morality, and though the perfidies and murders to which it led were perpetrated in the cause of royalty, they could not wash away the original sin of indecorum in the eye of his Majesty. Nelson’s reception at Court after the victory of Aboukir was singularly cold and repulsive.”¹

The malignity of the insinuation that perfidy and murder in the cause of royalty would have been a recommendation to the monarch’s favour if they had not been more than counterbalanced by the scandal of a doubtful intrigue, can only be ascribed to the blindest hatred. But that Lord Holland should be equally blind to the inconsistency of his own statements is more extraordinary. He first asserts that

¹ *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, vol. ii. p. 30.

neither Nelson nor Lady Hamilton were discountenanced by the Court for their conduct, and then proceeds to show, that though the King could not disavow acts which were not disavowed by his Ministers, yet that he did in the most marked way discountenance the doer of them. And there can be no doubt in the mind of any reasonable man, that it was "for that conduct" Nelson was so discountenanced; though the adultery, to which appearances attributed it, could not fail to increase the feeling of disgust in one who understood the value of Christian morality even to public men, so much better than Lord Holland did. This sad episode in Nelson's life cannot be more fitly related than in the words of his impartial biographer.

"The castles of Uovo and Nuovo were chiefly defended by Neapolitan revolutionists, the powerful men amongst them having sought shelter there. They were strong places, and, if they were taken, the reduction of Fort St. Elmo, which commands Naples, would be greatly expedited. Cardinal Ruffo proposed to the garrison to capitulate, on condition that their persons and properties should be guaranteed. This capitulation was accepted. It was signed by the Cardinal, by the Prussian and Turkish commanders, and by Captain Foote, commander of the British forces. Thirty-six hours afterwards, Nelson arrived, and annulled the treaty, declaring that he would grant rebels no other terms than those of unconditional submission. The Cardinal objected to this; nor could all

the arguments of Nelson, Sir William Hamilton, and Lady Hamilton, who took an active part in the conference, convince him that a treaty of such a nature, solemnly concluded, could honourably be set aside. He retired at last, silenced by Nelson's authority, but not convinced. Captain Foote was sent out of the bay, and the garrisons, taken from the castles under the pretence of carrying the treaty into effect, were delivered over as rebels to the vengeance of the Sicilian Court."¹

Prince Caraccioli, at the head of the Marine, after a service of forty years, had escaped before the capitulation, and went to Sicily, but was permitted to return to Naples to save his estates from confiscation. For a few days he was *compelled* by the French to serve on board their fleet,² for which he was hanged by Nelson, after a two hours' trial by a court of Neapolitan officers, presided over by a personal enemy; and Lady Hamilton not only was on board the ship, but present at the execution.

In that part of the correspondence which bears upon these transactions, there is, first, a copy of a proclamation issued to the army by the Neapolitan Government, not very well or clearly written, but probably forwarded to Mr. Rose in justification of

¹ Southey's "Life of Nelson," vol. ii. p. 18.

² Captain Troubridge says in one of his letters to Lord Nelson, "I am assured by all the sailors that Caraccioli is not a Jacobin, but has been forced to act as he does."—*Clarke and McArthur's "Life of Lord Nelson,"* p. 543.

Nelson's conduct. It need not be added, that in this respect, too, it entirely fails; for whatever authority that Government might have given to him, it could not authorize him to break the laws of honour and rectitude. It ordered that he should be consulted, and that regard should be paid to his opinion in those military arrangements which would secure a victory over the rebels; but the Commander-in-chief of the Neapolitans was the Prince Royal, who seems to have delegated his entire power to Cardinal Ruffo, for he does not appear at all in the correspondence. To him there might have been an appeal from Cardinal Ruffo's decision, but none to Nelson.

Secondly, there are some letters written by Sir William Hamilton, who had been thirty-five years ambassador at that court, but written, no doubt, at the instigation of his wife, whose eager friendship for the Queen would suffer no obstacles to stand in her way, no considerations of right or wrong, in serving the interests of the royal cause.

Thirdly, there is a series of letters written by that strong-minded woman after her return to England, in 1800, in which her utter inability to appreciate the delicacy of her position in the eyes of the world, her fervid admiration of the Admiral, her perseverance in urging a suit which everybody combined to reject, her persistence in making inadmissible statements, and at last, her indignation and broken-heartedness, stand out in strong relief.

This correspondence is extended, at wide intervals of time, from 1802 till near the close of her life, when her setting sun was clouded by imprisonment, exile, and dependence on the charity of her friends; one of whom, no doubt, was Mr. Rose, who was at all times her steadfast advocate. Previous, however, to entering upon this subject, a letter from Sir W. Hamilton to Lord Nelson of an earlier date may here be fitly introduced; partly because it notices a similar foible in the character of another eminent officer, after another great success against Buonaparte, which finally defeated his project of conquest in Syria; and partly because it furnishes evidence that attachment to Nelson was claimed by Sir W. as the common property of both,—of the husband and the wife.

In the “*Recollections of the Life of Dr. Scott, Lord Nelson’s Chaplain*,” it is said, with regard to his unfortunate admiration of Lady Hamilton, that neither Dr. Scott, nor any of his most intimate friends, believed in its criminality. Lord St. Vincent used to call them a pair of sentimental fools; and it is a fact that Lady Hamilton never was a mother. It has been thought by some who witnessed Nelson’s intimacy with royalty at Naples, that Horatia Nelson might lay claim to a far more illustrious origin than has been supposed. This solution, if a true one, accounts equally well for the miserable state of mind which Lord Nelson’s letters written from Naples betray. It may be feared that this misery was the

consequence of guilt ; but if so, such uneasiness was the conscientious compunction of an habitually upright mind.¹

Lady Hamilton, writing to Dr. Scott, September 7th, 1806, speaks of “ our virtuous Nelson,” and “ we have innocency on our side,” and, “ you know the great and virtuous affection he had for me.” He might be virtuous towards *her*, but if she could apply that term to one whom she knew to be guilty of adultery with another, she could not have much principle for her own defence. At Lord Nelson’s death, Lady Hamilton had at least 1,400*l.* a year, besides the little estate at Merton ; but her vanity and extravagance found this no competence. Her affairs were put into the hands of a financier, who advised her to go into retirement for two or three years ; but she soon returned, and committed wilder extravagances than ever, and was again a suppliant for relief to the friends whose advice she had disregarded. The financier declared that all attempts to serve a person of her character must be in vain. She died abroad in great poverty.

Mr. Rose, who considered that every one belonging to Lord Nelson was a legacy to himself, did everything in his power to fix the attention of Government

¹ Whoever the mother might be, there seems to be no doubt that Mrs. Horatia Nelson Ward was Lord Nelson’s daughter, from the letters which he wrote as a father to his child, and his sending her in one of them his parental blessing. These letters were published by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas.

upon Dr. Scott as a man closely connected with Lord Nelson's memory; but all his representations were attended with no more effect than the petitions which he drew up for Lady Hamilton, to be presented to successive Ministers.—ED.]

LETTER TO LORD NELSON FROM SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, AMBASSADOR AT THE COURT OF NAPLES.

“Palermo, 12 o'clock,
“Monday, 27th May, 1799.

“MY DEAR LORD,

“I hope the felucca that sailed from hence yesterday at noon has brought your Lordship Ball's despatches that were sent to me by express from Messina. Your letters of the 25th, to Emma and me, arrived this morning at eight o'clock, and the Queen and Acton are informed of their contents. I think there can be little doubt but that the French fleet have got into Toulon, and we rejoice in the hope of seeing you here again very soon.

“Yesterday afternoon I received a letter by the post from Signor Raymondi, our Vice-consul at Syracuse, with an account in Italian, signed Sidney Smith, of his success against Buonaparte at Acre, brought by a Russian polacca, with a copy of the instructions given to Mr. Geo. Nicholson, one of his midshipmen, to carry 250 French prisoners from Acre to Toulon, with liberty to touch in any friendly island or port for refreshments. I send your Lordship a copy of those instructions, in Sir Sidney's usual pompous style—

‘Great Cross of the Military Order of the Sword, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty to the Ottoman Porte, and Commander of the Royal Fleet in the Levant Seas.’ We grieve for the loss of poor Captain Wilmot, of the *Alliance*, who was killed, as your Lordship will see, the 5th of April, by a musket shot,—for I send you an English translation of Sir Sidney Smith’s account, which was sent to me in Italian from Syracuse. Upon the whole, this is very good news, and Buonaparte seems to be in a bad way; but your Lordship will comprehend the good and bad of Sir Sidney’s operations much better than I can.

“I enclose two letters from Graham to Sir Chas. Stuart, as your Lordship talks of sending soon to Minorca, a letter from Mr. Wyndham for Captain Lewis, and one from Lamb to Captain Hardy. Lamb is very attentive, and comes daily for orders from my lady.

“We have had here three days’ gala and illuminations, the Empress of Germany having been brought to bed of an Arch-duke. I see that Constantine, the Grand Duke of Russia, is at Vienna, so that the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg draw well together. Adieu, my very dear Lord; take care of your health above all. Captain Ball must surely have joined you before this letter can reach you.

“Ever your Lordship’s

“Most attached and obliged humble servant,

“(Signed) WM. HAMILTON.

“P. S.—I can assure you that neither Emma nor I knew how much we loved you until this separation,

and we are convinced that your Lordship feels the same as we do.

“The boatman that brings your Lordship this packet says he has no passport from your Lordship, and the three passports your Lordship left have been sent for by the King or Queen, so pray send us two or three more in blank.”

[The translations from the Italian correspondence which follow, and the instructions given by the King to his troops, are indispensable to the judgment that ought to be formed of Nelson's conduct. It is quite clear that, before the arrival of the British Admiral, Cardinal Ruffo wielded all the authority of the King, for the Prince Royal, who was joined with him in the command, never appears in these transactions; and though the King reserved to himself the power of extending his clemency to the rebel leaders, yet he specially excepts the case of those who should surrender by capitulation. But he was a weak man, and Nelson, who could not bear the idea of those whom he called Jacobins escaping condign punishment, easily persuaded him to retract this equitable provision, and to annul all that his own Commander-in-chief had done; but the Cardinal was found to be so intractable that it was judged expedient to send him back to Sicily, without venturing however to disgrace him for his honesty.—ED.]

GENERAL ACTON TO CARDINAL RUFFO.

“ YOUR EMINENCE,

“The King, finding it indispensable for his royal service that your Excellency should repair instantly to this capital, that his Majesty may be minutely informed by you of every event that has happened, to enable his Majesty to make important provisions for the good government of the affairs of this city and kingdom;—has therefore resolved and commanded, that you should immediately embark on board one of the men-of-war that shall be selected for this purpose by the Admiral of the British Squadron, Lord Nelson; and be conveyed immediately here for the above-mentioned object; His Majesty having already given to the aforesaid English Admiral his royal commands concerning the persons who, during your Eminence’s absence, will assume the military command and regulate all civil affairs.

¹ “EM^o SIGNOR,

“Il Re trovando essere indispensabile pel suo Real Servizio che V. E. si porti subito in questa Capitale per far che Sua Maestà rimanga minutamente informata dalla stessa voce dell V. E. di alcuni fatti che sono avvenuti e che posse quindi la Maestà sua dare alcune importantissime provvedimenti relative al buon Governo degli affari di cotesta Città e Regno, ha perciò risoluto o comanda che Ella immediatamente s’embarchi sopra uno de’ Legni da Guerra che sarà a tal uopo destinata dal Ammiraglio della Squadra Brittanica, Lord Nelson; e si trasferisca subito quì all accennato oggetto; avendo già S. M. dato le sovrane disposizioni all stesso Ammiraglio Inglese circa le persone che durante il tempo che l’ E. V. ne starà lontana, debbono assumere il Comando Militare, ed interiormente regolar gli Affari Civili.

“In the royal name I command speedy obedience, the corresponding orders being already given to the above-mentioned Admiral.

“Your Eminence,

“JOHN ACTON.

“Palermo, June 27th, 1799.

“To the Cardinal Ruffo.”

GENERAL ACTON TO THE DUKE OF SOLANDRA.¹

“YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“The King, having decided that Cardinal Ruffo should be conducted here by one of the men-of-war to be chosen for this purpose by the Admiral of the British Squadron, Lord Nelson, has deigned to command, that your Excellency, in concert with General Gamba, if this latter be not occupied or prevented, and Col. Baron Tschudy, be charged to execute the said removal, with all the caution that the

“Nel Real nome Io partecipo a V. E. nel pronto adempimento, prevedendola di essersene già dati gli avisi corrispondenti al mentovato Ammiraglio.

“Palermo, 27 Giugno, 1799.

“Em^o Signor,

“GIOVANNI ACTON.

“Signor Cardinale Ruffo.”

¹ *Signor Duca della Solandra.*

“ECCELLENTISSIMO SIGNOR,

“Il Re avendo Sovramente risoluto che il Cardinale Ruffo sia arrestato e condotto quì sopra uno dei Legni di Guerra chè a tal uopo sarà destinata dal Ammiraglio della Squadra Britannica, Lord Nelson, si è degnata comandare che V. E. di concerto col Generale Gamba si costui non si trovi arrestato ni empidito, e col Col. Barone Tschudy, sia charichi di eseguire un tal arresto con tutti quelli cauteli

circumstances demand, and to consign the aforesaid Cardinal to the above-mentioned Admiral, to whom his Majesty has already given the corresponding orders, that the same should be embarked and removed here. In the royal name, I urge upon your Excellency the prompt and exact accomplishment of this desire.

“JOHN ACTON.

“Palermo, 27th June, 1799.”

[General Acton's letters to Generals Gamba and Tschudy were in the same words as in those to the Duke of Solandra.—ED.]

COPY OF A LETTER FROM HIS MAJESTY THE KING TO
CARDINAL RUFFO.

“Palermo, June 27th, 1799.

“I have heard with inexpressible consolation of the arrival, after dinner, of my frigate from Naples, and also, of the happy arrival there of the very worthy and faithful Admiral, Lord Nelson. I have read

che le circostanze richiedono, e che quindi consegno il referito Cardinale al mentorato Ammiraglio, al quale ha già S. M. dato gli avvisi corrispondenti, perchè il medesimo sia imbarcato e qui trasportato. Io partecipo nel Real nome a V. S. pel pronto e esatto adempimento di sua parte.

“GIOVANNI ACTON.”

“Palermo, 27 Giugno, 1799.”

Copia d'una lettera di S. M. il Re al Cardinale Ruffo.

“Palermo, 27 Giugno, 1799.

“Ho inteso con inesprimabile consolazione, l'arrivo della mia frigata da Napoli, e dalla medesima che vi è felicemente arrivato colla sua squadra il ben degno e fedele Ammiraglio Lord Nelson. Ho letto

the declaration which he, in form of observations, has despatched to you, which could not be more wise, reasonable, and adapted to the end, and truly evangelical.

“ I do not doubt that you immediately conformed to it, and acted in consequence on his advice. Otherwise that would be which is impossible, after the many proofs of fidelity and attachment given me in the past.

“ May the Lord preserve you, as with all my heart I desire.

“ FERDINANDO B.

“ To the Vicar-General, Cardinal Ruffo.”

[The original in the King's own handwriting.
—ED.]

EXTRACTS FROM THE INSTRUCTIONS TO THE TROOPS
OF HIS MAJESTY, ORDERED TO REPAIR TO THE BAY
OF NAPLES.¹

“ The circumstances of Naples requiring the prompt expedition to that place of a force of infantry, with

la Dichiarazione che egli in forma di osservazioni vi ha spedito, che non può essere piu savia, ragionata, ed adatta all' effetto, e veramente evangelica.

“ Non dubito che immediatamente vi ci sarete conformato ed avete agito in conseguenza all' istante. Altrementè sarebbe ciò che non è possibile mai dopo tante riprove per lo passato datemi di fedeltà ed attaccamento.

“ Il Signor vi conservi come di tutto cuore io ve lo desidero.

“ FERDINANDO B.

“ Al Vicario Generale, Cardinale Ruffo.”

¹ *Istruzioni per le Truppe di S. M. destinate a portarsi nel Cratere di Napoli.*

“ Richiedendo le circonstanze di Napoli la pronta spedizione a quella volta di una Forza di Linea all' effetto di secondare gli sforzi

the design of aiding the inhabitants of that capital, devoted to the defence of religion and the crown, and to assist the operations of the Vicar-General, Cardinal Ruffo,—Admiral Lord Nelson has thought proper, on mutual advice, and in concert, to make arrangements to act, conjointly and efficiently, with the renowned British force under his command, to re-establish peace in this kingdom by the recovery of the capital, and to liberate this people from the yoke of anarchy and rebellion.

“ 1st. The declarations and memorials of numerous subjects in Naples and its environs, who pant to break the yoke imposed on them by the most infamous treachery, have caused in reply permission to be given to the true royalists, on the appearance of the Squadron in the Gulf of Naples, to be ready all to take arms, and then make use of them at the signal that shall be given by Admiral Lord Nelson, either contemporaneously with, or immediately after the intimation that will be made by a flag of truce, for

degli abitanti in quella capitale dediti alla difesa della religione e corona, ed a coadiuvare le operazioni del Vicario Generale Cardinale-Ruffo: Ha stimato l'Ammiraglio Lord Nelson, sull'avviso passato-gliene, e con concerto, di disporre l'occorrente per concorrere efficacemente con le rispettabili forze Brittaniche sotto il suo comando, a ripristinare la quiete in quel regno, mercè il riacquisto della capitale, ed a liberare quei popoli dal giogo dell'anarchia e rebellione.

“ 1^o. Le dichiarazioni e suppliche di numerosi sudditi che anelano in Napoli e sue adjacenze, di scuotere il giogo imposto loro dal più infame tradimento, hanno prodotto in replica la prevenzione ai buoni Realisti di dover essi al comparire della squadra nel Golfo di Napoli, trovarsi disposti a prendere tutti le armi, e farne poi uso al segno che verrà loro dato dall' Ammiraglio Lord Nelson, o contemporaneamente o in seguito delle intimazione che si farà fare da un

the surrender and submission of that capital to the royal army. For this reason several boats will convey trusty persons to meet the Squadron, as it approaches the islands.

“ 2d. Advices are in consequence despatched to Cardinal Ruffo, of the determination taken by the aforesaid Squadron to present itself before Naples, and to procure the possession of it to the royal arms, in order to accelerate his advance to the capital, with all the force that he thinks proper to lead there.

“ 3d. The forces of the Cardinal will alone be permitted to enter the capital, in the number and selection which he may think fit to make from the appointed corps, in addition to the troops of the line.

“ 4th. All the military and political operations shall be agreed upon by the Prince Royal and Admiral Lord Nelson. The opinion of this latter always to have a preponderance, on account of the respect due to his experience, as well as to the forces under his command,

Parlamentario per la resa e sottomissione alle reali armi di quella capitale. Si porteranno a questo effetto varj battelli con persone fidate all' incontro della squadra, nell' avvicinarsi di questa alle isole.

“ 2^o. Si sono spediti in conseguenza avvisi al Cardinale Ruffo della determinazione presa di presentarsi la squadra predetta avanti Napoli, e di procurarne il possesso alle reali armi, affinche acceleri esso il suo avvicinamento alla capitale con tutte le forze che credera di dovervi portare.

“ 3^o. Le sole forze del Cardinale potranno introdursi nella capitale in quel numero, e con la scelta che egli stimerà di fare dei corpi destinati, in supplemento delle truppe de linea.

“ 4^o. Tutte le operazioni militari e politiche, saranno concertate tra il Principe Reale, e l'Ammiraglio Lord Nelson. Il parere di quest' ultimo sarà sempre di preponderanza per in riguardi dovuti alla di lui esperienza come alle forze da esso dipendenti, e che

which will determine the operations ; and also because we are so deeply indebted to him for the zeal and attachment of which he has given so many proofs. Therefore, should the attack take place, the employment of the royal forces, and all other means tending to obtain the surrender of Naples, shall be thus decided.

“ 5th. The summons to the rebels to surrender, and any invitation or declaration to the people, and to the erring or misled, shall, for the base and rule of the expression or promises, agree with whatever has been specified in the law given by his Majesty to Cardinal Ruffo on the 29th of April last, as well with respect to the principal criminals generally, as with regard to the clemency to be shown them, the which is and always shall be the right of his Majesty. The spirit of these new declarations shall therefore approximate as much as possible to the sense of the aforesaid general law.

“ 6th. Therefore, in the military capitulation which

decidono dell' operazione ; e per quanto altresì devesi al medesimo per lo zelo, ed attaccamento, de quei ha dato tante riproove. Onde se avranno luogo gli attacchi, si deciderà con questo metodo l'impiego delle reali forze, ed ogni altro mezzo tendente ad ottenere la resa di Napoli.

“ 5°. Le intimazioni ai ribelli per arrendersi, e ogni qualunque invito, o dichiarazione ai popoli, ed ai traviati o sedotti, dovranno per la base e norma nelle espressioni o promesse, riferriasi a quanto viene fissato per legge data da S. M. al Cardinale Ruffò nel 29 Aprile p°. ; tanto per i rei principali in generale, che per la clemenza da usarsi, la quale è, e sarà sempre propria di S. M. Si dovrà pertanto approssimare il più che sarà praticabile, lo spirito di queste nuove dichiarazione al senso della citata legge generale.

“ 6°. Nella capitolazione militare però, che occorresse farsi con i

may take place with the enemy that occupy St. Elmo, the power of stipulating for their departure may be extended to several rebels, even the leaders, according to circumstances, if the general good, the promptitude of the operation, and reasons of weight make it advisable. The same measures will serve also for Capua and Gaeta, if it shall happen that this same operation embraces the question of the surrender of those places.

“ 7th. When Naples shall be entirely surrendered and subdued, the Vicar-General shall at once take possession of the entire government of the kingdom ; and to this intent will receive from the Prince Royal the King’s new ratification of this his commission and charge, with all the particular determinations that the circumstance requires, and any rules that the importance of the time and special considerations indispensably demand.

“ 9th. As it is the desire of his Majesty that the forts of Naples shall be speedily evacuated by the nemici che occupano S. Elmo, potrà estendersi secondo le circostanze la facoltà di stipulare la partenza a varj ribelli anche capi, se il bene pubblico, la prontezza dell’ operazione, e ragioni di peso così facessero opinare. Tale misura potrà servire benanche per Capua, e Gaeta, se accaderà di intimarsene la resa nel complesso di questa stessa operazione.

“ 7°. Quando Napoli sarà resa totalmente, e sommessà, il Vicario Generale prenderà per ora il possesso dell’ intiero governo del regno, ed a quell’ effetto riceverà dal Real Principe il nuovo confermo del Re di questa sua commissione, ed incarico, con tutte le particolari determinazioni che la circostanza esige, e con alcune norme che il momento, e speciali considerazioni richiedono indispensabilmente.

“ 9°. Siccome è mente di S.M. che con prontezza siano evacuati i castelli di Napoli dal nemico e ribelli di adoprare oltre la forza, altre

enemy and rebels, the Prince Royal is authorized to pursue this design at any cost, and, should it be necessary, to employ any other means besides force.

"10th. The acts of clemency concerning the noted offenders, and the pardoning of the same, are reserved for the King, excepting those stipulated in the articles of capitulation.

"Palermo, June 10th, 1799."

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO CARDINAL RUFFO.

"On board the *Foudroyant*, in the Gulf of Naples,
"June 24th, 1799.

"My Lord Nelson begs me to inform your Eminence that he has received from Captain Foote, commander of the frigate *Sea-horse*, a copy of the capitulation which your Eminence has judged it expedient to make with the officers in command of the castles of St. Elmo, Castello Nuovo, and Castello del Uovo; that he disapproves entirely of these, and that he is quite resolved not to remain neuter with the respectable force which he has the honour to command; that he has detached to meet your Eminence the Captains Troubridge and Ball, commanding his Majesty's vessels *Culloden* and *Alexander*. These Captains are fully informed of Lord Nelson's sentiments, and will have the honour to explain them to your Emi-

quálunque mezzo, che siá necessario, viene autorizzato il Real Principe, a conseguire quell' intento ad ogni costo.

"10°. Gli atti di clemenza che possono riguardare i rei conosciuti, e l'aggraziare i medesimi, sono riservati al Re, eccettuandosi quanto si è detto all' articolo della capitolazione."

nence. My Lord hopes that the Cardinal Ruffo will agree with him, and that to-morrow at the break of day he will be able to act in concert with your Eminence. The object of each cannot but be the same; that is to say, to reduce the common enemy, and to make the rebellious subjects of his Sicilian Majesty submit to his clemency."

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO CARDINAL RUFFO.

"June 25th, 1799.

"My Lord Nelson begs me to take up my pen again, and to acquaint your Eminence, whom he understands to speak of the Chev^r Micheroux, in the present negotiations of your Eminence for the service of his Sicilian Majesty, that he is quite determined to have nothing to do with any one, be he who he may, except your Eminence, with whom alone he wishes to consult and act. My Lord Nelson also begs me to assure your Eminence, that with respect to the Russian troops, he will always keep in view the honour of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, as well as that of the King his own sovereign."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"June 27th, 1799.

"My Lord Nelson begs me to say to your Eminence, that he has no doubt you will agree with him, that, for the service of his Sicilian Majesty, it is necessary that the Castle of St Elmo should be reduced as soon as possible. My Lord proposes, then, with the appro-

bation of your Eminence, to send the body of marines, about 1,200 men, together with the Russian corps attached to the army of your Eminence, to attack the said castle. My Lord would desire that during this attack, your Eminence would place two or three hundred men in the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, and to keep the gates of these forts closed during the operations. My Lord would also desire your Eminence to order a body of troops, with the requisite artillery, to hold themselves in readiness to aid in the attack confided to the English and Russian troops. My Lord submits to the judgment of your Eminence, whether it would not be expedient to publish an edict to prevent the French garrison of St. Elmo being provided daily with victuals and refreshments, as it is said they are at present. My Lord begs me to add, that if your Eminence judges it expedient to send Caraccioli and the rest of the other rebels to him, according to his proposal yesterday, he will dispose of them."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"June 28th, 1799.

"My Lord Nelson desires me to inform your Eminence, that, in consequence of an order which he has just received from his Sicilian Majesty, who entirely disapproves of the capitulation made with his rebellious subjects in the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, he is about to seize and make sure of those who have left them, and are on board the vessels in this port, submitting it to the opinion of your Eminence

whether it would not be advisable to publish at first in Naples the reason of this transaction, and at the same time to warn the rebels who have escaped to Naples from the said castles, that they must submit to the clemency of his Sicilian Majesty within the space of twenty-four hours, under pain of death.”

[The first subjoined letter from Mr. Rose to Lady Hamilton shows that he had not only suggested the application to Mr. Addington, but had supplied her with the form of it. But it is remarkable throughout this correspondence how constantly his own consciousness of the impropriety of her position struggles against his earnest desire to assist her; not for her own sake, but solely on account of his friend Lord Nelson, to whom he considered it an act of justice to comply with his requests. While, therefore, he endeavours to aid her views, he never fails to throw cold water upon her hopes, and to predict failure. After Lord Nelson's death he took up her cause more warmly, but with the same conviction that there was still no chance of success.—ED.]

MR. ROSE TO LADY HAMILTON.

“MADAM,

“March 9th, 1804.

“In proposing to you to write the enclosed letter to Mr. Addington, I entreat I may not raise a hope in your mind that your doing so will be likely to produce any good to you. I have, in conformity with

the principle I have invariably adhered to, been anxious from the first mention of your case to me, to prevent your forming an expectation of success from any application you might make to the Minister, lest I should in the remotest possible degree contribute to add disappointment to misfortune. But I think in your situation the attempt is worth making. You will at least arrive at a certainty, for I am persuaded if it does not succeed now, it never can; and this sort of application will, I think, afford you as good a chance of success as you can have. I sincerely and heartily wish you had a better than I can venture to hope for.

“If you can prevail with either the peer or the knight you mentioned to me to put your letter into Mr. Addington’s hands, or to enclose it to him, I should strongly recommend your doing so. But on no account mention my name, or allude to me, as I am quite sure that would not be useful to you; and when you have copied the letter to Mr. A., I must beg you will put it in the fire.

“If anything requires explanation, I will have the honour of waiting on you any morning you please, between eleven and twelve o’clock.”

LADY HAMILTON TO MR. ROSE.¹

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Clarges Street, Nov. 4th.

“You will excuse me for writing to you on the subject that I do, but my wish that Lord Nelson

¹ It is difficult to fix the date of the following letter. Welbore Ellis, if Lord Mendip is meant, died in 1802; but Mr. Pitt was

may be made happy, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Bolton, placed in a situation that he would do justice to, makes me take the liberty of asking, could you not put in a good word for the place vacant now by Welbore Ellis's death? I know your power, and inclination, and your wish to oblige Lord Nelson; and really it would be only justice in Mr. Pitt to do something for the family of a man who is doing all he can for his country. But this I know: Lord Nelson has the greatest reliance on your friendship for him, which makes me take the liberty of now writing to you. I hope you will call on me when you come to town, and I promise you not to bore you with my own claims; for if those that have power will not do me justice, I must be quiet; and, in revenge to them, I can say,—if ever I am a minister's wife again, with the power I had then, why I will again do the same for my country as I did before; and I did more than any *ambassador* ever did, though their pockets were filled with secret-service money, and poor Sir William and myself never got even a pat on the back. But, indeed, the *cold-hearted* Grenville was in then. I

at that time out of office, and could not give away places under Government. Lady Hamilton alludes to the death of Sir W. Hamilton, which took place in 1803. It was not till the following year that Mr. Pitt returned to office; and since Nelson—who died in 1805—was still living, the date cannot be sooner or later than 1804. But who then is the Welbore Ellis mentioned? There was a Welbore Ellis Agar, who was a commissioner of customs. If he died in 1804, he was the person named, and his the office wanted for Mr. Bolton. It would seem, from a subsequent letter, that Lady Hamilton had already urged her claims upon Mr. Addington during his administration, to no purpose. Her "sad story" made no impression upon him.

know if I could tell my story to Mr. Pitt he would do me justice ; but I never am to be so happy as to be in company with that great man :—I call him the Nelson of ministers. But I will not tire you with my *sad story*. I shall be content to see Mr. Bolton placed ; for that will make a worthy family happy, and render Nelson Mr. Pitt's and your grateful friend for ever. Believe me, with more than I can express of gratitude,

“EMMA HAMILTON.”

[It is something in favour of Lady Hamilton, that her first anxiety after the intelligence of Nelson's death was not for herself, but for the family of his sister. But the utter prostration of body and mind which it brought on was more what might be expected from a deeply affectionate wife than from a “*confidante* and friend.” It appears that she was obliged to get her mother to write for her ; and three weeks afterwards was still confined to her bed. From the letter which she then wrote it seems that the accusation was already current against her, which, at a later period, became a more serious charge, of publishing Lord Nelson's confidential communications.—ED.]

MRS. CADOGAN, LADY HAMILTON'S MOTHER, TO
MR. ROSE.

“9th November, 1805.

“Lady Hamilton's most wretched state of mind prevents her imploring her dear good Mr. Rose to

solicit Mr. Pitt to consider the family of our great and glorious Nelson, who so gallantly died for his country, leaving behind his favourite sister, with a large family unprovided for. Her Ladyship is confident you will exert every nerve for these good people as a mark of your true and real attachment to our lamented hero. Mr. Bolton was ever much esteemed by his brother-in-law; and, had it pleased the Almighty to have spared Lord Nelson to his family, he meant to have made them independent. They at this moment surround her ladyship's bed, bewailing their sad loss and miserable state. Lady Hamilton, whose situation is beyond description, only prays that you, good sir, will do all you can for this worthy family; it will be the greatest relief to her mind. This is written by the mother of the most to be pitied Lady Hamilton, who begs leave to subscribe herself Mr. Rose's

"Most obedient and very humble servant,

"MARY CADOGAN.

"P.S.—If Mr. Rose would condescend to acknowledge this it would be a comfort to her just now."

LADY HAMILTON TO MR. ROSE.

"Clarges Street, Nov. 29th, 1805.

"I write from my bed, where I have been ever since the fatal sixth of this month, and only rose to be removed from Merton here. I could not write to

you, my dear sir, before, but your note requires that I should justify myself.

“Believe me, then, when I assure you I do not see any one but the family of my dear Nelson. His letters are in the bed with me; and only to the *present Earl* did I ever read one, and then only a part. It is true he is leaky, but I believe would not willingly tell anything; but I have been told something like some of my letters have been printed in some paper. I never now read a paper, and my health and spirits are so bad I cannot enter into a war with vile editors. Of this be assured, no one shall ever see a letter of my glorious and dear departed Nelson. It is true I have a journal from him ever since he came up to Naples to get provisions for our troops in Toulon, when he was in the *Agamemnon*; but his letters are sacred, and shall remain so. My dear sir, my heart is broken. Life to me now is not worth having; I lived but for him. His glory I gloried in; it was my pride that he should go forth; and this fatal and last time he went I persuaded him to it. But I cannot go on;—my heart and head are gone;—only, believe me, what you write to me shall ever be attended to. Could you know me you would not think I had such bad policy as to publish any thing at this moment. My mind is not a common one; and having lived as a *confidante* and friend with such men as Sir William Hamilton, and dearest, glorious Nelson, I feel myself superior to vain tattling woman. Excuse me, but I am ill and nervous,

and *hurt* that those I value should think meanly of me.

“When you come to town, pray call on me. I do not know if I shall live in England, as I promised the Queen of Naples to go back to her in case of accidents. You will not be able to read this scrawl, but I am very, very ill. Mr. Bolton feels all your kindness to him, and firmly relies on you. All the family are with me, and very kind. The *Earl you know*; but a man must have great courage to *accept* the honour of——calling himself by *that* name.

“Write me a line to say you have got this, and that you believe

“Your grateful

“EMMA HAMILTON.

“You shall see what pictures I have got, and have any copied.”

[After the battle of Trafalgar and the return of the fleet, Captain Hardy lost no time, as soon as he could leave his ship, in repairing to Mr. Rose, as the person in office most attached to his friend Lord Nelson, and most likely to carry into execution his dying bequest as to Lady Hamilton's interests. And he judged rightly; for he took up her cause with an ardour of zeal which made him almost overlook all other considerations, as if it were a sacred duty to give effect to his friend's testamentary desires. This, however, was not his first communication to her; for it appears from her preceding letter that he had reason to suspect

her of having availed herself of private letters to serve her own purposes. The letter in which that charge was intimated is missing. Mr. Rose's view of the subject is the same which he maintained throughout the correspondence.—Ed.]

MR. ROSE TO LADY HAMILTON.

“Cuffinells, Dec. 9th, 1805.

“MADAM,

“Captain Hardy had the goodness to take the trouble (at much inconvenience to himself) to come over here immediately after the *Victory* anchored at Spithead, to tell me what passed in the last moments of the life of my late most invaluable friend ; respecting whom I shall at no time attempt to express my feelings. I learn from him that Lord Nelson, almost with his latest breath, manifested a confidence that I would do all in my power to make effectual the wish he had more than once stated to me respecting you ; the Captain, at the same time, communicating to me the entry made in his lordship's pocket-book, just before he went into the action in which he immortalized his name, recommending a remuneration to you for the actual and important services rendered by you to the country when the fleet under his command was in Sicily on his first return from Egypt. I cannot, therefore, delay telling you I shall take the very earliest opportunity of a personal communication with Mr. Pitt to enforce that solemn request upon him ; and, I am sure, his respect for the memory of

one of the greatest men that ever lived, and his sense of what is right to be done in such a case, will incline him to listen attentively, and I hope favourably, to the claim made for you; of which, however, I never heard anything till after he went out of office in 1801. When I last had the honour of seeing you, somewhat more than two years ago, in Mr. Addington's administration, I suggested the length of time that had elapsed subsequent to the performance of the service as an obstacle. That difficulty is certainly not lessened; but, considering when the solemn and earnest recommendation was made, and the strong attestation of the importance of your interposition, I am not without a hope of success. I am anxious, however, to guard you against entertaining a sanguine expectation on the subject, that I may not have the self-reproach of occasioning a disappointment to you. My application must be to Mr. Pitt, but the reward (to which I think you entitled both on principle and policy) must, I conceive, be from the foreign Secretary of State, on account of the nature of the service. I can promise nothing but zeal; how far that, acting on the conviction of my mind of the justice of your pretensions, is likely to be effectual, you shall know in a few days, at the latest, after I shall see Mr. Pitt, either at Bath or in London.

"I trouble you with no particulars about Mr. Bolton, as I have written to himself. The earnest manner in which Mr. Pitt wrote and spoke to me about him repeatedly, will insure to him my best

attention. He knows from me Mr. Pitt's positive engagement to provide for him.

“ I am, Madam,

“ &c. &c. &c.

“G. ROSE.”

[After the death of Mr. Pitt, in 1806, Mr. Rose wrote to Lady Hamilton, to apologize for not having obtained from him any decision upon her case, and signified his intention to resign, and consequently his loss of power to assist her, but encouraged her to rely on Lord Nelson's will. In another letter, a few months afterwards, he cautioned her not to be sanguine. In the following year, after two applications to Mr. Canning in her favour, the language of discouragement is still stronger. Out of tenderness to her feelings, the only objection which he represents to her to be insurmountable is, the length of time which had elapsed since the service to be rewarded was performed; the application was too late; but it was not too late for something to be done for the child Horatia, whom Nelson had *adopted*. And so, in writing to Lord Abercorn on the same subject in 1808, he acknowledged the utter fruitlessness of his efforts in behalf of Lady Hamilton, but still hoped for his assistance in getting a pension for the child. He must have seen from the first the impossibility of obtaining any public grant of money for the lady; but he relied on the Foreign Minister consenting to give something

out of the secret-service money, to reward her services ; and therefore, when Mr. Lavie, one of Lady Hamilton's trustees, to whom she had sent the memorial of her claims drawn up by Mr. Rose, consulted him as to the best mode of proceeding with it, he suggested as a last resource, the possibility of obtaining from the person who was Foreign Minister at that time a certificate that it was a service which he would have rewarded if application had been then made to him. A drowning man will catch at a straw ; but the hope of obtaining any assistance from the lofty principles of Lord Grenville, who was then in office,—the cold-hearted Grenville, as Lady H. called him, because he had no sympathy with her impassioned warmth of feeling,—was a straw beyond her reach. He did not share in Mr. Rose's veneration and attachment to Lord Nelson. At length, in the year 1813, she lost even Mr. Rose's support, as well as Mr. Canning's, by some false statements which she introduced into a memorial prepared by herself for the Prince Regent ; and having escaped from prison for debt by the assistance of Lord Ellenborough, she hastened to find an asylum from her creditors in France, before new writs could be issued against her, and there still invoked the assistance of Nelson's friends in behalf of the little Horatia.—
ED.]

MR. ROSE TO LADY HAMILTON.

“MADAM,

“Deeply as I am affected by the recent loss I have sustained in the death of Mr. Pitt, I cannot omit to express to you my sincere and deep regret that I had not a possible opportunity of fulfilling the engagement which the veneration I have for the memory of Lord Nelson induced me to make to you, in my letter from Cuffinells, after I had seen Captain Hardy.

“I had no alarm about Mr. Pitt’s health till it was decided he should leave Bath; but on my seeing him at Putney Heath, I found him so ill as to preclude my talking to him on any business whatever; Sir Walter Farquhar had indeed positively prohibited any one from doing so.

“I shall certainly not remain in office; and respecting the arrangements that may take place in consequence of Mr. Pitt’s death I am utterly ignorant; but if it shall happen that any representation of mine to those who may fill the departments of Government can have the remotest chance of being useful to you, it shall not be wanting. I am persuaded, however, that Lord Nelson’s last and solemn appeal to his country for justice to be done to your claim, will be the best possible support to it.

“I will have the honour of waiting on you some morning in the course of the next week.

“I have the honour to be, Madam,

“Your faithful, and most obedient, humble servant,

“GEORGE ROSE.

“Old Palace Yard, Jan. 27th, 1806.”

MR. ROSE TO LADY HAMILTON.

"July 3d, 1806.

"DEAR MADAM,

"I have made arrangements for to-morrow that would render it really inconvenient to me to wait on you while you are in town. I would, however, break in upon these to call in Clarges Street, if I could have a chance of being useful to you; but I am certain I cannot. What I have repeatedly suggested I am more and more confirmed in, that the difficulty in affording you relief is increased to a great extent by the length of time that has elapsed since your claim arose, in which period there have been three administrations. If you cannot obtain attention to it now, I am sure you had better think no more of it. I do not say this from indifference in the subject, but from an anxiety that you should not continue to entertain a hope that must (if you do not immediately obtain relief) end in disappointment. Lord Nelson's codicil, I think, affords a ground for making a last attempt."

MR. ROSE TO LADY HAMILTON.

"Old Palace Yard, June 4th, 1807.

"DEAR MADAM,

"I have had a full conversation with Mr. Canning on the subject of your application. After reading your papers, he listened to my statement very patiently. The result was his promising to consider all the circumstances attentively; and that, if upon full consideration of them, he should think anything

can be done, he would talk with the Duke of Portland on the subject, both as to the amount and the mode.

“ Let me again caution you most earnestly against raising your expectations ; that if I cannot do you good, at least that I may not be the occasion of a disappointment to you. I am the more anxious about that, because the difficulty (from delay) is, I am afraid, almost insurmountable.

MR. ROSE TO LADY HAMILTON.

“ DEAR MADAM,

“ It has not been owing to any want of attention on my part that you have not heard from me much earlier ; the real truth is, that Mr. Canning has been so entirely occupied with urgent business, that although I put your paper into his hand on his first coming into office, I could not think myself justified in pressing him to any determination upon them ; nor could I have done so on any private concern whatever, while matters of the highest importance to the public were depending. I availed myself, however, of an interval, which I was very glad to do before I left London, to talk with him fully a few days ago on the whole subject of your memorial ; and I must in justice to him say, that I am persuaded the respect he has for the memory of the incomparable man who recommended you and the child to the justice and liberality of his country, would induce him to make that recommendation available to you both if he could do so ; but, on the fullest and most attentive consideration of

all circumstances, he thinks he cannot do that. I have so invariably endeavoured to prepare you not to expect success in your application, that I trust you will not feel much disappointment at this communication, however you may regret it. There are always people, who have no responsibility upon themselves, ready enough to say to persons who consult them, there should be no difficulty in points of a mere embarrassing nature; but I should not act fairly if I did not say that (feeling, as I do, so warm and strong an attachment to the memory of Lord Nelson), I think Mr. Canning could not now do what I thought might very properly have been done eighteen months or still much longer ago. I make this communication with deep and sincere regret; but it is better to state the whole plainly to you, than to mislead you, or to throw blame on another, taking credit for favourable intentions on my own part.

“The reward recommended by Lord Nelson for yourself, on the score of public services, seems to be now quite desperate. The only hope I can venture to hold out the remotest prospect of to you is, that Mr. Canning may possibly on some favourable opportunity propose to the Duke of Portland to recommend to the King a small pension to the child. He wishes, I verily believe sincerely, to do that; but the carrying this into execution must depend on contingencies he cannot control, and if it should never be done, you must not reproach him or me even in your own mind for a moment; for I am not authorized by him to give you the slightest encouragement. My anxiety, how-

ever, to show how eagerly I wish to fulfil the dying request of the man I most sincerely loved, and to whom the country is most deeply indebted, has not, I hope, induced me to say too much.

“ I send herewith the papers you put into my hands, by a careful servant, as I know they are of value to you.

“ I am, dear Madam,

“ Your most obedient and very humble servant,

“ G. R.

“ Old Palace Yard, August 21st, 1807.”

MR. ROSE TO LORD ABERCORN.

“ Old Palace Yard, April 9th, 1808.

“ MY LORD,

“ I am afraid two or three weeks have elapsed since I promised Lady Hamilton to state to your Lordship what has passed, within my knowledge, respecting any remuneration or provision for her in consequence of her claims on the public, from a compliance with which I have been prevented only by an uncommon pressure of business, in which I have lately been unceasingly occupied.

“ The first mention of those claims was made to me by Lord Nelson on his return from the West Indies, in the summer of 1805, when he requested me with great earnestness to submit the consideration of them to Mr. Pitt, accompanied by strong assurances that it was through her interposition exclusively he obtained provisions and water for the English ships at Syracuse, in the summer of 1798 ; by which he was enabled to

return to Egypt in quest of the enemy's fleet ;—to which, therefore, the success of his brilliant action of the Nile was owing, as he must otherwise have gone down to Gibraltar to refit, and the enemy would have escaped.

“ A few weeks subsequent to that interview with his Lordship, in London, he was again appointed to the Mediterranean command ; and, previous to his sailing for that station, I met him at Portsmouth at his earnest request,—Mr. Canning, who was then in my neighbourhood, in Hampstead, accompanying me,—when his Lordship repeated his entreaties that I would recommend Lady Hamilton's case to Mr. Pitt's early consideration ; an opportunity for which occurred a few days afterwards, on Mr. Pitt coming to me at Cuffnells. He listened favourably to my representation, without making any sort of engagement, but finished the conversation by saying he would discuss the subject conclusively with me when we met in London.

“ The next circumstance that I recollect was Sir Thomas Hardy, Lord Nelson's captain, arriving at Spithead in the *Victory*, in November or December, with the corpse of the incomparable hero. He left the ship as soon as she anchored at Spithead, in an open boat, and came to Lymington, nearly thirty miles, and from thence to me at Cuffnells, to communicate to me Lord Nelson's dying sentiments in support of Lady Hamilton's claims. His Lordship's recommendation of them, on his going into the action, is, I believe, proved as a part of his will. I am sure it has been printed.

“ Strongly impressed by these circumstances, I wrote immediately to her Ladyship, assuring her of my best exertions to obtain from Mr. Pitt an early decision on her case ; under a persuasion I did not venture to convey to her, that it would have been a favourable one ; but, unhappily, his last illness had made too rapid a progress before I saw him to permit me to mention any subject of business to him when we met.

“ From the time of Mr. Pitt’s death to the formation of the present Government, I know only of one application, and that in Mr. Addington’s time ; but on the appointment of Mr. Canning to be Foreign Secretary, I stated to him fully all that had passed within my knowledge from the first mention of the subject to me, accompanied with as earnest entreaties as I could use, that he would give a sum of 6,000*l.* or 7,000*l.*, out of foreign secret-service, to her Ladyship ; conceiving that to be a much more proper mode of rewarding her, and likely to be attended with considerably less difficulty ; but with a perfectly good disposition on his part, that effort failed : a very faint hope, however, having been afforded that a moderate pension might at some time possibly be procured for the child who lives with her, and who was recommended also by Lord Nelson in his last moments.

“ These are the circumstances of Lady Hamilton’s case according to my knowledge. Whenever it has been mentioned, I have uniformly expressed as strong an opinion in favour of it as I have invariably felt ; but I have cautiously avoided raising an expectation in her

mind on the subject, that I might not have the self-reproach of adding disappointment to misfortune. If I ever gave her the faintest hope, it must have been when I wrote to her after Captain Hardy's arrival in December, 1805; but I wish her to communicate to you any letters of mine, if she has kept them.

“ My anxiety to contribute to fulfilling the dying wish of Lord Nelson is unabated; and if your Lordship shall think my calling on you can afford the remotest chance of that, I shall cheerfully obey your commands on the subject.”

Memorial of Lady Hamilton's claims, drawn up by Mr. Rose in his own hand-writing, and forwarded to Mr. Lavie, one of her Trustees. Referred to in Mr. Lavie's letter which follows.

“ The ground on which I found my claim for some remuneration from Government is a positive and most important service I rendered to my country in obtaining orders from the Court of Naples for the British fleet to be victualled and watered at Syracuse, in the summer of 1798, contrary to direct instructions which had been before given to furnish them with nothing. If I had not prevailed in that respect, which was attended with very great difficulty, and could have been effected only by the influence I had with the Queen, the British fleet must have gone down to Gibraltar for provisions and water; in which case the

French fleet, that was destroyed at Aboukir, must inevitably have escaped.

“ This is a plain statement, most incontrovertibly true. It has been attested by Lord Nelson repeatedly under his hand and in frequent conversations ; confirmed by a solemn declaration almost in the hour of death. He requested to see Mr. Rose on the subject previous to his leaving Portsmouth the last time, and urged him strongly to recommend my case to the favourable consideration of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Rose has indeed admitted to me that his Lordship’s expressions of anxiety for some remuneration to me were amongst the last words he uttered when he was taking leave of him on board the *Victory*. Mr. Pitt’s death having happened before Mr. Rose could have any personal communication with him, in consequence of Lord Nelson’s request, I have derived no benefit from that ; and I have been unsuccessful in every exertion I have used since with subsequent Governments.

“ This want of success has been more unfortunate for me, as I have incurred very heavy expenses in completing what Lord Nelson had left unfinished at Merton, and have found it impossible to sell the place. From these circumstances I have been reduced to a situation the most painful and distressing that can be conceived ; and should have been actually confined in prison, if a few friends, from attachment to the memory of Lord Nelson, had not interfered to prevent it, under whose kind protection alone I am enabled now to exist.

“ My case is plain and simple. I rendered a

service of the utmost importance to my country, attested in the clearest and most undeniable manner possible; and I have received no reward, although justice was claimed for me by the hero who lost his life in the performance of his duty to that country, in one of the most brilliant victories that was ever accomplished, after a series of former services unexampled almost in the history of the world.

“ If I had bargained for a reward beforehand, there can be no doubt but that it would have been given to me, and *liberally*; I hoped then not to want it. I do now stand in *the utmost need of it*, and surely it will not be refused to me. I accompany this paper with a copy of what Lord Nelson wrote in the solemn moments which preceded the action in which he fell; and I am still not without a hope that the dying, earnest, entreaty of such a man, in favour of a child he had adopted and was devotedly fond of, will be complied with, as well as my own application.

“ The letters I have received on different occasions on this subject will show that the justness and fairness of my claims have been repeatedly admitted by those who were competent judges of the matter.

“ I anxiously implore that my claims may not be rejected without consideration, and that my forbearing to urge them earlier may not be objected to me; because in the lifetime of Sir W. Hamilton I should not have thought of even mentioning them, nor, indeed, after his death, if I had been left in a less comparatively destitute state. Allow me further to add, that if any reference is necessary you will have the goodness to

make it, and not leave me in my unprotected situation to press my application other than to yourself;—not entertaining, however, the slightest doubt of the justness and perfect fairness of any department to which you may refer my pretensions. If to the Naval one, where they can be well judged of, I should hope for a due attention.”

MR. LAVIE TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“SIR,

“Lady Hamilton has handed me a most excellent paper, of which myself and the rest of her trustees will immediately avail ourselves; but we have some doubt whether any, and which department of Government should be applied to previous to going to Parliament. Lady H. gave me, some time ago, a copy of a memorial to the King (not in council), but I cannot learn that it was ever presented.

“I believe I could get half the City of London to sign a recommendatory paper if it would be any use.

“You may rely that any communications you may be pleased to make to me shall be held sacred. Lady Hamilton and the little Horatia are to stay at West-end till Tuesday, and I wish, if possible, to get the above matter arranged before she leaves us.

“I have the honour to be,

“Your very obedient servant,

“GERMAIN LAVIE.

“Frederick's Place, 1st April, 1809.

“Many years since, I had frequently the honour of meeting you at my good friend Mr. Pott’s, from whom I derived all my little legal knowledge.”

MR. ROSE TO G. LAVIE, ESQ.

“Old Palace Yard, April 2d, 1809.

“SIR,

“I wish I knew how to give any advice likely to be useful on the subject of your letter. I promised Lord Nelson, on my last parting from him, to endeavour to give furtherance to his recommendation of the case of Lady Hamilton; conceiving it, from his Lordship’s statement, to be entitled to favourable consideration.

“I have kept that promise faithfully, and regret very sincerely my want of success. I certainly used my best endeavours in trying the ground, and seeing no prospect of doing her Ladyship any good, I avoided, carefully, raising any expectations in her mind by a fresh declaration that I could do no more. Understanding, however, that she had a hope her case, especially considering the late severe and afflicting pressure upon her, might be listened to if brought forward from another quarter,—I did not feel myself at liberty to dissuade her from the attempt, however discouraging the prospect appears to be.

“If a reward should be thought of for Lady Hamilton, for the actual service rendered to this country, as certified by Lord Nelson, it should naturally come from the foreign secret-service fund. In

that event the application should be to Mr. Canning, who is not indisposed to do what would be strictly and correctly conformable to his duty; but after such a lapse of time, and different persons having filled the office he holds, he very reasonably objected to taking upon himself the responsibility of giving the reward.

“On the part of Lady Hamilton it may I believe with truth be urged, that she asked none at the time from a hope of not wanting it;—but that she now does.

“In that view of the subject, the only ray of hope (which I wish not to encourage) that could be entertained would be by prevailing with the noble lord who was Secretary of State when the service was performed, to certify, that if application had been made to him at the time he should have thought himself justified in rewarding it. Without that I do not see how even an attempt can be made; for no application can be received in Parliament without the King’s consent, signified by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for which there does not seem to be any claim in this case.

“If you should have occasion to come to town to-morrow, and will take the trouble of calling here, I will state to you anything further that may occur to me. You will be sure of finding me at home, as I am at present confined to the house, and shall be for at least a few days. From one to three I am engaged in public business. At any other hour I shall be able to see you.

“P.S.—Lord Grenville was Foreign Secretary of State, and Lord Spencer First Lord of the Admiralty, when Lord Nelson’s victory of Aboukir was obtained.”

MR. CANNING TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“Claremont, July 24th, 1809.

“DEAR ROSE,

“You must have thought it very extraordinary that I did not take any notice to you, when last we met, of your letter of the 14th respecting Lady Hamilton ; but I had so far misunderstood the private note which accompanied it, as to imagine that you had left me at liberty (or rather desired me) to put off reading your letter till a moment of leisure ; and that moment did not arrive till yesterday, when I came here for a couple of days of rest, and brought a heap of private unanswered letters with me.

“I am sorry to find in your letter a promise to Lady H. which I shall have obliged you to break, that you would call upon her at Richmond in your way out of town, with a final answer.

“I do assure you that I should be very sincerely disposed to gratify your anxious wishes in behalf of Lady H. if I could do so. But Lord Grenville’s letter, as you yourself seem aware, does not help me at all ; on the contrary, it is worded with the coldest caution, and would, I think, leave it quite open to him, and is intended to leave it open to him, to say that though Lady Hamilton’s services deserved reward,

yet the Foreign S. S. Fund was not the proper fund out of which that reward should come.

“ I confess I am myself of this opinion. I do think that a pension might be well bestowed on Lady H. But I do *not* think that, *even at the time*, the influence of a Foreign Minister’s wife with the Court where her husband resides, is a fit subject for compensation by secret-service money. There is still, however, another consideration more embarrassing, particularly in the times in which we are acting. The S. S. fund is, by express designation, for *secret* services—services that *cannot be explained or avowed*. Now *here* is a service published not only in Lady H.’s memorials, and known to every person whom she has solicited, but printed in extracts of a will registered in Doctors’ Commons, and accessible to all mankind. What reason upon earth is there, it will be said, that if this service is remunerated *at all*, it should be remunerated *secretly*? or how *can* it be remunerated *secretly* in fact? Would not every one whom Lady H. has solicited, and every member of opposition high and low, know that Lady H. *had* received the reward of those services, and received it from a fund not brought to account?—and why not bring to account a matter so notorious? Do you not see the multitude of inconvenient questions to which this transaction would give rise? Do you not see that by disclosing, as it does of course, the manner in which *a part* of this fund is applied, and a difference of opinion existing (as there certainly would) as to the propriety of such an application, we should risk an inference being drawn

that much more was probably disposed of in a manner equally objectionable, and of which Parliament might have cognizance with quite as little inconvenience to the State?

“A *clear opinion* of Lord G.’s in *favour* of the measure would have saved *some* of these difficulties—not all; for I should then have been only paying a debt incurred and acknowledged by a predecessor, but accidentally left unsettled.

“I really feel as much pain in stating these difficulties to you as you can do in the result of them. But I wish above all things to show you that I have given a fair consideration to the subject; and rather to take your judgment upon them than to give my own.

“Believe me, dear Rose,

“Ever most sincerely yours,

“GEO. CANNING.

“I return the paper.”

MR. CANNING TO MR. ROSE.

“Gloucester Lodge, Feb. 17th, 1813.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have received a letter from Lady Hamilton (widow of Sir William), accompanying a copy of a petition which she has presented, or intends to present, to the Prince Regent, for a compensation for her losses and services. I think her richly entitled to some such compensation, and shall be happy if any unexceptionable mode of granting it can be devised.

“ But the reason of my troubling you is, that in the course of her narrative she refers to you *and me* jointly as having given assurances to Lord Nelson of Mr. Pitt’s determination to take her claims into consideration, on the evening when we dined on board the *Victory*, previous to Lord N.’s sailing for Cadiz.

“ Now what assurances *you* may have been then authorized to give, I of course cannot undertake to say ; but very sure I am that *I* had no authority to say anything upon the subject. I very much doubt whether I at that time *knew* anything of the existence of such a claim, which, if I mistake not, was first brought under my notice by you, when I was at the Foreign Office, and when, as you know, I would gladly have done anything that I could do to show my sense of Lady H.’s services, but found (what appeared to me) insuperable difficulties in the way.

“ I wrote to Lady H. (returning the copy of the petition) to point out the inaccuracy of this reference to me, in respect to the assurances given to Lord Nelson ; which I do, not as meaning to disclaim the opinion that she is entitled to remuneration, but because an inaccurate statement, in point of fact, however immaterial to the merits of the case, might prejudice her application.

“ Her claim is not the weaker or the stronger for any assurances which either of us may have given ; but it would be very awkward for her case that I should be asked if I gave such assurances, and to be obliged to answer (as I must do to such a question) in the negative. Whether your assurances to Lord N.

were given that day in my hearing, or not, I really cannot take upon myself to say. You had much conversation with him before me, and a good deal apart from me, and I believe alone with him, while we were on board the *Victory*. Be that as it may, I have no recollection of the circumstance, and certainly could not vouch for it if appealed to.

“ I very sincerely hope that the P. Rt. may be able to comply with the prayer of the petition in some shape or other.

“ Yours very truly,

“ GEO. CANNING.

“ I return your pamphlet, with many thanks for the loan of it; and very many for your criticisms, which were of use to me in more instances than one,—in one particularly.

“ I trouble you in return with a small pamphlet (of no very splendid form) in which you will find some mention of Mr. Pitt, I hope not unpleasing to you. It is full of false points; but in general so obvious as to correct themselves. It is hardly worth your keeping, but you are welcome to keep it.”

MR. ROSE TO LADY HAMILTON.

“ Feb. 18th, 1813.

“ DEAR MADAM,

“ I had a letter from Mr. Canning last night, wherein he mentions your having communicated to him a petition to the Prince Regent, ‘in which you refer to him and me jointly as having given assurances

to Lord Nelson of Mr. Pitt's determination to take your claims into consideration,' on the evening when he and I dined on board the *Victory*, previous to Lord Nelson sailing for Cadiz. It is incumbent on me, therefore, to state to you, that Mr. Canning was not a party to the conversation between Lord Nelson and me respecting you, and could not have heard a syllable of it, as he was not near us at the time. It is not merely to state that, however, that I now trouble you, but to apprise you that your recollection is not correct as to what I told you passed between me and Lord Nelson at the time alluded to. His Lordship urged me with great earnestness to press your claim on Mr. Pitt, and I gave him strong assurances that I would do so; and, generally, that I would endeavour to be useful to you.

"Mr. Pitt's death soon after that, prevented my interposition being productive of any benefit to you; but I am persuaded you will do me the justice to admit that I endeavoured to give every support to your claim while I thought there was the remotest hope of its being entertained. I did not know you were now bringing it forward again, till I received Mr. Canning's letters."

MR. CANNING TO MR. ROSE.

"Gloucester Lodge, Feb. 20th, 1813.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I return the papers which you were so good as to send me yesterday. They contain a very clear account of your part in Lady H.'s business, and satisfy

me that my recollection was correct as to the only knowledge I ever had of it.

“ I think it may be right that you should see what her impressions are upon the subject ; and therefore I transmit to you a letter which I have this moment received from her in reply to that from me, the substance of which I stated to you in my former note.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Very sincerely yours,

“ GEO. CANNING.”

MR. ROSE TO MR. CANNING.

“ Old Palace Yard, Feb. 21st, 1813.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I thank you for the perusal of Lady Hamilton’s letter, which I herewith return.

“ As her Ladyship certainly never saw Lord Nelson after our visit to him on board the *Victory*, the communication from him of what passed there must have been in writing, and now in her possession, to which she can refer.

“ As far as she can have a chance of deriving advantage from the anxiety of Lord Nelson for attention to her claims, my acknowledgment of his urgency to me on the subject will be available to her. The hurry in which, perhaps, he wrote to her may have occasioned his expressing himself so as to have been misunderstood ; but she never said anything like it to me.

“ The statement of her pretensions that I sent to you was drawn by me, which, at the time I wrote it,

she approved of entirely ; and you will have seen that in all that passed there was not a syllable that had a tendency towards authority having been given by Mr. Pitt of any sort."

LADY HAMILTON TO MR. ROSE.

" 150, Bond Street, March 4th, 1813.

" DEAR SIR,

" I have been, and am, so ill with anxiety that I have scarce strength to write. But I had written to you long since, and had enclosed you a copy of my narrative to H. R. H. the Prince Regent, and to his Ministers. I now send you one, and also a letter I sent to Lord Sidmouth ; for a kind friend of mine has told me that the reason my claims have not been remunerated was owing to a most infamous falsehood raised against mine honour and that of the brave and virtuous Nelson, which is false, and it shall be made known ; for I will appeal to a generous public, who will not let a woman who has served her country with the zeal I have, be left to starve and insult. You, sir, who have been ever kind, and ever will be, will, I am sure, read the letter to Lord Sidmouth, and tell me if you approve of it. I am so fatigued with anxiety, and also with my situation about my pecuniary affairs, that I can only say I am

" Your truly grateful

" E. HAMILTON.

" P.S.—Mr. Canning has a short memory, as I have Nelson's letter on the visit to the *Victory*, the 14th of

September. If you could write me a line to say when you could call for half-an-hour, Sunday excepted, I will be at home, as I wish to ask your advice. The Prince Regent is my friend, and wishes well to my cause."

MR. ROSE TO LADY HAMILTON.

"DEAR MADAM, "Old Palace Yard, March 6th, 1813.

"I return the copies of your memorial to the Prince Regent, and of your letter to Lord Sidmouth; in doing which it is impossible for me to avoid expressing my very deep regret at your having referred to Mr. Canning and myself for assurances having been given by us to Lord Nelson, on board the *Victory*, 'that the promises made by Mr. Pitt in your favour should be fully realized,' because the accuracy of that cannot be supported by either of us.

"In a letter I wrote to you about a fortnight ago, I reminded you of what did pass in my last interview with Lord Nelson, on the eve of his sailing for Cadiz; and I must lament that your statement was not conformable to that.

"It happens that Sunday, about two o'clock, would be the most convenient time for me to wait on you; but as you exclude that day, I will endeavour to be with you on Monday, at half-past one.

LADY HAMILTON TO MR. ROSE.

"Hôtel Dessin, Calais, July 4th.

"We arrived here safe, my dear sir, after three days' sickness at sea, as for precaution we embarked

at the Tower. Mr. Smith got me the discharge from Lord Ellenborough.

I then begged Mr. Smith to withdraw his bail, for I would have died in prison sooner than that good man should have suffered for me; and I managed so well with Horatia alone, that I was at Calais before any new writs could be issued out against me. I feel so much better from change of climate, food, air, large rooms, and *liberty*, that there is a chance I may live to see my dear Horatia brought up. I am looking out for a lodging. I have an excellent French woman, who is very good at everything; for Horatia and myself, and my old dame, who is coming, will be my establishment. Near me is an English lady, who has resided here for twenty-five years; who has a day school, but not for eating nor sleeping. At eight in the morning I take Horatia; fetch her at one; at three we dine; she goes till five, and then in the evening we walk. She learns everything: piano, harp, languages grammatically. She knows French and Italian well, but she will still improve. Not any girls but those of the first families go there. Last evening we walked two miles to a *fête champêtre pour les bourgeois*. Everybody is pleased with Horatia. The General and his good old wife are very good to us; but our little world of happiness is in ourselves. If, my dear sir, Lord Sidmouth would do something for dear Horatia, so that I can be enabled to give her an education, and also for her dress, it would ease me, and make me very happy. Surely he owes this to Nelson. For God's sake do try for me, for you do not know how limited I am.

I have left everything to be sold for the creditors, who do not deserve anything; for I have been the victim of artful, mercenary wretches, and my too great liberality and open heart has been the dupe of villains. To you, sir, I trust, for my dearest Horatia, to exert yourself for her, and that will be an easy passport for me."

CHAPTER V.

1800 AND 1801.

CORRESPONDENCE [BETWEEN MR. PITT, MR. ROSE, AND MR. ADDINGTON—
MR. ROSE'S NOTES ON THE SCARCITY OF GRAIN IN 1800—HIS DIARY
FROM 28TH OF JANUARY TO 28TH FEBRUARY, 1801.

[To connect the subject of Lady Hamilton's claims in an unbroken series, it has been necessary to pass over several years. We now, therefore, return to 1800. The sinecure office of Lord Privy Seal of Scotland having become vacant by the death of Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, Lord Auckland seems to have applied for it, or something else. His disappointment, when it was given to Mr. Dundas (who retained also his own office), was perhaps the grievance to which he afterwards alluded. Mr. Rose thought he had a better right to it, or at least some equivalent, after sixteen years of hard labour at the Treasury, which he began to find too much for him. But he merely suggested his claim, and bided his time. Another opportunity occurred when Lord Sidney died, a few months after. He was Chief-Justice in Eyre, and his son, on succeeding to the peerage, gave up his place at the Treasury; but Mr. Pitt had determined before-

hand who should succeed them. The first office was given to Mr. Grenville, and the second to Lord Granville Leveson Gower. Mr. Rose was satisfied that what was best for Mr. Pitt was best for him, and continued to discharge his arduous duties with as much zeal as ever.—ED.]

MR. ROSE TO MR. PITT.

“ April 8th, 1800.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ The enclosed, from Lord Auckland, was evidently intended for you to see ; under the uncertainty therefore of your being in town to-day I send it to you. I shall say nothing about myself respecting the possible openings which may occur in consequence of the event alluded to therein ; meaning now, as I always have, to leave the consideration of my claims to you who alone can judge of them. My health continues better than I had a right to hope, but I feel, in more respects than one, the effect of a continuance of more than sixteen years in my present situation. I should really have not said even so much as this if I had not been desired to call to your recollection the situation of another. If I had had such an intention, I should have written to you on Tuesday. In any event, I shall always remain, what I have long very truly professed myself,

“ My dear Sir,

“ Most entirely yours,

“ GEORGE ROSE.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Hollwood, Tuesday, April 8th, 1800.

“DEAR ROSE,

“Till I received your letter this morning I really was not aware that you entertained at present any personal wish of the nature you refer to. I shall be very glad to have an opportunity of conversing with you upon it, with a view to such future occasions as may arise. On the present, though I am not yet able to fix precisely the particulars of the arrangement to be proposed, I had long ago settled the general outline of it, in the expectation of the event which has now taken place, of Stuart Mackenzie’s death.

“With respect to Lord Auckland, I should have been truly glad (as you know) to have the means of giving him such an accession of income as he would have from the office of Treasurer of the Navy;¹ but my object must be a move in the House of Commons, and for that the Post-office would not be available.

“Ever sincerely yours,

“W. PITT.”

MR. ROSE TO MR. PITT.

“April 8th, 1800

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have felt a real anxiety to remain in my situation as long as there was a chance of my being useful in it; but the truth is I am wearing out,

[¹ Mr. Dundas was Treasurer of the Navy, and continued to hold that office till the Government was broken up in the following year.—ED.]

which I have lately had symptoms of. I shall, however, most certainly not think of leaving it at a time, or in a manner, that can by the remotest possibility put you to the slightest inconvenience. I have forborne to mention to you anything respecting my views or wishes, from a most unaffected reluctance to be troublesome to you about myself, and from a persuasion that you would think of me at a proper season. If I have pretensions of any sort you know them. I never had a political connexion except with you, and I never can with any other. I was perfectly serious in saying that I should have been silent now, had I not been desired by Lord A. to bring him to your notice. And I am not less so in assuring you that I have a full confidence in your doing with respect to me what shall appear to you to be right.

“ Ever entirely yours,

“ GEORGE ROSE.”

MR. ROSE TO MR. PITT.

“July 1st, 1800.

“ I need not say that I have at no time been urgent about myself. I should be ashamed of even calling your attention to my case for a single moment, at a time like the present, for any other purpose than merely to say, that, if in the arrangement consequent on the death of Lord Sydney, an opening should occur which you might think not unfit for me, I should be perfectly satisfied to continue in my present situation, without one shilling additional

income, till you can find a successor entirely to your satisfaction, for which I should cheerfully wait your utmost leisure."

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

"Downing Street, Sept. 22d, 1800.

"DEAR ROSE,

"I found your letter on my arrival in town this morning, and do not see any reason for your shortening your holidays before the time you propose. Our first business when we meet must be to prepare our budget, for which I hope you will have the materials collected. It is not absolutely impossible that negotiation before the end of the year may make [our labours unnecessary; but that prospect is as yet very uncertain, and I think on the whole discouraging.

"Yours ever,

"W. P."

[The following letters show the intimate terms on which Mr. Pitt, Mr. Addington, and Mr. Rose lived at the close of this year, and the sort of hope which the former entertained of a peace being concluded through Lord Malmesbury's negotiation at Lisle. It appears clearly, that though Mr. Pitt was prepared for war, he desired peace.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“DEAR ROSE,

“Woodley,¹ Friday, Oct. 24th.

“As I should not see either Ryder or Hawkesbury, I think it would not answer my purpose to go to Hollwood. You would not perhaps think it much additional trouble, when you find yourself either on horseback or in a post-chaise, to come to me here on Sunday, instead of going to Hollwood, and it will be a great accommodation to me if you can do so. But if your coming and remaining Monday would be any inconvenience to business, let me know, and I will still go either to Hollwood or to town. The Speaker desires me to tell you that he shall be very happy to see you, and depends upon your considering this as a sufficient invitation.

“Yours ever,

“W. P.”

MR. ADDINGTON TO MR. ROSE.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Woodley, Oct. 24th, 1800.

“I have great pleasure in hoping that you may be induced by a letter which Mr. Pitt is now writing, to come to Woodley on Sunday, and I trust you will remain here as long a time as you can spare from your business in town. If Mr. Pitt should make no further progress till you see him, I am sure you will think that his health is evidently and materially improved.

“I am ever, my dear Sir, sincerely yours,

“HENRY ADDINGTON.”

¹ Mr. Addington's house in Berkshire.

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

" Woodley, Saturday, Oct. 25th, 1800.

" DEAR ROSE,

" You will have found by my letter of yesterday evening that I had anticipated your kind suggestion of coming here, and I am very glad to find you can do so without inconvenience. We shall expect you to-morrow, and I hope you will stay Monday. Pray bring with you (if you can get it) an account of all the corn and flour imported in each month since the beginning of the year, and all the different papers and accounts which in any way relate to corn.

" Yours ever,

" W. P.

" 'The market here at Reading has been very abundant to-day, and fallen 7s. per quarter, which I hope augurs well for the London market on Monday.'

[The year 1800, though marked by no great political event, obtained a disastrous celebrity as a year of scarcity. At the commencement of harvest the rain descended in torrents, the lowlands were deluged with water, the crops were spoiled, the price of wheat rose to more than 120 shillings a quarter, and people resorted to all sorts of devices to economise the consumption of bread. Potatoes, potato-flour, and rice, were the ordinary substitutes, and an Act of Parliament forbade the bakers to sell any but whole

meal bread. In support of that measure a fact was announced, which, though then received with ignorant incredulity, has since been admitted and confirmed. Lord Holland sarcastically observes in his *Memoirs*,¹ “Mr. Addington gravely informed the world, from his father’s notes, that bran was more nutritive than grain.” The statement is inaccurate, but the sneer might have been spared. Mr. Addington was on that subject in advance of his age. It is now well known that bran contains more of the muscle-producing ingredient of food than fine flour. This was the Brown-bread Act, repealed in the following year under peculiar circumstances, which will be noticed in their place. On the part of the Treasury, Mr. Rose was anxious to alleviate the general distress, by persuading the starch-makers and distillers to refrain from making use of grain in their respective trades, and to consent to a Bill being introduced into Parliament for their regulation. The following paper shows what steps he took for that purpose.—ED.]

MR. ROSE’S *Notes on the Scarcity of Corn in 1800.*

Wednesday, October 8th.—Came to town from Cuffnells. Dined with Mr. Pitt alone; and after much conversation with him on the state of the interior, prevailed with him to incline to an early meeting of Parliament.

Thursday, 9th.—Dined with the Chancellor at

¹ Vol. i. p. 121.

Hampstead ; satisfied him that it is highly desirable Parliament should meet ; that if no effectual measure can be taken for relief of the country, with respect to a supply of corn, or to lessen the price, that the country may at least see the subject has not been neglected.

Friday, 10th.—Lord Grenville concurred in the expediency of the early meeting of Parliament, and the Cabinet decided on the measure.

Mr. Alderman Shaw came to me on the state of provisions ; suggested the expediency of giving the bounties according to the actual prices of wheat and flour, instead of according to the average prices, as under the Act of the last session ; stated the prices of wheat having been raised from 105*s.*, as set by the Essex farmers, to 122*s.* by a principal factor, and alluded to Mr. C. S.

Mr. Garratt came to me, and proposed an actual survey of all the grain in the kingdom. Stated Mr. Peacock having his warehouses full of flour, and his refusing to sell a sack.

Mr. Wrench, a deputy in the city, and a dealer in corn, came to me and suggested that it would be highly expedient to compel the factors in Mark Lane to open to the market at the beginning of the day the whole quantities of grain they have to sell, as great advantage is taken by them in producing samples of small quantities to draw on buyers. He suggested also the expediency of preventing the same persons being factors and dealers. He spoke of the bounty in the same manner that Mr. Alderman Shaw had done.

Saw Mr. Suter, a starch-maker, and proposed to him to call a meeting of the trade, to propose their stopping the use of wheat in their manufactory; which he expressed himself willing to do, but was sure the others would not. Finding the wheat must be a month in steep to make starch, gave orders to the Commissioners of Excise to direct their officers to give notice to the starch-makers, that on the day of Parliament meeting (11th of November), a Bill would be moved for to prohibit their using grain, with a commencement from that day; that they would therefore steep any more wheat at their own risk: which must produce the desired effect.

Saturday, 11th.—Mr. Bonwell came at my desire, and promised to convene all the distillers, for the purpose of proposing to them to refrain from working from grain on Monday next.

Understanding there is a considerable quantity of rice in the country (especially in the capital), and that orders had been actually received for purchasing the whole for Holland, where it is selling at 40*s.*, the price now here 35*s.* per quarter; wrote to the Commissioners of the Customs to direct them not to allow any of the article to be cleared out for exportation.

Sunday, 12th.—Went to Mr. Scott, at Plaistow (in my way to Eden Farm), who satisfied me he had no intent in raising the prices of the wheat last Monday, as his profit arises solely from a commission of 6*d.* per quarter on the wheat, as he sells only foreign; he also recommends a consideration of the alterations of the bounty.

Monday, 13th.—Mr. Bonwell returned to me to tell me two of the distillers, Mr. Bush and Messrs Smith and Co., of Brentford, positively refused to concur in not working from grain, and that therefore the rest of the trade must also work in their own defence, or they will lose their customers. On inquiry I learnt that the distillers steep their malt a fortnight before they can use it. I therefore directed the Commissioners of Excise to give notice to every distiller in and near London, before one o'clock to-morrow, that a Bill would be moved the first day of the session, to restrain them, which would narrow their working to a fortnight. Mr. Bonwell, thereupon, told me he was sure the whole, except the two before-mentioned, would concur in signing an undertaking not to work.

Monday Evening, October 13th.—Desirous of information on several points respecting the corn trade, I went up to Mr. Charles Scott's house, in Gower Street, from whom I learnt the following particulars, and obtained the opinions here stated:—Of the corn sold in Mark Lane, of English growth, nine-tenths belongs to individual farmers, from the harvest-time till the summer months; thenceforward, probably about five-sixths; the remainder to middlemen. The whole is sold by factors on commission.

The number of farmers for whom the sales are made are incalculable; many hundreds, even thousands, dispersed throughout the country, without knowledge of or intercourse with each other; sometimes the property of fifty farmers is in one vessel.

We cannot state the number of middlemen who

are dealers; in most sea-port towns there are several, and a few in inland ones, unconnected entirely with each other, and a constant jealousy amongst them.

Of persons usually selling corn in Mark Lane, there are about twenty strictly corn-factors, and about fifteen who are also dealers or jobbers; besides the haymen, about fifteen in number, who sell the Kentish wheat.

Mr. Scott himself sells about one-fourth of the foreign wheat; no English.

Another house sells about one-eighth of the English.

Mr. Scott thinks it would be highly inexpedient to compel factors to state to the purchasers in the market, in the beginning of the day, the whole quantities each has to sell; but is of opinion it may be very proper to prevent a factor being likewise a dealer.

Tuesday, Oct. 14th.—Mr. Bonwell showed me an undertaking signed by every distiller in and near London, to forbear working till the sense of Parliament shall be known.

Wrote to the Commissary-General in the Mediterranean, approving of the contract for bread in Minorca; and urging him strongly to get all the wheat and flour he can there for the supply of the troops.

Gave directions to Mr. Harrison to draw bills for the starch, distilling, and rice; the latter with an indemnity.

[Mr. Rose's Diary for 1801 contains an account of the change of the Administration when Mr. Pitt

resigned; of a brief illness of the King, produced by it; of the formation and weakness of the succeeding cabinet; of the writer's aversion to it, and other things alluded to in the letters of the same period, the most remarkable of which is Mr. Pitt's determination to receive no grant from Parliament, because he had failed to secure the prosperity of the nation.—ED.]

MR. ROSE'S *Diary resumed.*

From 28th of January to 11th June, 1801.

On Wednesday, the 28th of January, Mr. Pitt first had distinct and clear proof of the Speaker taking an eager and anxious part in influencing persons against the measure of Catholic Emancipation.

On Friday the 30th, the Speaker was at the Queen's house for four hours!

The means taken, as above alluded to, of committing persons on the question before discussion, having been made certain, Mr. Pitt wrote his first letter to the King, on the 1st of February. The correspondence concluded on the 4th.¹

On Thursday, the 5th of February, at 5 P.M.

¹ It must have been on Wednesday, the 4th, that the Speaker finally agreed to accept the propositions made to him. Mr. Pitt, however, gave him assurances the preceding day, Tuesday, the 3d, of the most cordial support throughout, on which day the Speaker was to have dined in Downing Street; but the House sitting till half-past six or seven o'clock, he did not get there till between seven and eight, when he found Mr. Pitt by himself. [Anecdote from Mr. Carthew, who went in to them at ten o'clock.]

Mr. P. sent me the letters above-named, enclosed in the one to his brother, which was the first intimation I had of the subject, or of the remotest probability of the agitation of anything that could even lead to serious consequences. I returned the whole before I went to dinner, to be forwarded by a messenger to the Earl of Chatham.

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Downing Street, Thursday, Feb. 5th, 1801.

“Three quarters past four.

“DEAR ROSE.¹

“I have been occupied till this moment, and on sending, found you were gone to the House. I should be very glad to see you any time in the evening ; but as what I wish is to communicate to you some papers which I also want to send to my brother by a messenger to-day, I think the shortest way is to enclose them to you in the meantime, and beg you to return them as soon as you have read them. You will recollect what I said to you some days since on the Catholic question, though you will hardly have expected so rapid a result. As I wish you to know at once the whole of my real sentiments, I have thought it best to enclose with the other papers the

¹ [Mr. Rose was the first person to whom the important decision of Mr. Pitt's intended resignation was imparted, nothing having been previously known, except that some difficulty had arisen about the Roman Catholic question ; for Cabinet secrets always contrive to ooze out, notwithstanding the secrecy to which the members are bound. The following letters were the first intimation of what had passed between Mr. Pitt and the King.—ED.]

letter which I have but just had time to finish, and am going to send with them to my brother.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. P.

“ Take care not to read these papers where anybody can overlook you. Dundas dines with me, but I shall be at leisure any time in the evening.”

NOTES *by* MR. ROSE, *and* LETTERS, *from* February to May, 1801, *relative to the proposal for* MR. PITT'S *resigning office.*

The papers sent to me by Mr. Pitt, were a long letter from him to the King, dated the 1st of February, stating his deep and sincere regret, knowing his Majesty's sentiments on the subject, to find himself under an absolute necessity of submitting to him that he felt a strong opinion, in concurrence with a majority of the Cabinet, that it would be expedient to repeal the laws which exclude Catholics from Parliament and offices, and Dissenters from the latter ; that new guards were already provided by the union ; that the ground of exclusion no longer exists ; that the principles of the Catholics cease to be dangerous, as they disclaim the obnoxious tenets, especially by the new test in Ireland ; that a denial of the power of absolution may be insisted upon, and would be as secure as the sacramental test ; that it would not be difficult to have a new test against the dissenters, pointed at Jacobinical principles, which might be extended to their ministers

and teachers, and would afford a new security against their active exertions ; that the popish clergy would be secured by making them dependent on the State for a part of their provision, &c. &c ; that these reasons operated so powerfully on his mind as to render it impossible for him to remain in office if he should be expected to give up his opinion ; but that rather than disturb his Majesty on a point on which he had too much reason to fear his Majesty had a decided reluctance, he would, if his Majesty continued to desire it, endeavour, as far as could depend on him, to keep the matter from being agitated, and if agitated, he would quiet it if possible, or effect its being postponed till the country should be extricated from its present critical situation, provided his Majesty would engage to avoid expressing his opinion so as to influence others in their conduct ; adding expressions of duty, gratitude, &c. &c.

Answer from the King, dated 2d February, lamenting in animated language the fixed opinion expressed by Mr. Pitt, but stating in the most explicit terms his determined resolution not to acquiesce in the alteration of the laws respecting the Catholics and the Dissenters ; conceiving himself bound by his coronation oath to support them, confirmed by his having received the sacrament thereupon ; and that as he had never been in the habit of concealing his sentiments on important occasions, he would enter into no engagement to act otherwise now ; still trusting, however, that Mr. Pitt would not quit him while he lived.

Mr. Pitt's reply of the 3d, urged the impossibility of his continuing in his Majesty's service, knowing that his Majesty would influence the conduct of others on the Catholic question; professing at the same time a continuation of his determined attachment and gratitude to his Majesty; but requesting he would endeavour to make a new arrangement as soon as he conveniently could, assuring him of support, and his best assistance to the new Government.

To this the King, in his letter of the 4th, answered, that he deeply regretted the necessity he was reduced to, of parting with Mr. Pitt; that he would endeavour to make a new arrangement as soon as possible, and trusted that Mr. Pitt would not press him in a manner to compel him to do that too hastily.

These four letters were enclosed by Mr. Pitt in another to Lord Chatham, telling him he had not sent for him to town, as it could have answered no end; that his retiring must take place as soon as the new arrangement could be made; that the King had (as he conjectured and hoped he would) applied to the Speaker, who had accepted; that it was his determined purpose to give his best and most active support to the new administration, and earnestly entreated his brother to continue *in office*.

On the evening of February the 5th, at eleven o'clock, I received the following note from Mr. Pitt, desiring to see me before he went to rest.

“February 5th, 1801.

“DEAR ROSE.

“I have been kept till this instant. If you can come conveniently to yourself any time before twelve, I shall feel a satisfaction in seeing you to-night.

“Yours ever,

“Thursday, three quarters past ten.”

“W. P.

On going to him, he stated all that had passed, and satisfied me that the bringing the business to the point, as put in the correspondence, was, on his part, absolutely unavoidable. Mr. Pitt assured me that the Speaker taking upon him to form a new Administration, was with his concurrence and upon his advice, and that he therefore wished most anxiously all his private and personal friends to remain in office ; suggesting that it could not be expected I should continue in my present situation of labour, &c. ; to which I replied in the plainest and strongest terms in which I could express myself, that under such an injunction, I should not hesitate, in any other situation, to remain in office ; but that after the unbounded confidence I had possessed with him, it was utterly inconsistent with my feelings to act in an official situation with another, coming in on his resignation ; that it was of course my fixed and irrevocable determination to withdraw ; but that I would assist him as usual in the budget, and would carry through the Tax Bills, or any other immediate business, in order to avoid the new Administration being put to any serious inconvenience, till a proper successor should

be found for me ; that on the best consideration I could give the subject on the sudden, however, it appeared to me the Speaker had done ill in catching eagerly at the Prime Minister's station, which he evidently must have done, by the dates of the letters of his correspondence, so early as the 4th of February, for that was communicated to Lord Chatham on the 5th ; that I thought he should have thrown himself at the King's feet, with the liveliest expressions of duty, zeal, and affection, and assured him of the absolute impossibility of his undertaking the Government with the remotest chance of being able to carry it on, and conjured him therefore to find means of going on with Mr. Pitt, as the only resource against every calamity that can be dreaded by a nation.

If the Speaker was really with the King long on the afternoon of the 30th of January, it is still more unaccountable, because the first communication that could have a tendency to lead to a change in the Administration was on the 31st of January, late at night, and could not be received by the King till Sunday morning, the 1st of February.

February 13th.—I am strongly confirmed in all this on reflection, and from a variety of circumstances have a clear conviction in my mind that there was from the beginning an eagerness in Mr. A. to catch at the situation, without regard to his friend, or recollecting that he owed his political existence to him.

On Saturday, the 7th, all the Privy Counsellors in the House of Commons, and the Treasury, dined

with the Speaker, where nothing remarkable passed. Mr. Canning's manner to the Speaker very marked, —which the latter took notice of to me when I saw him, on Tuesday, the 11th. In the evening, the whole went to the Chancellor's, where also the conversation was quite general. Mr. Pitt carried me home from the Chancellor's, and on the way I state to him, as pointedly as I could, my opinions and feelings respecting the Speaker's conduct in not deploring to the King any change, and declaring the dereliction of duty he should be guilty of if he were to take the conduct of the Government, which no one but Mr. Pitt could carry on. Late at night (half-past eleven), Mr. Goldsmid came to tell me that on the account of Mr. Pitt's resignation being heard in the city, great confusion followed, a fall of 5*l*. per cent. in the funds, and no market for Exchequer Bills. As this appeared in the course of the conversation with Mr. Goldsmid to have arisen in a great degree from an apprehension that Mr. P. was going out of office instantly, I thought it expedient to say to him that there was no intention of that sort, and that Mr. Pitt would certainly open the budget, and provide completely for the ways and means of the year, before he quitted his situation; which Mr. G. seemed to think would quiet people's minds sufficiently for the purpose in view.

Mr. Wilberforce came in at the same time. The only thing particular that passed in this conversation was an allusion from him of the intriguing interference of a neighbour of his and mine.¹

¹ Lord Auckland.

Sunday, February 8th.—On reflecting upon what had passed with Mr. Goldsmid last night, it occurred to me that the best mode of making the communication in the city respecting the change of Administration would be through the Governor of the Bank, both on account of his public situation and his invariable attachment and character. With Mr. Pitt's approbation, therefore, I saw him, and after explaining to him the circumstances, I sent him to Mr. Pitt to receive the proper authority for the communication he should make to-morrow.

Mr. P. this day mentioned to me his having received a letter from Lord Auckland, on Saturday, the 31st of last month, complaining of his having been treated unkindly and not with due attention, in having no communication made to him respecting the question about Catholic Emancipation,—with which he had the misfortune to differ entirely with him;—at which time no determination of the Cabinet had been taken, and of course could not be communicated to any one. Mr. Pitt therefore answered his letter the same day, and observed that however widely they might differ on the question itself, the difference of opinion would be much more wide as to which of them had the most right to complain of want of kindness and fairness. To that letter his Lordship made no reply, or took any notice whatever till this morning, remaining silent eight days under the cutting reproach before stated; during all which time he never attempted any intercourse with me. If he had been conscious of innocence in the whole

transaction, he would naturally either have instantly written to Mr. Pitt, or have come to me to talk of the best mode of clearing up Mr. Pitt's misconceptions. On my coming home, I found Lord A.'s letter, No. 5, and immediately wrote the answer, No. 6.

'The Attorney-General has agreed to be Speaker.

Lord Chatham's answer received; laments the result; could have done no good if he had been in town; thinks that under the unfortunate circumstance of his brother's retiring, the King could not have done better than send for the Speaker, and states his reasons; declines any answer to his brother's entreaties for his remaining in office, but says he will be in town in a *few days*. The inference I draw from that is, that he will keep his office. Lord Grenville said to the Bishop of Lincoln he thought Lord Chatham should not remain in office.

Monday, February 9th.—The communication made through Mr. Newland, by direction of Mr. Thornton, Governor of the Bank, to the city, or rather to the Stock Exchange, of the change of Administration, but that Mr. Pitt would open the budget, &c. Stocks fell one quarter per cent. only.

Mr. Canning canvassing for persons to go out of office. The two Ellis's (George and Charles) express their determination to oppose the new Government. Prevailed with Lord Granville Leveson. Lord Gower will probably go on different grounds.

Division taken that the Speaker should quit the chair immediately, and that he should send a letter for that purpose to-morrow.

Wrote to Mr. Stapleton an account of Mr. Pitt's resignation.

Tuesday, February 10th.—Mr. Pitt told me Lord Hawkesbury would be Foreign Secretary, and Lord Hobart War Secretary; the Chancellor to resign; Lord Eldon to have the Great Seal, Sir Richard Arden to be Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir W. Grant to be Master of the Rolls, Mr. Law to be Attorney-General, and Mr. Percival to be Solicitor-General.

Called on the Speaker on the subject of Sir Richard Worsley's seat offered to me; he entered into the subject of the intended arrangements, stated those above, and added that Mr. Charles Yorke is to be Secretary-at-War, and Mr. N. Vansittart to succeed me; expressed strong regret at my quitting, and said something, in a voice much agitated, that I understood to convey he was not sure whether in my situation he should do the same; which led to my writing to him, No. 7. He told me Lord Chatham had agreed to continue, in terms extremely flattering to him, the substance of which he repeated. At this time Mr. Pitt had received no answer from his brother. He expressed great resentment at Canning's conduct, and said nobody would follow his example in quitting, except Lord Granville Leveson. I told him Lord Gower would quit, whose motive probably is resentment to the King, for what passed respecting the Staffordshire Militia. On the whole, the Speaker seemed confident that he should form a strong and an efficient Government.

The Chancellor¹ sent to request to speak with me in his room ; but I was prevented getting to him till within a quarter of four, my conversation with him therefore was very short,—full of kindness on his part—and in the course of it he told me his retiring was in consequence of a suggestion from the Speaker, that his doing so would enable him to make an arrangement in the law department (alluding to the one mentioned to me that morning by Mr. Pitt) that would greatly strengthen his administration. I agreed to go to him in the evening, if I could ; but dining with Mr. Pitt, and talking about the budget till past ten o'clock, it was too late to go to his Lordship.

Wednesday, February 11th.—Saw Mr. Addington in the morning, at his request, when he expressed himself strongly as entering into my feelings on the ground of my retiring.

At the levee the King appeared perfectly composed and collected when speaking to Mr. Pitt ; and afterwards, in a conversation of some length with me, expressed his warmest and most unqualified approbation of Mr. Pitt as to all he had done, and was now doing, particularly with regard to what has lately passed ; concluding with saying, that his whole conduct was infinitely more honourable on retiring than that of *any* of his predecessors, dwelling on the word *any*, and added, beyond all comparison so, and that he possessed his highest esteem and good opinion.

Lord Chatham dined with his brother, and made

¹ Lord Rosslyn, then Lord Loughborough.

the first communication to him of his intention to remain.

Thursday, February 12th.—Mr. White¹ stated that the late Attorney-General complained of his having been prevailed with to take the chair without the remotest intimation of any other law arrangement, except the one in consequence of his being made Speaker ; adding, that if he should be removed from the chair, he would never form another political connexion ; evidently hurt beyond measure at the uncandid treatment he conceived he had met with.

Mr. Pelham, after having declined to take any employment, tells his friends he is to have an office, probably a cabinet one.

Mr. Vansittart certainly to succeed me ; Mr. Long (who told me that he thought he should quit) is to remain in for some time at least.

Mr. William Elliot² declared his intention to Mr. Pitt to resign the Admiralty.

Mr. Yorke³ assured me he was firmly attached to Mr. Pitt, and that no consideration could have induced him to take office, but the *imperious necessity of the times*, and being assured it would be agreeable to Mr. Pitt.

In the evening, a meeting at Mr. Pitt's, to settle the mode of bidding for the loan of 27,000,000*l.*, including Ireland ; six Sets present, which again prevented my going to the Chancellor.

¹ The Solicitor to the Treasury.

² Afterwards Lord St. Germans, whose eldest brother married Lady Harriet Pitt.

³ Lord Hardwicke's brother.

Friday, the Fast-day, February 13th.—Lord St. Vincent came to town in consequence of the overture to him, and professed a perfect willingness to accept the Admiralty; but suggested some embarrassment from his being committed on the question respecting the Test Act, as far as relates to Dissenters; but Mr. Pitt replied he was not bound by his acceptance of the office to any particular line in Parliament, and he left him with a determination to take the situation.

I met Lord Hobart¹ in the street after church, who told me he did not think himself at liberty to refuse the employment offered him in difficult times like the present, but that he did not accept till he was assured by Mr. Pitt it would be agreeable to him. He added, he had hoped “that Mr. Pitt would not have forced the Catholic question to a point at the present moment;” to which I did not feel myself at liberty to reply; but that impression, if not removed by a disclosure of the real state of the matter, will be prejudicial to Mr. Pitt.

In the evening I went up to the Chancellor as he had desired, and from him I had a most interesting narrative of all the circumstances bearing upon the question of admitting the Catholics to the indulgences they are in pursuit of. His Lordship began with the period of Lord Fitzwilliam’s short administration in Ireland; at which time the King (without any prelude, or anything whatever having passed between his Majesty and the Chancellor on the subject) wrote a letter to him, putting three questions abruptly, and

¹ Afterwards Lord Buckinghamshire.

the Chancellor added, "rather unfairly;" meaning the taking him by surprise, and applying to him separately.

1st. Whether he could consistently with his coronation oath consent to a law freeing the Catholics and the Dissenters from the disabilities and restrictions they are under?

2d. Could he do so consistently with the Act of Union with Scotland?

3d. What would be the conduct of the Chancellor respecting his putting the Great Seal to the bill, if it should pass in Ireland?

To the *first* his Lordship answered, he did not conceive his Majesty was in any degree fettered by his coronation oath, in giving the royal assent to a measure which should have the previous approbation of both Houses of Parliament, as that could only be a *legislative* Act, in concurrence with the other branches of the Legislature; and not touching even on the words of the oath, which was devised as a security against any act of the King in his *executive* capacity, at a time too, when the Sovereign on the throne was of a religion different from the established Church of these kingdoms.

To the *second* he answered, he was clearly of opinion that the Act of Union was no bar to such legislative interference, though the words respecting the point are strong; as a proof of that he instanced the Toleration Act, and the act which put an end to the election of the clergy in Scotland, and restored the patronage to

the proprietors ; adding other reasons in support of that opinion.

To the *third* he answered, if any bill from Ireland should be brought to him of a tendency so mischievous in his opinion as to render it unfit for him to put the Great Seal to it, he should think it his duty to resign it into his Majesty's hands immediately.

The Chancellor told me that about this time his Majesty said to him, "he had amongst his Ministers some most valuable men, but he did not like the mixture of Scotch metaphysics ;" which his Lordship applied to Mr. Dundas.

With the Chancellor's answers his Majesty appeared to be very much dissatisfied, from which his Lordship was persuaded the King had entertained a hope that he should have been supported by his opinion in his fixed aversion to the measure respecting the Catholics.

Nothing more, however, passed on the subject till the month of October last, when Lord Westmoreland showed the King a letter from Lord Clare, telling him the question was about to be agitated again, which very much disturbed his Majesty ; and about that time a paper was given in to the Cabinet, by Lord Castlereagh, containing three propositions for discussion, in order that the Irish Government might be prepared to take such a line as the Cabinet should decide on.

- 1st. A provision for the Catholic clergy, and of course, if that should be decided in their favour, to include the Dissenting clergy also.

2d. The admission of the Catholics to Parliament, &c.

3d. Some arrangement about tithes.

On the opening of the discussion, the Chancellor asked Lord Castlereagh,¹ if any engagement had been made, or encouragement held out, to the Catholics, or to any leading men amongst them, at the time of the Union, to expect any new indulgence; to which he answered, none whatever; nor even that any suggestion of the sort would be brought under consideration.

The Prince of Wales had conveyed to Mr. Pitt, very distinctly, his opinion in favour of the measure; he had, indeed, avowed that on former occasions, and Lord Moira was known to be zealous for it.

From this time, discussions took place in the Cabinet, from time to time, but loosely, and in the most friendly manner possible, during which it appeared that the members were as under:—

FOR THE QUESTION.

Mr. Pitt.
 Lord Grenville—strongly.
 Mr. Dundas—strongly.
 Mr. Windham—strongly.
 Lord Spencer—very moderately so.
 Lord Camden—in no office, but decided.

AGAINST IT.

The Chancellor.
 Duke of Portland.
 Lord Westmoreland.
 Lord Liverpool—absent, but vehement by letter.
 Lord Chatham—absent, but understood to be against.

In the course of these discussions, the Chancellor asked Mr. Pitt, privately, whether he thought it would be judicious to propose a measure of this sort, to which the King was notoriously so averse, and on

¹ Afterwards Marquis of Londonderry.

which the whole bench of bishops would be against him ; probably many lords from opinion, others from an inclination to follow the King ; most likely, Lord Chatham, as well as others of the Cabinet, with many of his most confidential friends, such as the Speaker, the Master of the Rolls, &c.

Occasional meetings on the subject went on, or it was sometimes brought forward after other business was disposed of ; Mr. Pitt from time to time proposing modifications, or a test which should secure the Church and the Constitution against any attempts of either the Catholics or Dissenters, till Wednesday, the 28th of January ; on which day, at the levee, the King said to Mr. Dundas, he understood the question was agitating amongst the Ministers ; that nothing could be more disagreeable or painful to him, and that he should consider the person who supported the question as his worst enemy ; and repeated *that* so loud as to be heard by two or three persons standing near, which led to a cabinet being assembled the next day, when a general wish was expressed that Lord Grenville would prepare a paper, stating what would satisfy the majority of the Cabinet, as a proposition to be made to Parliament, which his Lordship positively declined ; and Mr. Pitt undertook to prepare the test for the Catholics and Dissenters. He accordingly sent a draught thereof to the Chancellor, on Friday, the 30th, the day, or rather evening, on which, as before observed, Mr. Addington was seen twice with the King. On the 31st, at night, Mr. Pitt wrote his first letter to the King, the heads of which are in No. 1. This

was done without any opinion of the *cabinet ministers* actually and finally expressed,—certainly without *any minute of the Cabinet*. The reference, therefore, in the letter was to a decision of the Cabinet, not formally taken, though their opinions were ascertained; and the letter was written without the knowledge of some of the members, probably of any of the minority of it. The Chancellor was himself utterly ignorant of it, and there was no further meeting on the subject; but at the levee, on Wednesday, the 4th of February, the Chancellor talked to Mr. Dundas of the foolish reports that had been in circulation for some days,—at the time utterly without foundation,—of changes in the Administration; on which Mr. Dundas replied. “What will you say if I tell you that Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, and myself, will be under the necessity of withdrawing?” On his repeating that seriously, the Chancellor was thunderstruck, and instead of going in to the King as he had intended, he let the Duke of Portland go in, and remained in conversation with Mr. Dundas, who explained to him the substance of the correspondence between his Majesty and Mr. Pitt, and the inevitable consequence of that. This appeared the more extraordinary to the Chancellor, because (as before observed) nothing that passed in the Cabinet led to an imagination of the consideration of the question being brought to a point suddenly, or prematurely. On the communication of the correspondence afterwards to the Chancellor by the King, his Lordship was struck with what he conceived to be the peremptory manner in which

Mr. Pitt expressed himself in his last letter, as to his resignation, when the King appeared to him to have consented not to take any steps to counteract what might be a measure of his Ministers; although he would not engage to conceal his opinions, which he had not been in the habit of doing. And his Lordship urged that as a proof of some agency acting upon Mr. Pitt between the first and second letters. He did not, indeed, hesitate to say to me, that he thought Mr. Pitt was impelled by Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas. Lord Spencer had been extremely moderate on the point from the beginning; Mr. Windham eager upon it.

On the whole, from what passed with the Chancellor, as well as from what Mr. Pitt said to me on the 28th or 29th of January (when I showed him a note from Lord Auckland, respecting the Parliament being to meet on the 2d of February), I am very strongly inclined to believe that Mr. Pitt had not, in the first instance, an intention of pressing the Catholic question on the King immediately; and in the second, that he would have been satisfied with his Majesty's assurances of forbearance (if he had thought them distinct and clear), with perhaps some explanation. Possibly he did not act solely on his own judgment.

The Chancellor told me further, that when he went in to the King, after the levee, on Wednesday, the 11th, the King expressed himself about Mr. Pitt in the same terms I have already observed he did to me, and asked his Lordship if he did not think he might rely on Mr. Pitt continuing to act in the same honour-

able manner he was now doing, and support the new Government strenuously ; observing, at the same time, how different the case had been with former ministers who had retired, instancing Lord North in particular, but imputed that to the gaming debt of George North to Mr. Fox. To all which the Chancellor replied he had the same confidence in Mr. Pitt's honour that his Majesty had, and felt with perfect certainty that he would support the new Administration to the utmost extent of his power and talents ; but how long that might continue no one could safely predict, it not depending upon Mr. Pitt himself ; that others might act upon him in a way he could by no caution guard against ; that he had seen repeated instances of this in the course of his Majesty's reign ; that circumstances might arise from a variety of causes which might lead to differences of a serious nature, and important in their consequences ; differences of opinion, jealousies, &c. ; and that in the particular case referred to by his Majesty, Lord North's conduct was really not owing to the anecdote alluded to by his Majesty (which, however, was currently reported at the time), but to the constant solicitation and persuasion of friends ; and that such, from disappointment, resentment, or fair opinion, might be found to practise upon Mr. Pitt.

The Chancellor then explained to his Majesty that his retiring from the public service was not a thing of his seeking, but one he had no choice about ; that it was suggested to him broadly by Mr. Addington, on Sunday, the 8th. That Mr. Addington, in the

course of conversation on that day, told the Chancellor that he thought his Government would do extremely well, and that the way would be considerably smoothed by his conciliating different parties, and that several individuals were firmly attached to him. That the Chancellor's retiring would enable an arrangement to be made in the law, which would very greatly strengthen the new Government, by securing the eminent assistance of Sir William Grant, who, by being placed at the Rolls (in the room of Sir R. Arden, to be made Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas), would have leisure to attend to the House of Commons; and by opening the Attorney-Generalship for Mr. Law, with Percival as Solicitor-General; under which statement his Lordship told the King he acquiesced, adding, that he was ready to retire to the remotest corner of Scotland if it would conduce to his Majesty's service. The King, drawing back a little, and under some apparent surprise, expressed himself with great kindness to the Chancellor, and asked him if he had any wish in which he could be gratified; to which the Chancellor answered he had not. And the King replied something must be thought of for him. The King, in this interview with the Chancellor, told him Mr. Addington had proposed Mr. Bragge as Speaker, but that he had objected to it. The Chancellor here told me he would not accept an earldom,—without dropping a hint whether he would take anything else if offered.

From this day, Friday, February 13th, nothing very interesting occurred till Wednesday, February 18th,

except the intimation to me from Mr. Pitt, on Monday, the 16th, that Mr. Vansittart set off that day on a mission to Denmark (on a hope which he thought would fail), and would not return for three or four weeks, which must necessarily keep me so long in office; on which I asked what objection there would be to Mr. Riley Addington's succeeding me, instead of Mr. Long; but Mr. Pitt earnestly pressed me not to put the new Treasury to any distress.

Mr. Pitt opened the budget with a loan of 25,500,000*l.* for England, and 1,500,000*l.* for Ireland, accompanied by English taxes for 1,790,000*l.* And after a full and clear statement from him, every thing was so satisfactory that not one word was said by the Opposition; the whole passed off with unanimity, which never happened before in seventeen years of his administration. In the evening I went to him at his desire, and we were alone more than three hours, in an extremely interesting conversation; in the course of which he was, beyond all comparison, more affected than I had seen him since the change first burst upon me, but nothing particularly leading to any new disclosure occurred. The most remarkable thing that fell from him was a suggestion that on revolving in his mind all that had passed, it did not occur to him that he could have acted in any respect otherwise than he had done, or that he had anything to blame himself for, except not having earlier endeavoured to reconcile the King to the measure about the Catholics, or to prevail with his Majesty not to take an active part on the subject. I took occasion to press again as strongly

as possible my opinion of Mr. Addington's conduct in catching at the Government *suddenly* and *eagerly*, instead of throwing himself at the King's feet and imploring him not to attempt to form a new Administration, and least of all to think of him, who felt himself utterly unequal to the undertaking. Mr. Pitt admitted to me that Mr. Addington had been with the King for some hours on Friday, the 30th of January, of course previous to the first of the correspondence which led in three days to the change of the Administration, but subsequent to what passed at the levee (on the 28th January) with Mr. Dundas; there was, however, no actual admission on the part of Mr. Pitt that he thought with me on the subject, but there were evident demonstrations of it, and there were painful workings in his mind, plainly discernible; most of the time tears in his eyes, and much agitated.

Lord Lewisham the head of the Board of Control.

Friday, February 20th.—A council at the Queen's house; at which Lord Hawkesbury, as Secretary of State, Lord St. Vincent, as first Lord of the Admiralty, and Mr. Yorke, as Secretary at War, were sworn into their offices, as Privy Councillors.

Saturday, 21st.—At dinner at the new Speaker's, with Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, &c. &c.

Mr. Pelham, after having first refused the Secretaryship of State, and accepted the Board of Control, —having refused the latter, is now out of humour at not having the former.

The King so unwell as to induce several persons to make inquiries after his health. I did not, however,

hear a syllable that led me to conjecture anything affecting his Majesty's mind; but on this day, probably, the symptoms first showed themselves. At dinner I asked Mr. John Villiers¹ whether it was right to do so, and he answered decidedly in the negative; that the complaint was nothing more than a hoarseness consequent upon a cold, and that he had played at cards with his Majesty for two hours on the preceding evening, Friday.

Sunday, February 22d.—With Mr. Pitt the greatest part of the morning, on various arrangements of no importance, previous to winding up matters, and disposing of various employments, particularly Mr. Jekyll and Mr. Carthew.²

No mention of the King's illness, nor did I hear a word of it during the whole day.

A long conversation with Lord Eldon respecting his acceptance of the Great Seal,³ in the course of which he stated to me all that passed on the subject; the first proposal to him on Sunday the 8th of this month; his determination not to accept it but on Mr. Pitt's earnest entreaty, and engagement that he would be Chancellor if he (Mr. Pitt) should ever come into office again; pension to him (4,000*l.* a-year), to be secured immediately. Warmest assurances of friendship from his Lordship to myself.

In the evening at the Speaker's; nothing remarkable occurred there.

¹ Afterwards Earl of Clarendon.

² Mr. Pitt's private secretary.

³ See Lord Eldon's Life, by Twiss, vol. i. pp. 367, 368.

Monday, February 23d.—On this day Mr. Pitt attended the Prince of Wales by his command. His Royal Highness said he sent for him as his father's actual Minister on the present distressing occasion. Mr. Pitt replied, that being *de facto* in the situation of Minister, he should have no hesitation in giving him the best advice and opinions in his power; but very respectfully, though firmly, stated to his Royal Highness that he would do so only on the express condition that his Royal Highness would forbear to advise with those who had for a long time acted in direct opposition to his Majesty's Government. The Prince acquiesced as to the persons immediately alluded to by Mr. Pitt; but added, he should think himself at liberty to advise occasionally with Lord Moira, which he had long been in the habit of doing.

Went with Mr. John Smyth,¹ of Heath, to make inquiry after the health of the King. Conversation with him on the way, as to my opinion of the whole of Mr. Addington's conduct throughout this unfortunate convulsion. Under the Piazza at St. James's, met Lord Essex, who told us the King was entirely deranged. Went up into the levee room, where persons were writing their names. Lord Chesterfield spoke with great apparent feeling about the situation of his Majesty, but declared he knew no particulars of the state he was in; no bulletin had

¹ An intimate friend of Mr. Rose's, and a very independent Member of Parliament.

then been brought from the Queen's house respecting the King's health.

On my return to Downing Street, Mr. Pitt told me there were certainly symptoms of derangement in his Majesty, and that Dr. Willis was attending him ; but there were hopes that all would be right again soon ; and that Mr. Addington saw his Majesty yesterday, and found him wandering on some points.

Lord Granville Leveson¹ told me he met Mr. Tierny yesterday, who dropped hints of the King's situation, and assured him there would be unequivocal proofs of it manifested beyond all doubt very soon. (A tolerable proof that some one or more of the servants have already been tampered with again.)

This day, or to-morrow at the latest, Lord Eldon having to resign the Chief Secretaryship of the Common Pleas, it occurred to me that he might be taking steps for that purpose, such as would be irrevocable, which would necessarily leave him in an unpleasant situation if the King's malady should unhappily continue upon him ; I was therefore induced to convey to him by Mr. White the account of what there was too great reason to dread was the apprehensions about the King's derangement.

Tuesday, February 24th.—Lord Eldon came to me in the morning, and sat with me an hour. He told me the account conveyed to him from me through Mr. White,² was the only intimation he had received

¹ The Marquis of Stafford's second son, afterwards Lord Granville.

² Mr. White, Solicitor of the Treasury, an intimate private friend of Mr. Rose, and of Lord Eldon.

of the state the King is supposed to be in ; on which he expressed himself with a strong feeling of resentment and indignation at Mr. Addington, from whom he conceived he ought to have heard it immediately after he knew it himself, thinking, very justly, that to him (Lord Eldon) as the King's Chancellor, the earliest possible communication should have been made. Mr. Addington saw the King on Sunday, and told Mr. Pitt he found his mind much deranged on some subjects, but apparently collected on others ; after which he was at a cabinet where Lord Eldon was, without letting fall a syllable to his Lordship on the subject. In consequence of this silence, Lord Eldon had written in the morning to Mr. Addington, with an intention of remonstrating with him on his conduct, who appointed him at a quarter before eleven. Lord Eldon did not, however, reach New Palace Yard till seven minutes before eleven, when he was told Mr. Addington was gone out on horseback ! Such treatment naturally produced an unpleasant effect. His Lordship accounted for it to a certain extent by the language he had held to Mr. Addington when he agreed to take the seals, viz. that he was induced to accept them only in obedience to the King's command, and at the advice and earnest recommendation of Mr. Pitt, and that he would hold them no longer than he could continue to do so in perfect friendship with the latter. After a long discussion of the state of matters, Lord Eldon assured me that no consideration whatever should induce him to take the seals from the King's hand till his mind should be as sound as his own.

Lord Eldon told me he was with the King alone for more than two hours on Friday, during the whole of which time he was as rational and collected as he had ever seen him. That he talked to his Lordship of his last malady, stating many particulars that occurred to him during the continuance of it, and especially dwelt on his feelings during some lucid intervals. The King also quoted to Lord Eldon the questions which his Lordship, as a member of the Privy Council, had asked his physicians; that he took down Blackstone's Commentaries, and showed him a passage in them respecting the point (the Catholic question) which had so long and so anxiously agitated his mind.

Mr. Pitt told me at noon, that from the accounts he had received of the King, he really entertained hopes of a tolerably speedy recovery; and that he should abstain from going to the House, to avoid questions that might be distressing or painful.

About one o'clock, went with George to the Queen's house. The news there was, in substance, that the King was not worse than yesterday.

On my return, near the parade, I met the Chancellor walking; turned back with him, and went as far as the top of the park. He told me he had heard from Dr. Willis, at eleven o'clock last night, that the symptoms were favourable; that he had left the cabinet (Lord Grenville did not attend it, but Lord Eldon and Mr. A. met at it,) to go to the Queen's house, to get the commission (which he had sent to the Queen's house last night) signed by his Majesty, for the royal assent to the Bill for repealing the Act

which prohibited the use of any except brown bread.

About two o'clock the Chancellor came to me at the Treasury, and told me he had sent the commission in to the King by Dr. Willis, who brought it back signed, and told him there would be no difficulty in obtaining the royal signature to a dozen papers respecting which no detailed statements were necessary. That he (Dr. Willis) had allowed the King to see the Queen and the Duke of Cumberland, but no other of the royal family; that he should not, however, hesitate about allowing such of them to have access to his Majesty as he could see without being deeply affected at the interview. That he could not pronounce anything favourable about his Majesty's recovery with certainty; but that his hopes were very good, and thought it not improbable but that considerable amendment might appear in a week or ten days.

The Chancellor said to me, in the morning as we walked up the park, that, in the event of the King's malady lasting, it would be found useful that we are actually prepared with a measure for settling the Government and the care of his Majesty's person; as the Bill for the Regency, which passed the House of Commons, and nearly went through the House of Lords, in 1789, would be found to answer now in all its provisions, and would save much discussion and avoid serious inconvenience. [Which observation I had made to my son half-an-hour before, and nearly on the same spot.] The Chancellor, at the same time,

condemned in strong terms Mr. Fox's indiscretion in committing himself on the former occasion respecting the devolving of the government on the Prince of Wales.

At this period the Administration was left in a singular situation. Of those who were to quit :—

Of the Cabinet :—

Lord Grenville, *out* ; and Lord Hawkesbury, Foreign Secretary.
Lord Spencer, *out* ; Lord St. Vincent, First Lord of the Admiralty.

Mr. Windham, *out* ; Mr. Yorke, Secretary at War.

Mr. Dundas, *in*, Secretary of State ; Lord Hobart to succeed.

Lord Loughborough, *in*, Chancellor ; Lord Eldon to succeed.

Mr. Pitt, *in*, First Lord of the Treasury ; Mr. Addington to succeed.

Lords of the Treasury :—

Lord Granville Leveson, *in* ; Lord George Thynne to succeed.

Mr. Hiley Addington, *in* ; Mr. Nathaniel Bond to succeed.

Secretaries to the Treasury :—

Mr. Rose, *in* ; Mr. N. Vansittart to succeed.

Mr. Long, *in* ; Mr. Hiley Addington to succeed.

Lords of the Admiralty :—

Lord Arden, Admiral Gambier, Admiral Young, Admiral Mason, *out* ; Mr. Garthstone, Sir Thomas Troubridge, Captain Markham, Mr. Adams, have succeeded.

Lord Arden appointed Master of the Mint, in room of Lord Hawkesbury.

Lord Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, *in* ; was to have been succeeded by Lord Hardwick.

Lord Castlereagh, Secretary for Ireland, *in* ; was to have been succeeded by Mr. Abbott.¹

In the Law :—

Lord Eldon, Chief-Justice of Common Pleas, *in* ; Sir Richard Arden to succeed.

¹ Mr. Abbott, afterwards Speaker, and created Lord Colchester.

Sir Richard Arden, Master of the Rolls, *in*; Sir William Grant to succeed.

Sir John Mitford,¹ Attorney-General, *out*; chosen Speaker; succeeded by Mr. Law.

Sir William Grant, Solicitor-General, *out*; succeeded by Mr. Percival.

Wednesday, Feb. 25th.—Mr. Pitt saw the Prince of Wales again this day; his Royal Highness having in the interval seen the Chancellor, the Duke of Portland, and Lord Spencer, &c., who took an opposite line from Mr. Pitt in the last regency; and it was explained that they would not now create any difficulty in passing the Bill with nearly similar provisions, if unhappily the necessity should arise.

The Bishop of Lincoln told me he had last night a long and interesting conversation with Mr. Pitt; in which he stated very fully and forcibly the public opinion respecting the mode of Mr. Addington's getting into office, imputing it broadly and plainly to intrigue,—rather more strongly than I have conceived it myself. The Bishop expressed an earnest hope that Mr. Pitt would not commit himself to any determination against not returning to office except on condition of support from the throne on the Catholic question; more especially to guard himself against being drawn into such a declaration by Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, either on Monday next, on the consideration of the state of the nation, or on any future day. Mr. Pitt made no promise to the Bishop on the subject; but appeared not to disapprove of the caution recommended.

¹ Afterwards Lord Redesdale, and Chancellor in Ireland.

The Lord Privy Seal (Lord Westmoreland) told me this morning that the King was somewhat deranged on Thursday last.

Lord Bruce,¹ last night at the opera, told Miss Jennings that Mr. Addington had for some time past had the most easy and constant access to the King at all hours, which gives additional sanction to the idea of his intriguing.

This brings to my recollection, that when the bishopric of St. David's was lately vacant, the King told Mr. Pitt that Dr. Huntingford (Warden of Winchester) would be the best man who could be thought of to fill the see, for learning and every other quality; which his Majesty could have heard from no one but Mr. Addington, who then possessed the King's mind with the impression to carry his point, lest he should fail with Mr. Pitt.

Thursday, February 26th.—The King's health, as reported by the physicians, the same as before, but the private accounts more favourable. A good deal of fever, which is thought fortunate, and other symptoms which are stated to have preceded recovery in the former case, in 1789.

Discussion with Mr. Pitt how long the Regency could be deferred, if unhappily his Majesty's recovery should not be speedy. Prepare for the consent to the Loan Bill, which will pass the House of Lords about Monday next. The Chancellor thinks his Majesty's nand may be obtained to it, as on the 24th to the

¹ The Marquis of Aylesbury's son.

Bread Bill. I suggested the importance and delicacy of such a measure, as it will be argued that if his Majesty's signature may be obtained to a Commission to assent to a bill which has passed both houses, it may equally be obtained to dissent to many which cannot be supported. The delicacy of this point increased by the Chancellor not seeing the King sign the instrument, which was given for his signature to Dr. Willis; the executive government therefore, *pro tanto*, in the hands of that gentleman. Great difficulty in this case; as no regency can be established without previous examination of physicians, &c. Difficulty also in communications with foreign Courts in the King's name on points of the highest national importance. No such correspondence during the last derangement,—no despatch of any consequence having been sent during the period of the King's illness. Difficulty also in the remaining Ministers resigning, and the new ones accepting, which Mr. Pitt admitted. He expressed a strong opinion that the Regent, if appointed, should call into his service Mr. Addington; that his Majesty, on his recovery, might find in his service the person he meant before his illness to place in it. Which opinion I combated earnestly, under a conviction of its being a mistaken one, and being impressed with the firm belief that Mr. Pitt's friends and the public would not bear such an arrangement. In the middle of this discussion we were interrupted, and Mr. Pitt went to Wimbledon to dinner.

Notice by Mr. Nicholl of a motion in the House of

Commons to-morrow respecting the present state of the country.

Friday, February 27th.—Sent Mr. Pitt a printed copy of the Regency Bill which passed the House of Commons, and was rejected in the House of Lords, in February 19th, 1789, on the King's recovery, with MS. alterations in the margin of the amendments made by the Lords, that he might have leisure to consider the points before his return to town. Not unlikely but Mr. Nicholl's notice has reference to the execution of the royal authority *in various respects* at this moment; despatches to foreign ministers, decisions on important national concerns and interests.

Sir Robert Peel told me he had been urged by many independent men to state in the House of Commons the necessity of Mr. Pitt remaining in a responsible situation, and not abandoning the country; referred plainly to the total want of confidence in Mr. Addington, and stated that to be general in and out of Parliament.

Was with Mr. Pitt some time before he went to the House. He had a firm persuasion that the Opposition would act with decorum, and would not create the smallest embarrassment till the situation of the King should be so decided as to render it evident whether a Regency will be necessary or not. He thought it not likely that they would adopt any measures plainly ruinous or seriously mischievous to the country, from a disinclination to destroy that Government which is the object of their ambition. On which

I observed that I thought *that* very likely to depend upon the probability they conceived there was of their obtaining their object. That if they should once completely despair of it, some of them were of a disposition (especially their leader) to do the utmost mischief they could. Mr. Pitt then said Mr. Fox had decided not to take his seat to-day, although he had before intended it, lest it should be attributed to his meaning to countenance Mr. Nicholl's motion. On going into the House of Commons with Mr. Pitt we found Mr. Sheridan on his legs, moving the adjournment of the House to Monday, to get rid of Mr. Nicholl's motion, stating the utter impropriety of any discussion of public matters in the present uncertain state of the King's health. Mr. Pitt gave him great credit for his conduct. Urged very strongly that no man with a heart, or who had the slightest feelings of humanity or of gratitude, duty, or affection for a beloved sovereign, would even allude to his situation at present, in the uncertain state he is in. He assured the House, at the same time, that before it became necessary to take any step of importance in public business, the state of his Majesty's health should be investigated, if unhappily, his Majesty should not be able to give the proper directions.

Mr. Addington was in the house for the first time since his re-election. Lord Hawkesbury declined taking his seat, from a doubt as to his eligibility, on account of the disqualifying clause respecting the third Secretary of State, or Secretary for the Colonies, in the Act of 1782, commonly called Burke's Act.

Mrs. Goodenough (sister to Mr. A.) told Miss Jennings that the King had an attack somewhat similar to the present in 1795, from which he recovered in about a week.

The Duke of Kent met Mr. Pitt coming in from Wimbledon, and told him the hopes of the King's recovery were more encouraging. His Majesty not yet so ill as to be put under any personal constraint.

Saturday, February 28th.—The public account of the King's health *somewhat* more encouraging than yesterday, and the private one very considerably so. An abatement of the fever and of the symptoms of derangement, with a reasonable degree of perspiration. On the whole, it seems probable that in the course of the ensuing week his Majesty's recovery may be sufficiently advanced for him at least to sign papers, and so avoid resorting to the painful and distressing measure of a regency, as on an attentive investigation of the state of the money it seems quite clear we can go on, provided the Loan Bill (which will be read a third time on Monday next in the House of Lords) shall receive the royal assent by the 10th March, or thereabouts.

Mr. Addington frequently with Mr. Pitt during the last three days.

I met Mr. Canning in the park, who expressed an anxious hope that if a necessity should arise for a regency, Mr. Pitt would not in that event think himself called upon to recommend (if it should depend on him) the Administration being placed in the hands of Mr. Addington.

Wrote in the morning to the Bishop of Lincoln, urging his coming to town, under an impression that practices would be attempted to induce Mr. Pitt to prevail with the Prince of Wales (in the event of a regency) to take Mr. Addington as his Minister. And believing that great advantage might be derived from one so intimately connected with Mr. Pitt being always near him; but in the afternoon I wrote again, saying that I did not think the necessity for the Bishop's coming so urgent, as the King's health happily promised so much better.

Sunday, March 1st.—The bulletins of the King's health very favourable, for the first time; and the private accounts extremely so.

Lord G——, in walking with me from early service at the Chapel Royal, told me he had been assured that Buonaparte, on hearing of the King's determination to make the change in the Administration, attributed it to derangement.

CHAPTER VI.

1801.

MR. ROSE'S DIARY FROM 1ST MARCH, TO 11TH JUNE, 1801.

Monday, March 2d.—The bulletins at the Queen's house much less favourable; stating an increase of the fever yesterday in the afternoon. The private account attributes that to the medicines given to his Majesty.

Mr. Grey¹ put off his motion for the state of the nation (on a suggestion from Mr. Ryder, in the absence of Mr. Pitt) to Wednesday, the 11th.

Letter from the Bishop of Lincoln that he had received the second I wrote on Saturday, but not the first. Wrote to the Secretary of the Post-office about it.

Mr. Fox took the oaths and his seat this day.

Tuesday, March 3d.—The public account of the King's health extremely favourable this morning; that his Majesty had had a good deal of rest. Less fever, and better in all respects.

Mr. Pitt desired to see me as soon as he came down-stairs, to tell me that the King had been so ill

¹ Afterwards Lord Grey.

in the early part of the afternoon of yesterday as to occasion the most serious alarms, that even his life was thought in danger from the violent turn the disorder was taking ; that his person had undergone a visible change ; and, on the whole, the physicians were in great despondency and alarm ; but that about five o'clock in the afternoon the disorder was at a crisis, when his Majesty fell into a sleep, which was considered as the thing to lead to the best hope ; that he continued in it for two hours, and after lying awake a short time, he fell asleep again, and did not stir till about four o'clock in the morning, when he awoke quite tranquil ; asked what bed he was in (being sensible of its not being the one he usually slept in), and how long he had been ill. On being told eight days, he said he felt himself much better than he had been. At the crisis, his pulse was at 136 ; this morning at eight it was only 84. On the whole, the alteration for the better appeared to be most extraordinary. The King was thought so well, that the Queen and Princesses took an airing in their carriages. This account was brought to Mr. Pitt while in bed, before eight o'clock, by Mr. Adlington.

Mr. Pitt then told me he had wished for an opportunity to explain to me more particularly what had passed between him and the Prince of Wales at those interviews he had had with his Royal Highness, which was, in substance, that he had expressed a willingness to submit his advice to his Royal Highness whenever

he should condescend to desire it; but that it must be on the express condition, that if unhappily there should be a necessity for a regency, that his Royal Highness should acquiesce in the arrangement as settled in 1789; that the Prince seemed to be struck at that being put to him so distinctly, and perhaps a little averse to the unqualified tones used (as if Mr. Pitt was conscious of his manner of stating his determination having been severe), and that his Royal Highness asked how some of those now acting with Mr. Pitt would feel on the subject who had taken a very different line on the former occasion, to which Mr. Pitt replied he thought every one concerned in it, without excepting his Royal Highness, could not do better than accord with what was most evidently the clear sense of the Legislature, expressed so as not to be mistaken; the Prince then expressed uneasiness at some of the restrictions as likely to be found extremely inconvenient. Nothing, however, passed conclusive between them as to any arrangement of an administration. The interview ended with the Prince saying that he must take time to consider all that Mr. Pitt had said; his whole demeanour perfectly decorous and proper, as well with Mr. Pitt as at the Queen's house, when he was there. Mr. Fox has certainly not been with his Royal Highness, and Mr. Pitt thinks he has not seen Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. Addington came to Mr. Pitt late in the day, when I was with him, and said the accounts from the Queen's house continued as favourable as possible.

The call of the House was deferred for a fortnight. Mr. Fox in the House.

Wednesday, March 4th.—Account of the King's health favourable—as improving.

Thursday, March 5th.—The same account of the King's health as yesterday—continued improvement.

On considering this day how long we could go on without the royal assent to any bill, it appeared that by the utmost management that could be used we might contrive to find money till the 24th. Of course, the Loan Bill must be passed on the 23d. In order, however, to secure that, we agreed that a Regency Bill must be ready before that day, even in the event of his Majesty going on in a progressive state of recovery, unless he should *be quite well* before the 12th, because that is the latest day to which an examination of the physicians can be deferred (whether by the Privy Council or by the House of Commons): in which case a bill could be brought in on the 14th, to pass by the 23d, as above mentioned; and that only on a supposition of the bill being allowed to go on without delay being created by opposition in any one of its stages; of course that it will not be safe to defer the inquiry of the physicians to the 12th, unless it can be ascertained that no delay will be created, in order to which Mr. Pitt agreed, the best mode would be to have an intercourse with Mr. Fox, either by letter or through some person who can communicate directly with him; first waiting upon the Prince of Wales again, to know whether his Royal Highness will acquiesce in the provisions of the last Regency Bill, with perhaps a modi-

fication in the restrictions as to peerages, confining that to one year, or till a certain period after the commencement of the next session of Parliament.

Friday, March 6th.—The public account of the King's health remarkably good. "Although the fever has not *entirely* subsided, his Majesty is considerably better;" but the private account still more encouraging. His Majesty this morning perfectly composed, and so well as to see the Queen for half an hour, during all which time perfectly rational; but once or twice a little hurried, of which he was sensible, and checked himself. He asked Dr. Willis the state of business in the House of Commons, and expressed himself perfectly satisfied with it, and the train matters were in; he desired the doctor would write to Mr. Addington to inform him how well he is, with directions to him to communicate the same to Mr. Pitt and Lord Eldon, which is a decisive proof of the accuracy of his Majesty's recollection of the state of the Administration when he was taken ill. The King was awake a considerable part of the night, but quite tranquil during the whole time, and this day ate his dinner with his usual appetite.

Lord Chatham told the Bishop of Lincoln he had not made up his mind decidedly on the Catholic question; but that the inclination of his opinion was against the question, and of course favourable to his Majesty's view of the subject.

Lord Moira, in the House of Lords, suggests the expediency of sitting *de die in diem*, to be ready to take any steps that the urgency of affairs might require,

evidently pointing at a regency—while the King is rapidly recovering.

Mr. Pitt seems to admit more than he has at all heretofore done, during the last four weeks, the possibility of its being right that he should remain in, or rather return to, his situation ; in which possible case it would become necessary to dispose honourably and advantageously of Mr. Addington.

Saturday, March 7th.—The physicians' note respecting the King's health still more encouraging than yesterday. Mr. Pitt told me the King was in his mind quite right, though a little fever remained ; that his Majesty last night played at piquet with the Queen for half an hour, and saw the Dukes of Kent and Cumberland. The conduct of the Duke of Clarence, as stated by Lord Auckland, respecting the detention of the fleet, and by Mr. Harris respecting the head of the admiralty !

Sunday, March 8th.—The King's health continues improving.

Monday, March 9th.—The King stated by the physicians to be in the way of speedy recovery.

While I was in the porter's lodge at the Queen's house this morning, reading the bulletin, the Prince of Wales passed the door and went towards the apartments in the house, soon after which he was seen going into Mr. Addington's gateway, in New Palace Yard.

The King sent Dr. Thomas Willis this day to Mr. Pitt, to desire he would come to him, finding himself well enough to talk with him, and wishing to see him

before any one else; but Mr. Pitt, conceiving Mr. Addington ought first to attend his Majesty, entreated that he might do so, and declined it himself.

Mr. Pitt told me the King saw the Duke of York last Friday, and is to see the Prince of Wales to-day.

About three o'clock, Admiral Payne called at the Treasury, and waited some time in my room, while I was at the Board; evidently with a desire to talk with me. He told me the Prince of Wales had not seen the King yet, which his Royal Highness felt painfully; that the Duke of Cumberland had last Monday sent to the Duke of York to apprize him of the King's situation, when his Majesty's life was thought to be in great danger, but that no intimation of it was conveyed to the Prince, about which he remonstrated with the Duke of Cumberland, who justified himself by saying he made the communication to the Duke of York, as he was in his Majesty's confidence, which the Prince thought an aggravation. The Admiral assured me the Prince had had nothing to do with any cabals which might have been going forward, and had seen nobody but Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington; he added that the Duke of Cumberland's conduct had on the whole been most extraordinary; that he had complained loudly to the Prince of the Chancellor having obtained the King's signature to the commission, on the 24th of last month, to the Bread Bill, for which he said his Lordship deserved a rope and a hatchet.

In the House of Lords I saw the Chancellor

respecting the third reading of the Loan Bill, who told me the King was perfectly rational and well; that he had inquired very particularly about the state of public business, and about his Lordship's health; and, among other things, spoke of his having signed the commission for the passing of the Bread Bill, expressing at the same time some uneasiness lest he should not have written his name well.

Tuesday, March 10th.—The King approaching fast to recovery.

Question in the House of Commons respecting the examination of witnesses as to Mr. Horne Tooke being a priest. Mr. Pitt not in the House. Mr. Fox took part in the debate for the first time since his return to Parliament. Great irregularity and confusion. Specimen of what may be expected under the new Government. Mr. Pitt dined with me to meet Lord St. Vincent and Lord Eldon. Admiral Payne came early before dinner, and told me the Prince of Wales had still not seen the King, but expected to be admitted in the afternoon. The Duke of Cumberland had been with the Prince (accompanied by the Duke of Kent) yesterday, for the first time since the King's illness.

Wednesday, March 11th.—The King so entirely recovered as to want nothing but the recovery of his strength; and notice was given at the Queen's house that there would be no more bulletins after this day. On coming away from thence I met Doctor John Willis at the door of the porter's lodge, and exchanged only a few words with him; he just said he was almost

worn out, he had gone through too much for any one man to stand.

The Chancellor and Mr. Addington saw the King to-day for the first time; the former had with him the commission for the royal assent to the Loan Bill which he was to give to his Majesty for his royal signature, if he should find him entirely well enough for business.

Thursday, March 12th.—Admiral Payne came from the Prince of Wales to tell me his Royal Highness had seen the King yesterday; but that he had not been with him more than a minute or two before Doctor Thomas Willis came into the room without having been sent for, and remained in it the whole time his Royal Highness was there, which of course prevented any confidential conversation, but that much passed of a general nature. Among other matters entered upon by his Majesty, he said he was glad to find the inquiries made about his health had been very general; the Prince answered, he believed everybody had been to the Queen's house who could either go there or be carried; to which the King replied, Mr. Fox had not been, but that Mr. Sheridan had, who he verily thought had a respect and regard for him; particularly dwelling on his conduct at Drury Lane Theatre, when the attempt was made on his Majesty's life by the madman who had been in the dragoons; which led his Majesty to ask whether the Prince was in the house at the time; who said he was not, but that he repaired there the moment he heard of the transaction. His Majesty then proceeded

to tell what his own conduct on the occasion was : that he had spoken to the Queen in German to quiet her alarm : and then bursting into an agony for a few seconds, said with much agitation, there was a Providence or a good God above who had, and would protect him ; in all other respects his Majesty was quite composed during the whole interview. His Majesty took up the conversation just as he had left it on Friday, the 20th of February, and said again he hoped Mr. Pitt would be comfortable ; the Prince having before said he would be very poor, on which the King said “ it would be his own fault,” but did not explain himself. His Majesty’s eyes were a good deal affected, was thinner, and had lost the ruddiness of his complexion. He complained of the looking-glass in his room as faulty in the reflection from it ; it had been covered with green baize during his illness.

Admiral Payne expressed a wish that the warrant for the allowance for the Princess Charlotte might be made for the arrears from her birth.

The Admiral had hardly left me before the Chancellor came to me at the Treasury, and sat with me there for an hour and a half ; his Lordship had also been with the King for about half an hour, when his Majesty signed the commission for the royal assent to the Loan Bill, on doing which he asked with some solicitude whether he had written his name well to the commission for the Brown-bread Bill, the signing which he perfectly recollected. His Majesty’s whole manner perfectly collected, and possessing himself entirely. On the Chancellor giving him a true account

of the feelings of the people, and of their anxiety for his Majesty's recovery, he appeared much affected, and said he hoped it would please God to give some continuance to his life, that he might prove to his subjects how deeply sensible he is of their attachment and love.

After stating some other particulars of what passed at the Queen's house, his Lordship entered again very much at large into all the circumstances which led to the change of the Administration, particularly dwelling on his being persuaded that some extraordinary influence must have acted on Mr. Pitt from Sunday the 1st to Tuesday the 3d of February, which induced him to press the King so much on the point which led to his resignation. Thought he had not been treated with that degree of confidence previous to the change which he might reasonably have expected; which is the only thing like a complaint I have heard from him. His Lordship then stated at some length his opinion as to the probable consequences of the new Government coming into office, and asked for mine in such a way as to induce me to think I could not withhold it; I therefore told him plainly, that under the extreme contempt universally expressed for them, and the conviction in the public mind on the subject, it did not appear to me to be possible Mr. Addington could carry on the government; his Lordship assented in that entirely, and added, he had been extremely desirous of consulting with me whether it is not still possible for Mr. Pitt to remain in office, or to return to it immediately, which I did not hesitate

one minute to answer in the negative, under a clear conviction that Mr. Pitt cannot again be the King's minister till called upon by the country to come forward ; his Lordship, however, urged me so forcibly to ask the question of Mr. Pitt that I did so, almost immediately, telling him at the same time the answer I had made, in which he concurred most heartily ; and in consequence thereof I wrote so to the Chancellor, before I went to the House of Commons.

In the House, Lord Castlereagh proposed the bill for continuing martial law in Ireland, supported by a train of most respectable country gentlemen from thence, and Opposition were afraid to divide upon it.

Friday, March 13th.—Mr. Pitt expressed doubts to me whether he could send the Prince of Wales's warrants to the King for a loan to his Royal Highness from the Civil List, and an augmented allowance for the Princess Charlotte ; but quite clear the latter was to have no retrospect beyond Lady-day 1800. If he does not send them, decides at least to leave them with Mr. Addington as a matter positively arranged.

Saturday, March 14th.—Mr. Pitt went to the King at three o'clock, and returned about half-past four, and I saw him at five for a few minutes, before he went on to Mr. Addington ; he had resigned the Exchequer Seal to his Majesty ; he said his Majesty possessed himself most perfectly, though naturally somewhat agitated on such an occasion ; that his kindness was unbounded. Mr. Pitt said he was sure the King would be greatly

relieved by the interview being over, and his resignation being accepted; adding, what I am sure was true, that his own mind was greatly relieved.

In the evening, between eight and nine, Doctor Thomas Willis came to me by his Majesty's command, to desire I would give what furtherance I could to two pension warrants, for 600*l.* a year to Lady Louisa Paget, about to be married to Colonel Erskine; which message he had received from the King while playing at cards with the Queen and Princesses; he mentioned other matters to me from his Majesty of little consequence, and he told me that although Mr. Pitt was an hour and a half at the Queen's house, he was not with his Majesty more than fifteen or twenty minutes.

Dr. Willis (on my expressing great satisfaction that his Majesty's illness had been of so short duration) reminded me that during his Majesty's former illness, in 1788 and 1789, he had told me that if his Majesty had then been under the care of his family from the beginning he would have been well much sooner.

Dr. Willis told me also the remark the King had made respecting Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan; in the same terms Admiral Payne did, and added further, that to that time Mr. Fox had not been to make an inquiry about him; which led Dr. Willis to look at the list, where he found Mr. Fox's name the very last upon it; he having been at the Queen's house on the 11th inst., between six and seven o'clock in the evening.

Sunday, March 15th.—Mr. Pitt explained to me much more at large what passed when he was with the King yesterday ; repeated that his Majesty showed the utmost possible kindness to him both in words and manner ; that his Majesty begun the conversation by saying, that although from this time Mr. Pitt ceased to be his minister, he hoped he would allow him to consider him as his friend, and that he would not hesitate to come to him whenever he might wish it, or when he should think he could do so with propriety ; adding, that in any event he relied on his making him a visit at Weymouth, as he knew Mr. Pitt would go to his mother, in Somersetshire, in the summer.¹

The King told Mr. Pitt he recollected that in 1789, he was sufficiently recovered to transact business on the 12th of March, and that he had therefore dated all the warrants (which were sent to him on Friday and Saturday, the 13th and 14th) on the 12th of this month.

Mr. Pitt sent to the King the two warrants for Lady Louisa Paget, and I wrote a note to Dr. Willis to apprise him of it, and to say that Mr. Pitt would not then trouble his Majesty with any other warrants.

Thursday, March 19th.—With Mr. Pitt alone the whole evening, when a conversation arose about his

¹ At the close of the last conversation Mr. Pitt had with the King before his illness, his Majesty expressed an earnest wish that Mr. Pitt would see him frequently as a friend ; on which Mr. Pitt observed that his Majesty would, he was sure, on a little reflection, be aware that such visits might give rise to much observation and animadversion, and be attended with inconvenience.

own situation : on mentioning to him that an intention had been expressed by many friends of bringing forward a motion in the House of Commons respecting a grant to him, he assured me in the most solemn manner of his fixed determination on no consideration whatever to accept anything from the public ; rather than do which he would struggle with any difficulties ; that if he had had the good fortune to carry the country safe through all its dangers, and to have seen it in a state of prosperity, he should have had a pride in accepting such a grant ; but that under all the present circumstances of the situation of the country, and of himself, it was utterly inconsistent with his feelings to receive anything. In all which (notwithstanding the severe pressure I am sure he has upon him) I could not do otherwise than entirely concur with him.

Friday, March 20th.—Mr. Steele told me the King had expressed a determined purpose to extricate Mr. Pitt from his pecuniary difficulties to the person from whom Mr. Steele had it, under a most solemn engagement not to mention the name of the person who told it to him ; but that he could rely most firmly on the veracity of the said person ; his Majesty told that person that he had talked with Lord Grenville about Mr. Pitt, who said to the King that he had good reason to believe Mr. Pitt was under no considerable pecuniary embarrassment, which surprised his Majesty a good deal ; but he was convinced to the contrary by the said person above alluded to.

Saturday, March 21st.—My functions ceased as

Secretary to the Treasury, having been in that office exactly eighteen years, viz. nine months from July 1782 to April 1783, and from December 1783 to March 1801.

Monday, March 23d.—Signed a few papers at the Treasury, and took my leave of the five chief clerks there. In the evening met the Prince of Wales; strong assurances from his Royal Highness respecting myself and my son.

Tuesday, March 24th.—A council fixed for to-morrow, for the Great Seal to be given to Lord Eldon; but notice given to his Lordship this day, that the council will not be held till after Easter.

A drawing-room fixed for Thursday. Various reports respecting his Majesty's health during the last eight days of a doubtful and unpleasant nature.

Thursday, March 26th.—The Queen had a drawing-room. Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan there.

Saturday, March 28th.—The state of the King's health cannot be perfectly good; there are at least eight hundred warrants unsigned; and none are returned that were lately sent.

Saturday, April 4th.—The Chancellor told me he did not carry the commission to the King for the royal assent (which he intended to have done) in consequence of a message from Dr. Willis, saying his Majesty wished to walk early, and requesting therefore the commission might be sent to him. His Lordship had sent a list of the bills to which the royal assent was to be given, in a box on the preceding evening,

which had not been usual. The signature to the commission very well written.

Met Mr. Addington in the street, who expressed an anxious wish to see me, although he had nothing particular to say to me, and requested I would call on him on Monday morning.

The account from Copenhagen (in Captain Hammond's letter) discouraging, as it appears the Danish fleet are in the basin, except three ships of the line, and a formidable defence to keep our ships out of bomb distance.

Sunday, April 5th.—Lord Eldon dined¹ with me; only Mr. W.¹ with him, when we had much confidential conversation. The Duke of Cumberland told him that on the day when Lord Hobart and Lord Lewisham were appointed to their situations, it was intended the Great Seal should have been given to his Lordship, but that the present Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, told the King Lord Eldon was out of town, which prevented his attendance; his Lordship said he was in town, and had never had any intimation whatever that his attendance at the Queen's house was expected. Lord Eldon repeated what he had said to me on a former occasion, that no consideration should induce him to take the Seal till he was perfectly ascertained of the King being in a fit condition to give it to him, of which fitness he entertained great doubt at the present moment. His Lordship very seriously questioned the propriety of the Chancellor obtaining the King's

¹ Mr. White, Solicitor to the Treasury.

signature for the royal assent to the bills on Thursday last, as well as on the two former occasions. According to my own judgment, the obtaining the signature to the commission for the assent to the Brown-bread Act, on the 24th of February, was by much the most objectionable measure, as that was carried in by Dr. Willis when nobody was allowed to see the King; whereas at this time other acts are done by his Majesty, such as the papers laid before the House of Commons by his command on Wednesday last.

I found also, from Lord Eldon's conversation, he was persuaded Lord Thurlow would take the Great Seal if offered him, but without the speakership of the House of Lords.

Lord Kenyon told Lord Eldon that Lord Thurlow had been with him, and that his conversation about the King was perfectly shocking to his ears; that in short he was a beast, and that their conversation ended by his (Lord Kenyon) saying, I swear to God, my Lord, I believe he (the King) is more in his senses than your Lordship.

I learnt from Mr. White that Major Scott told him Lord Thurlow had been prevailed with by Mr. Fox to take the Great Seal, without the House of Lords, if they should be able to get into Government.

Monday, April 6th.—Saw Mr. Addington at his house at Downing Street according to his request expressed on Saturday last. My feelings on first entering the room he was in, in which I had been with Mr. Pitt daily, when in town, for more than seventeen

years ! Mr. Addington received me on his part with great seeming cordiality ; at first spoke on general topics : said that Sir John Warren was blocking up Ganthaume, in Toulon, with the four sail of the line he carried with him into the Mediterranean, and two from Minorca, the French having seven ; in speaking of the Danish business, he expressed himself sanguinely ; I answered, I was sure that what could be done by man would be executed by the two admirals who commanded ; he observed that Lord Nelson was the most likely to strike a great blow, though both were good, on which I reminded him of the distinguished courage, and still more remarkable presence of mind of Sir Hyde Parker, when he forced the passage of the North River, above New York, early in the American war, under circumstances as trying to an officer as ever happened in a hazardous enterprise. Mr. Addington said he was then almost thirty years younger ; that he should prefer him to command the great fleet in the Channel, but that for such a service as that at Copenhagen he should prefer Lord Nelson ; from whence I infer that Sir Hyde has stated to Ministers some greater difficulties in the way of destroying the Danish fleet than were expected.

On my rising to come away, Mr. Addington told me Mr. Pitt had mentioned to him his wish that I should be made a privy counsellor, and that he should very readily make that communication to the King, to show his good disposition towards me, and he hoped I should feel properly on the subject, and

consider his doing so as a mark of kindness towards me. To which I answered that I had certainly suggested to Mr. Pitt, that if I could be made a privy counsellor, *through his interposition*, I should consider it as an honourable reward for my services to the public and my attachment to him ; but that the value of it would be lost unless I felt that I owed the distinction to Mr. Pitt. Mr. Addington then said he hoped neither I nor my friends would disclaim any obligations to him ; which induced me to observe that where no merit was claimed (conceiving that in the present instance he could take none to himself) there could be no ground for disclaiming. Mr. Addington then asked me what I should have done if Mr. Pitt had died ? To which my answer was, that in that event my thoughts would not have been employed in considering whether I should be a privy counsellor or not ; that I should, of course, have abandoned all thought about it. He then expressed a hope that I would admit his being the channel through which Mr. Pitt's wish should be expressed ; and I replied instantly, perhaps a little quickly, that knowing Mr. Pitt's feelings, I was sure that out of office he could not think himself at liberty to communicate with the King, except through his Minister. Mr. Addington, before the words were well out of my mouth, said he hoped I believed him to be equally incapable of any improper communications with the King out of a responsible situation ; which not appearing to me to call for any observation, I made none. It seemed to savour of a consciousness that my remark about Mr.

Pitt touched him somewhat. He concluded that part of the conversation (in the course of which he made repeated attempts to extort from me something like an acknowledgment of an obligation) by saying that he would take the earliest opportunity of submitting Mr. Pitt's request to the King, and he was certain there would be no hesitation in a compliance with it; adding, that he hoped I would allow him at least the satisfaction of assuring me he should have pleasure in being the channel of communication.

Sunday, April 12th.—The King much improved in his health. He saw Mr. Addington for a considerable time, and the Duke of York on military matters for two hours; then dined with the Queen, and had the Princesses with him in the evening.

Monday, April 13th.—The King not quite so well; which is attributed to his having exerted himself too much yesterday.

Tuesday, April 14th.—An account was received by a special messenger from St. Petersburg of the death of the Emperor Paul, who died suddenly in the night of the 23d of last month; supposed really to have been in an apoplexy, he having had a fit of a dangerous kind some time ago.

The messenger brought to Count Woronzo (ill at Southampton, where he has been living ever since his functions ceased as ambassador from Russia) letters of credence to this Court, to be used as soon as a British messenger should be sent to St. Petersburg, and a proclamation that the new Emperor meant to tread in the steps of his grandmother, the Empress

Catherine ;—which probably will put an end to the Northern confederacy.

Wednesday, April 15th.—The authentic account from Sir Hyde Parker of the entire destruction of the Danish naval line of defence at Copenhagen, one of the most brilliant victories that ever did honour to the naval heroes of this country ; and *in all its points* certainly exalting the national character of Great Britain infinitely higher than any occurrence that ever happened in any war we have carried on. Circumstances in the conduct of Lord Nelson marking his coolness, firmness, presence of mind, and resources in a situation of great difficulty, as superior, if possible, to his heroism in action. The conduct of Sir Hyde Parker, in *coolly looking on*, not intelligible to me ; but his character for intrepidity and resource in a time of danger and difficulty is too well established to admit of a conjecture that his not engaging could arise from any improper motive.

Saturday, April 18th.—The conversation I had with Mr. Addington on the 6th, having impressed me strongly with a persuasion that he wished to take to himself the merit of making me a privy counsellor, to which the delay in the notification would give a sanction, I determined to decline it altogether. I accordingly wrote a letter to Mr. Addington to that effect, assigning as my reason that it would not now have the appearance to the public of flowing from Mr. Pitt's solicitation ; determined at the same time not to allow the disappointment to influence my conduct in the remotest degree. Before sending

the letter, however, I consulted Mr. Pitt on the subject, as there was a reference to his name and interposition in it, who entreated me so anxiously to delay sending it for a few days, that in his presence I threw it into my desk in my own room.

Monday, April 20th.—The King and royal family went to Kew. His Majesty rode there with the Prince of Wales, and after dinner rode again. The exercise, so much exceeding what his Majesty had lately taken, and his conversing with a great number of people, workmen and others, occasioned some degree of irritation and alarm.

Tuesday, April 21st.—Lord Eldon (Chancellor) was prevented dining with me this day, to meet Mr. Pitt, by having been sent for by the Prince of Wales. On his attending his Royal Highness, the Prince told his Lordship that it was the intention of his Majesty, declared yesterday, to devolve the government on him, the Prince; that he wished therefore the Chancellor would consider the proper mode of that being carried into effect; and *that it was the King's intention to retire to Hanover or to America.* The Prince had expressed in his letter, that the King was particularly desirous his Lordship should give to his Royal Highness a paper delivered into the hands of the Chancellor some days ago. He desired therefore that his Lordship would carry it with him to Carlton House, but in the conversation he did not ask for it. That the Queen and his brothers wished him to take measures for confining the King; that his Royal Highness very greatly disliked the Willis family being about the King,

and he was therefore desirous of knowing if they were placed there by any authority, or how they might be got rid of. That his Royal Highness had seen Lord Thurlow, and wished the Chancellor to see him. To all which the Chancellor said very little ; refused to see Lord Thurlow ; the paper was not delivered ; that Dr. Willis, &c. were not about the King by any positive authority, but on grounds of propriety and notorious necessity, justifying in the clearest point of view the measure. On many of the points no reply at all was made by his Lordship.

In the *Gazette*, a continuation of the title of St. Vincent to the children of the present Earl's sister, Mrs. Ricketts, with the dignity of a Viscount.

Wednesday, April 22d.—Breakfasted with Lord St. Vincent by appointment.

Agreed that Mr. Nelson (brother to the hero in the Baltic) should not be a Commissioner of the Navy, but that I would state to Mr. Addington Mr. Pitt's intention to place him on the Board of Customs or Excise.

His Lordship entered on the late glorious victory at Copenhagen, and told me the merit of the attack rested solely with Lord Nelson, as Sir Hyde Parker had been decidedly adverse to the attempt being made, and was overruled only by the perseverance and firmness of the former ; and that in the middle of the action Sir Hyde had made the signal (No. 39) for discontinuing the engagement, which Lord Nelson said to the officer who communicated it to him, he was sure proceeded from some mistake. When it was men-

tioned to Admiral Graves, he asked if it was repeated by Lord Nelson; and on being answered in the negative, he said, "Then we have nothing to do with it." Lord St. Vincent then added, "For these and other causes," probably alluding to the armistice, "we have recalled Sir Hyde, and Lord Nelson is to remain with the command." His Lordship proceeded to say that this measure of necessity put the Administration under some difficulty as to rewards of honour to the officers who had distinguished themselves; and that he had thought it advisable to delay any distribution of medals or to recommend any stage in the peerage to Lord Nelson, conceiving that the whole might be done on the termination of the service with propriety, and without embarrassment respecting Sir Hyde Parker. My Lord told me that in the course of the action at Copenhagen two guns had burst in each of the three Admirals' ships, and one in another,—making seven in the whole;—by which accident a large proportion of the men were killed or wounded probably, who suffered in the battle.

After I had left his Lordship, it occurred to me that as no measures can be kept with Sir Hyde Parker, it might be desirable to confer the intended step in the peerage on Lord Nelson now, and the medals on the other officers; in which opinion Mr. Pitt concurring, I wrote to suggest that to his Lordship before twelve o'clock.

I sent his Lordship also a note of various suggestions for improvements in the naval service, a copy

of which I think I gave to Lord Chatham when he was at the head of the admiralty in 1788 or 1789.

Sunday, April 26th.—Having seen in the *Gazette* of the 21st the grant of a new peerage to Lord St. Vincent, and knowing that Mr. Addington has had intercourse with his Majesty on other matters, I felt an increased reluctance to accept of being made a privy counsellor now; and I copied my letter to Mr. Addington, with necessary alterations, to send it to him to-day, and went up to Mr. Pitt to apprise him of my determination, to whom I stated, as strongly as I could, that the thing would (after such a lapse of time, and the King's pleasure having been taken on so many other matters) be absolutely hateful to me, instead of being at all pleasant. Mr. Pitt still, however, urged me so strongly not to send the letter that I again declined to do it. He assured me that Mr. Addington had not lately seen the King.

Tuesday, April 28th.—The Earl of Rosslyn (late Lord Loughborough) called upon me, and stated at much length what had lately passed between him and the King, and between him and the Prince of Wales. Of the former, the most interesting was, that when he attended his Majesty to deliver up the Great Seal, the King put into his hand a paper which he wrote in 1795, testifying his approbation of the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the reasons for that; which paper, his Majesty said, would be a decisive proof that *he* had not changed his mind on the subject of the Irish Catholics; and he added, that he had a duplicate

of it, which he should soon put into the hands of another person.

With respect to the conversation with the Prince of Wales, it was very much the same as that with the Prince and the Chancellor (Lord Eldon). Lord Rosslyn had seen his Royal Highness twice, and heard nearly the same things repeated, and had since received a message, by Admiral Payne, on the subject of his Royal Highness being Regent.

In the afternoon, after the House of Lords had risen, when the Bill was read the third time for preventing seditious meetings, I sat more than an hour with the Chancellor in his room, near the House, and he told me he was under an engagement to his Majesty to re-deliver to him the paper alluded to above; but that Lord Rosslyn's copy was to be left in his Lordship's hands. The Chancellor was under a difficulty about the mode of obtaining his Majesty's signature to the commission for the royal assent to the Bills now ready for it; on which I suggested to him that it appeared to me, *rebus sic stantibus*, to be more desirable, upon the whole, so to manage the matter as to have a letter from the King, transmitting the commission signed by him; as that might perhaps be more satisfactory than even his Lordship seeing the King sign it, because he would then be in possession of a written testimony of his Majesty's competency to execute such an instrument. Whereas, in the other mode, however his Lordship might be convinced of the King being in a proper state to transact business, he could hereafter have no means of *proving* it; in which

his Lordship concurred. He seemed to think it not necessary that his Majesty should be in an *uninterrupted* state of health and composure to justify his being called upon to discharge the ordinary duties of the Sovereign ; but that it would be sufficient for his Lordship's justification if his Majesty should, at the time of his being called upon to perform any act of sovereignty, be in a proper situation to do such act.

Sunday, May 10th.—Mr. Braun¹ came to me with a message from the King, to desire I would ask Sir Henry Mildmay whether he would lend his house, in Winchester, for his Majesty's residence for a day or two, in his way to Weymouth. He came to my bedside, as I was extremely unwell at the time. I told him he might assure the King that he might depend on having the house, as Sir Henry authorized me to offer it two years ago for the use of the King, when it was supposed his Majesty was going to review the provincial troops in Hampshire, &c. In the course of conversation, however, Mr. Braun suggested that his Majesty had more than once dropped expressions of his persuasion that, if Cuffnells should be thought a fitter residence for him, he was sure I would let him have it. I was, therefore, induced to write on the 11th to Dr. Thomas Willis, to desire if he should ever hear a wish expressed about Cuffnells, that he would say, from me, I should be delighted if his Majesty would make use of it in any manner and for any time he might choose. I wrote, at the same time, to Sir Henry Mildmay, to request he would call on me.

¹ The King's page, an old confidential attendant.

Tuesday, May 12th.—Received an answer from Dr. Willis, telling me that the King would very thankfully accept of my house; with strong expressions of acknowledgment, as well for that as for my solicitude about him during his illness.

Mr. Braun and Mr. Bowman called in the course of a few days to settle about the apartments, and delivered messages to me from the King, that he expected I would remain at Cuffinells. After this, to request that at any rate that I would be so near it that I might be constantly with him during his residence there.

Sunday, May 16th.—Wrote to Mr. Addington to decline the honour of being made a privy counsellor, and to desire he would not propose it to his Majesty, as it could not now appear to be connected with, or to arise from, my services under Mr. Pitt's administration, or to be conferred on me at his instance; but that it would make no difference whatever in my conduct. To this letter no answer of any sort was returned!!

Monday, May 17th.—The Chancellor told me he had had a long conversation with the King, who was perfectly well. His Majesty told his Lordship that whatever he advised him to do *in writing*, he would implicitly comply with it.

Friday, May 21st.—The first public council for some time past was held at the Queen's house, at which Mr. Abbott and Mr. Wallace were sworn privy counsellors!

May 31st.—The King, at the instance of the Lord

Chancellor, agreed to defer his journey till the rising of Parliament; and at night I received a letter from Mr. Braun, written by his Majesty's command, to apprise me of it.

Tuesday, June 8th.—Mr. Pitt told me there was an intention of dissuading his Majesty from going to Weymouth, on account of the inconvenience likely to arise from the concourse of people there. Asked me about the house, late Lord Bute's, near Christchurch, which I told him was half taken down, and would not now do. Talked of Walmer Castle, as likely to afford accommodation for the King, and that Deal Castle would do for the attendants; to which I answered, that it was entirely for others to judge of the comparative risk stated, and also of that of disturbing the King's mind by turning him from a scheme he had an extreme fondness for.

Wednesday, June 9th.—The Chancellor dined with me alone, by his own desire. We had a long and interesting conversation on various points, public and private.

He told me the King had expressed much uneasiness at no notice having been taken by Parliament or his people of his recovery from his illness; that Mr. Addington had opposed any parliamentary proceeding in it, as no notice had been taken by the two Houses of his illness. This I stated as in my opinion a frivolous objection, because, if his Majesty had been afflicted with a fever of a common sort, or any other illness, the Houses would naturally have congratulated him on his recovery; and that the Privy Council

having ordered public thanksgiving prayers in all churches throughout the kingdom, the matter was of sufficient notoriety for a congratulatory address; in which his Lordship seemed to concur. He mentioned the intention of making an attempt to prevent the Weymouth journey, accompanied with strong expressions of disapprobation. He told me that when at Kew with the King, some weeks ago, he found his Majesty in a house there, separated from his family, with the Willis's, &c. living with him; under which arrangement the King was extremely uneasy, and at length told the Chancellor he had taken a solemn determination, that unless he was that day allowed to go over to the house where the Queen and his family were, no earthly consideration should induce him to sign his name to any paper or to do any one act of government whatever. This resolution he affirmed, with the strongest declaration, that he would abide by, as a gentleman and as a king. Accordingly, the Chancellor consented to his Majesty going to the house where the Queen was.

Thursday, June 10th.—Doctor Thomas Willis came to me to express the King's wish again, that I would be so near him (as I declined remaining in the house) as to ensure my being with him the whole time he should remain at Cuffinells. He told me Mr. Addington had a positive determination to dissuade the King from going to Weymouth, which was seriously lamented by himself and brothers, and equally so by Dr. Gisborne and the other physicians, as likely to incur a serious risk of disturbing the King's mind. That the premises

at Weymouth had within a few weeks been purchased from the Duke of Gloucester, alterations made, and hot and cold baths constructed there, under the directions of the physicians, and every preparation made for the journey ; but that Mr. Addington was bent on effecting his purpose, and he believed he would make the report that day, much to his grief and uneasiness. He told me that unfortunately the King had taken a decided aversion to himself and the other medical people about him, and showed great impatience to get from under their restraint. That after his Majesty went to Kew, they had been under the necessity of removing him from the house where the Queen and Princesses were ; but that *that* was not effected without a mark of violence from his Majesty towards him. He assured me, however, that his Majesty was now almost entirely well, and that there was every appearance he would remain so. He assured me also, that it was a subject of constant complaint and regret with the King that no notice had been taken by Parliament &c. of his recovery ; contrasting that with the conduct of his people in Hanover, who had congratulated him on the occasion.

Friday, June 11th.—The Chancellor came to me before breakfast for half an hour. He complained of Mr. Pitt not having attended last night in the House of Commons, on the Indemnity Bill (respecting the commitments for treasonable practices), and said he should write to him, to desire he would urge the attendance of his friends in the House of Lords upon the discussion. He apprehended Lord Thurlow would

oppose it strongly. His Lordship told me he would *strenuously resist* the King being diverted from going to Weymouth, under a clear conviction that the attempt even could not be made without great hazard. He again mentioned the address, and concurred with me in opinion about it, if it could be done so that his Majesty should receive it upon his throne, and not be pestered with others; to which I replied, that if it should be delayed till very near the end of the session, his Majesty would escape all others by his excursion to the sea-side. This his Lordship seemed to approve of.

Mr. Beresford, in talking of the extraordinary circumstances attending the debate on the Irish Martial Law Bill, on Wednesday evening, the 9th, told me that before that business came on, Mr. Addington said their intention was to propose the continuation of the bill to one month after the peace, which Mr. B. very much approved of; but that in less than ten minutes (and while Mr. Abbott was making that proposal), Mr. Addington returned to him and said, their friends would not support so long a continuance of the bill, to which Mr. B. replied, if so, there was no remedy but to take a shorter one; asking, however, who the friends were who alarmed him, to which it was answered Lord Folkestone and Mr. Calvert! Mr. Addington then said, he would send Mr. Vansittart to Mr. Ponsonby (who had risen to speak) to tell him he would propose the bill should be in force only one year, which Mr. Beresford dissuaded him from, as likely to make Mr. Ponsonby more bold in his objections; which effect was produced by the message. Mr. Addington then

rose, and declared "HE HAD NEVER INTENDED TO PROPOSE THE BILL SHOULD HAVE CONTINUANCE FOR MORE THAN ONE YEAR, OR RATHER TO THE 25TH OF MARCH, 1802," and that in the hearing of Mr. Beresford, to whom he had half an hour before said it was settled to have the proposal made in the terms moved by Mr. Abbott! The latter was of course exposed to the most virulent attacks of the Opposition, of which they availed themselves to the utmost.

Mr. Tierney had appeared for some time past wavering—certainly holding back from the front ranks of opposition—and apparently making advances to Mr. Addington; but the conduct of that gentleman in the late debates made him relinquish all idea of connecting himself with such a head of a party.

Sir Charles Grey to be made a peer;—surely a reflection on Mr. Pitt,—his only merit could be his conduct in the West Indies; which, if *so* rewarded at all, should have been done in Mr. Pitt's administration.

I found myself unwell on the 28th May, the day I returned to London to dine as usual with some friends, at Mr. Dundas's, on Mr. Pitt's birthday (having been to Hampstead, at Whitsuntide, for the Friendly Societies); but went with Mr. Pitt to Deptford, Trinity Monday, June 1st. From the 2d I was confined to the house, with an inflammatory complaint in my lungs, till the 13th, when I went to Holly Grove.

CHAPTER VII.

1801.

CORRESPONDENCE ON MR. PITT'S RETIREMENT FROM OFFICE IN 1801, BETWEEN MR. ROSE, THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN, LORD AUCKLAND, MR. PITT, MR. ADDINGTON, AND LORD ELDON—MIS-STATEMENTS OF THE WHIG WRITERS ON MR. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION, AND THE CAUSES OF HIS LEAVING OFFICE.

[GREAT was the consternation with which the tidings of Mr. Pitt's resignation were received by his followers, who seemed to say, "Can these things be, and overcome us like a summer cloud, without our special wonder?" Either not knowing, or not appreciating at their real value, the motives by which he was actuated, they displayed their irrepressible dissatisfaction, and no small obliquity of judgment. The Bishop of Lincoln was much alarmed at the idea of the Roman Catholic Bill, and thought that by the promise of abandoning it all would be set straight again. In this he was quite mistaken, as well as in the corrections of Mr. Rose's letter to the King, which he suggested. The promise did not extend beyond the King's reign, and it was not true that it would hold good at all times and under all circumstances.—ED.]

DR. TOMLINE, BISHOP OF LINCOLN, TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I hear, and I think from good authority, that something very unpleasant is passing relative to a Roman Catholic Bill, which Government stands pledged to Ireland to introduce into the Imperial Parliament, and which is said to be disapproved by a great personage to such a degree that very unpleasant consequences indeed may follow. If what I hear concerning the intended measure be correct, I cannot but most earnestly deprecate it; and I am satisfied that it never can be carried through the House of Lords. I think that every bishop would be against it; it has already excited no small alarm amongst some of our bench. I am unwilling to write to Mr. Pitt about it, and you will judge whether it be expedient for you to mention to him what I have said. You and he both know that I am always ready to go up to town; but I could not well leave home till the 14th, as I have company coming hither out of Yorkshire and Suffolk the beginning of next week, and I have promised to preach in this church on the fast-day. Let me know what you think and wish; as I really am at present in a state of considerable anxiety and uneasiness.

“ Adieu, my dear sir. Every good wish from this house to you and yours.

“ Yours ever most truly,

“ G. LINCOLN.

“ Buckden Palace, Feb. 6th, 1801.”

LETTER FROM MR. ROSE TO THE KING.

“It affords me great satisfaction to be able to say to your Majesty that I am authorized by Mr. Pitt to assure your Majesty, that (in whatsoever situation, public or private, he may happen to be ¹) he will not bring forward the question respecting the Catholics of Ireland: and that if it should be agitated by others he will supply a proposition for deferring the consideration of it. And that I mention this with the less hesitation, from Mr. Pitt not having thought himself at liberty (for the reasons I stated last year at Cuffnells) to avail himself of your Majesty’s very gracious and condescending kindness and liberality.”

[Letters from Mr. George Rose, Lord Bolton, and Lady Chatham, may next be introduced, expressing their anxieties and regrets at the change.—Ed.]

MR. GEORGE ROSE TO MR. ROSE.

“Holly Grove, Feb. 6th, 1801.

“MY DEAR FATHER,

“William is just come. The news so confounds and perplexes me (without, Heaven knows, the mixture of any but public feelings, except as to

¹ Instead of these words within parentheses, the Bishop of Lincoln suggested—“at no time, and under no circumstances.” It is unnecessary to add, “during your Majesty’s reign,” as that must be fairly understood.—Ed.

what relates to you) that, in the instant I have to write in, I can but say the only single consolation I can feel is the ease and retreat it holds out to you, and for which my anxiety has been more than I can express. We shall be but one family, please God; and no trifling inconvenience can weigh for a moment against the advantages of retirement to you after a life of such unprecedented exertion and fatigue.

“The prospect of unhinging the Government to raise a new one with so weak a head is too frightful. Is it credible that I conversed very long to-day with a gentleman [the King] hunting, who talked of all the people most affected as if nothing had happened, or was to happen, and who was in unusual spirits?

“May Heaven preserve you, my dearest Father,

“G. H. ROSE.”

LORD BOLTON TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“Hackwood Park, 8th Feb. 1801.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“One hasty line to thank you truly for yours, received this day. The confidential communication of an event of real importance makes all our little county arrangements seem still smaller. I am really and truly sorry for this great change, although I by no means wonder at Mr. Pitt’s desire to withdraw for a time from a weight which would have sunk most men long ago. I would have had him at the helm till we could have reached the port; but such strange and contrary winds blow, that perhaps the superstition

of the crew must be awakened and yielded to, and a change of pilot for that cause alone must be made. Yet I wonder at the successor, not from doubt of his talents, but at his willingness to move from the other situation at such a time.

“ I hardly venture to reckon upon all the good which may have been hoped. If the Speaker is placed there as a medium of attraction for conciliating parties, I can in some degree understand the object, although doubtful of success. If he is to be the minister upon the old ground, his House of Commons popularity with the other side will be soon gone. Some, indeed, have gone far in positive declarations against any peace to be made by Mr. Pitt, and may be a little freed by a new appointment ; but this is the decided friend and confidant of Mr. Pitt.

“ I will only add my best wishes for all possible satisfaction to Mr. Pitt, and success to his successor, if he does right, and I have no doubt about him. I am so out of the way of politics or political men that I am very ill qualified for judgment.

“ You do not surprise me by your own resolution ; for indeed you must be well tired of it all, and you are fairly now entitled to retreat. I could not have held out half so long, even if I had had health. I trust that happier days may come, when we may meet more comfortably in the country.

“ How soon will this all take place ? But it is unreasonable to ask a line from you, as you must be doubly hurried.

“ I am half guessing a successor to you in this county. I think it would be agreeable to him ; but all this confidential. Adieu.

“ Ever most cordially yours,
“ BOLTON.”

MRS. STAPLETON¹ TO MR. ROSE.

“ Burton Pynsent, 11th Feb. 1801.

“ SIR,

“ The rumours of the last ten or twelve days have kept Lady Chatham in a constant state of painful anxiety. Your silence upon the subject of Mr. Pitt’s health,—of all things, next to his honour, nearest her heart,—satisfied her, from your former kind attention, that he was not seriously ill ; and your most friendly, obliging letter of last night, relieves her from the very irksome, painful uncertainty of not knowing what to think *possible* or true of the various things, at best most cruelly unpleasant, which reached us in a desultory manner and style. A few lines, with yours, from Mr. Pitt, was the first information we received that could gain further faith than the fear that some severe storm was gathering. Pray God it prove not destructive. A change, with every favourable circumstance that the present appears to be attended with, it is impossible not to dread, must prove destructive at a period when unanimity and Mr. Pitt at the helm furnished sufficient difficulties to baffle with. His promised aid, with the will of the Almighty, may still

¹ Mrs. Stapleton was a friend of Lady Chatham, who lived with her, and latterly wrote letters for her.

support us; and, if things put on a less threatening aspect, his greater degree of relaxation from business will probably more firmly establish his health,—of such near consequence to almost the whole known world, whatever situation he may be in. His dearest mother and himself are so much one in mind and sentiment, that the rectitude of his conduct you now give to him, and ever his due, with his own account of perfect health, places her above any disappointment. To yourself she owes the knowledge of even the shadow of a new administration. Mr. Pitt simply mentioned the unfortunate event as unavoidable, with his feelings, and not a name. Lady Chatham entreats your acceptance of her best regards and sincerest thanks for your most friendly attention, which she shall ever retain the most grateful sense of; and ventures to flatter herself, as occasion offers, you will not withdraw the kindness of letting her hear any important event which she may otherwise lose, or not learn from equally good authority. God grant success to any right undertaking, and avert all fatal consequences from this most unlooked-for change. I don't think there is a better heart in human breast than Mr. Addington's, or a man that loves Mr. Pitt better; so far it is pleasant. I ought to have acknowledged the favour of your letter last night, but the post came in late, and went out by seven o'clock this morning.

“I am, Sir, your very much obliged,

“And obedient, humble servant,

“CATH. STAPLETON.”

LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“Palace Yard, February 8th, 1801.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have sent to Mr. Pitt the several documents respecting the proposed duties of postage, except, only, an explanatory paper, which you will find in the bundle of his minutes for the budget.

“As to the rest, stunned, grieved, and aggrieved, as I am, I shall now have ample leisure to think ; and I have no particular desire to talk. I very cordially hope, however, that we shall meet, whenever it may not be disagreeable to you to spare a quarter of an hour.

“Believe me, most sincerely yours,

“AUCKLAND.”

MR. ROSE TO LORD AUCKLAND.

“Sunday, February 8th, 1801.

“MY DEAR LORD,

“Mr. Pitt told me he had received the Post-office papers from you, which I dare say will justify our taking the sum you mentioned towards our taxes in the approaching budget.

“The allusion in the latter part of your note is to a subject as painful and distressing to me, in various points of view, as it can be to any individual in this country, the principals not excepted. Any discussion upon it with you for the present could answer no possible good end, and there are occasions on which con-

versation on *any* subject had better for a time be avoided between persons who have long been in the habit of talking confidentially on *all*."

[Mr. Rose, weighing the mediocrity of Mr. Addington against the superior talents of Mr. Pitt, not only rejected his solicitation to remain in office at the Treasury, but would not accept a favour from him; and the offer of being enrolled in the Privy Council was rejected, unless it was fully understood that it was the reward of his service under the ex-Minister, and that to him he was indebted for the honour. This is shown in the annexed correspondence.—ED.]

MR. ROSE TO MR. ADDINGTON.

"Feb. 10th, 1801.

"I thought something fell from you this morning that implied a doubt whether, in my situation, you should have taken the same line I have. On points, exclusively of feeling, with which the judgment has not much to do, I can easily conceive two persons, whose habits of thinking are much alike, may differ. In this instance, I act on the impulse of my feelings; and I repeat to you, with the sincerest truth, that in any other situation whatever but that I at present hold, *I should have complied with the wish expressed by Mr. Pitt*, without the slightest hesitation; and that I am influenced by no motive but the one I expressed to you."

MR. ROSE TO MR. PITT.

"April 18th, 1801.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I should not think myself justified in making any communication, where there is even a mention of your name, without apprizing you of it; but I have other and more interesting reasons for begging you to read the enclosed before I send it. I have been led to write it principally from what fell from Mr. Addington in the conversation I had with him twelve days ago. If you happen to recollect what I stated of that, I think you will not disapprove of this letter. If, however, you see anything objectionable in it, I will either alter it or put it in the fire.

"I am still lame; but I can get up to you in a carriage any time in the day, if you wish to see me."

MR. ROSE TO MR. ADDINGTON.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"When you mentioned to me three weeks ago that Mr. Pitt had requested you to submit to his Majesty his wish that I might be made a privy counsellor, you told me you were persuaded there would be no hesitation on the part of his Majesty in a compliance therewith. In the course of that conversation I felt myself called upon to say, that, consistently with my feelings, I could owe the obligation only to Mr. Pitt, under an impression that the distinction being conferred on me early, would be considered as a proof that my services under him for more than seventeen

years had rendered me worthy of the honour I sought ; adding, however, that being aware (as circumstances had unavoidably prevented Mr. Pitt from submitting the request to his Majesty before he retired from office) it could now only be proposed by you, I was perfectly content *so* to receive what I had asked of Mr. Pitt. But as you have taken his Majesty's pleasure on various subjects in the interval since I saw you, and I have had no intimation from you respecting myself, the favour if granted could not have the appearance of flowing from Mr. Pitt's solicitation. I have, therefore, no longer any wish for the distinction at present, and desire to decline giving you any trouble about it. The reasons for the omission are to me quite unimportant.

"You know me, I trust, well enough to be quite sure that this determination does not arise from the remotest tendency to captiousness, or from any other cause than the one I have stated, and that the disappointment cannot produce any alteration whatever in my conduct.

"I am, my dear Sir,

"Your very obedient and faithful, humble servant,

"GEORGE ROSE.

"Old Palace Yard, April 25th, 1801."

MR. ROSE TO MR. ADDINGTON.

"May 17th, 1801.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"As my having the honour conferred upon me of being admitted to his Majesty's Privy Council

could not *now* be connected with my services under Mr. Pitt's administration, or appear to arise from his approbation of them, I could not consistently with my feelings receive it at present. I desire, therefore, to decline giving you any trouble about it.

“ You know me, I trust, well enough to be very sure that this determination does not arise from any other cause than the one I have assigned, and that the disappointment cannot produce the slightest possible alteration in my conduct.”

[It might be supposed that nothing could shake the determination here so strongly expressed by Mr. Rose, of resisting Mr. Addington's offer; especially since his eldest son entirely concurred in his view of the matter, and endeavoured to persuade him to adhere to it. But Mr. Pitt was so sincerely desirous to support his successor, so long as he committed no grave faults in his administration, which might compromise the interests of the country, that his friend could not stand out against his earnest and repeated entreaties that he would strengthen the government by accepting a seat in the Privy Council. The public would suspect the sincerity of his intentions, if his most intimate friend stood absolutely aloof from the Minister, and refused to accept the smallest obligation from him. Mr. Pitt seems to have requested Mr. Addington to name the subject to the King, and the latter not only complied with that request, but judiciously desired Mr. Pitt to make the communication to his friend. Mr. Rose having

constrained himself to make this concession to the policy of Mr. Pitt, thought it a favourable opportunity to put forward the claims of his son for employment under the new Ministry ; for though the ex-Minister's influence was crippled, it was not destroyed by loss of office, and he had a right to expect, that if he wished to obtain a situation for some competent and trustworthy person, his recommendation would not be disregarded. In this case there was no reason to hesitate. Mr. George Rose had already obtained distinction in the diplomatic line, and his previous character fully justified an application in his behalf.—

[After the short illness, occasioned by the change of administration in the beginning of the year, the King resolved to go to Weymouth, as a healthful and quiet place, but it was too far to get there in a day. Mr. Rose having learned that he did not like to sleep at Southampton, offered him the use of his house, called Cuffnells,¹ on the borders of the New Forest, which pleased the King very much, and he employed his doctor, T. Willis, to convey to him the thanks, which are expressed in the first of the two following letters. The second is from Lord Eldon, who had been to visit the King at Weymouth, and, being obliged to return speedily to town, writes to Mr. Rose asking him to relieve him from a comical perplexity in administering justice between man and man. In the

postscript there are some good remarks upon traffick-
ing in Church patronage, and a revelation of the
plague which the possession of that patronage entails
upon the patron.—ED.]

DR. WILLIS TO MR. ROSE.

“Kew House, May 12, 1801.

“DEAR SIR,

“I am commanded by his Majesty to write to
you, and say that he feels himself very much obliged
to you for your offer of Cuffnells, which will be much
more pleasing to him than being at Winchester.
He has also desired me to write to his page, Mr.
Bowman,—who has gone to Weymouth, and who was
to call at Winchester on his way back, to make pre-
parations for the King,—and say, that his Majesty
now intends to stop at Cuffnells for three or four
days, on his way to Weymouth; and that instead of
his (Mr. Bowman’s) going to Winchester, he desires he
will now return by Cuffnells, and see into the accom-
modation there and in the neighbourhood.

“I cannot express to you how gratifying this offer of
yours is to his Majesty. If anything should suggest
itself that you might wish to say to Mr. Bowman, you
would probably think it right to write to him to-
night, at Gloucester Lodge, Weymouth. He will
probably be at Cuffnells about Thursday. But it
will be requisite that a letter should find him at
Weymouth.

“Let me not forget to add, that his Majesty com-
manded me to say in this letter, that he had heard of

your solicitude during his illness, and that he should ever remember it. Of this, also, he spoke to-day to Lord Eldon, who says he never knew the King to be at any time better.

“Should you wish to say anything further upon the subject of Cuffnells, I would advise that you called upon me (for I cannot come to you) at a house I have a few doors below the Rose and Crown, on Kew Green, somewhere about half after twelve to-morrow, if you can spare the time. This is of course not necessary; but I only state it, that if you wish it, you may know how you may see me. And I think his Majesty may be inquiring into particulars, which it might be satisfactory to him to know.

“I need not add that I have been obliged to write in a great hurry.

“I am, dear Sir, most truly,

“Yours very faithfully,

“THOS. WILLIS.

“I should imagine that the King will set off about the beginning of the second week in June. Her Majesty, the Queen, is delighted with the idea of stopping at Cuffnells.”

LORD ELDON TO MR. ROSE.

“DEAR ROSE,

“I got to Weymouth on the morning of Monday, the 17th, and, according to what usually befalls me, I was compelled to leave it, and to return to town forthwith, setting out from thence on Wednes-

day evening. So that my expectations of making what may be called a stay there were utterly disappointed, and my golden hopes of being a night or two at Cuffnells fell to the ground. I could not help lamenting this for a great many reasons, principally, that I was unable to gratify my inclination to take you by the hand in my passage, and to assure myself by ocular proof that you are got quite well. I had some subordinate views undoubtedly; and principally one which relates to a subject that distresses me, because it puzzles me, and because it distresses poor Brodie, whilst it continues to puzzle me. The business in which he has been engaged I never heard of, whilst it has been pending in the House, except simply that I had been informed that there was some such business pending, and that Lord Rosslyn asked me if I would undertake to settle what should be done. Here it rested, without more being said to me till I received some of your letters, which were written certainly under a notion that I knew somewhat more of this matter than I really did know. In the next place, I was applied to by Mr. Adam and Mr. Brodie, to direct all papers to be removed from Evans's to Brodie's hands, and he joined in the proposition that 500*l.* should by me be ordered to be paid to each of them, and that Brodie should go on with the work.

“I was startled with this, for it was not till *after this* that the resolutions of the Lords were communicated to me. From these resolutions, as I understand them (pray tell me if I am right), the Lords, I conceive, have determined that Brodie is to go on with the work,

but *in such manner as I shall direct*, and they are both to be paid in such manner for what is *past, as I also shall direct*. Now, in having taken the good-natured part of removing this business from that scene of squabble which I understand the committee-room exhibited, I have permitted myself to be placed in a situation of more difficulty than is at all comfortable. In the first place, with an absolute ignorance of all that has been doing, and responsible to the Lords for the propriety of my directions, ignorant both as to what Mr. Brodie has done, and as to what Mr. Evans has done, how can I, without complete information given me from some quarter, judge, in any sort, what I OUGHT to direct to be paid to either of these gentlemen for the time past, so as to be able to account to the Lords why I ordered so much or so little, as it may happen, to be paid?

In the next place, as I understand the order, though Brodie is to proceed, he is to proceed as I shall direct. Now, I feel it prodigiously difficult,—in absolute ignorance of all that has been doing, and all that has been contended to have been rightly done, or injudiciously done, and with no more knowledge of the subject than your horse, or of the reasons why one plan has been thought good and another has been thought bad,—either to tell Mr. Brodie to proceed upon the plan he has hitherto been executing, or to tell him what better plan he can adopt and ought to pursue. And be pleased to note well, that by the Lords' order, the plan in future must be mine. Here I am without a soul to give me any information on the subject, and I

cannot take my lesson from Brodie himself, whom I am to direct, and who into the bargain is a Scotchman:—a circumstance I feel, because I practically know, from my friend Loughborough's having got me into, and himself out of, this scrape, that I am not equal to gentlemen from that part of the island.

“ In the meantime, Brodie gets nothing, and is starving. I am therefore mortified that the state of public matters robbed me of the opportunity of seeing you in my way from Weymouth; but it was impossible. But pray take up your pen, and tell me, if you'll be so good, to what extent, and how, these gentlemen should be paid for what is past, and *upon what grounds* they are to be paid now to any such proposed extent;—grounds which I can state and assign to the Lords when they look at the payment to that extent as my act. As to Brodie's going on in the manner he has hitherto proceeded, I really have not the power or the means of judging whether that be right; and, as I understand the resolutions of the committee, he is not to go on *so*, unless *I* think it right that he should. Now, I am so ignorant upon the subject, so little competent to judge whether it is right or wrong, that I do not even know what the quarrel has been, or on what grounds it has stood. Pray also tell me, as largely as your convenience will admit, what have been the different plans suggested, and what you think, and for what reasons, the best. I need not tell you that Brodie is hungry, and in a hurry, and therefore the sooner you can indulge me with a full answer the better. I am heartily sorry that I have got into

this business at all. However, I must make the best of it I can.

“ I found the King doing very well, but not I think in high spirits, which is perhaps so much the better. With my best regards to Mrs. Rose and all the family,

“ Believe me, dear Sir, faithfully yours,

“ ELDON.

“ P.S.—I had forgot in the enclosed to say a word to you about Mr. B., who, you intimate, has a living to dispose of, and you suppose looks to a prebend. The thing is impossible for many reasons. In the first place, my serious opinion is, that though ecclesiastical men of the highest stations and best characters, ‘ *multi et boni*,’ think nothing of these exchanges, there is an illegality about such transactions which makes it impossible for a man at the head of the law to have anything to do with them. I know this was the rule with my best predecessors, and I have positively refused already in many instances to take any part in them. In the next place, as matters now go on, that is, as nothing of any sort has in my time become vacant, or next to nothing, I look to a prebend rather with a wish to have some vacant than a hope; and I have two royal commands already for prebends. They happen also to suit my brothers-in-law, and some other people nearly connected with me, for none of whom I was ever able to get any provision in the church to which they belong, and I do hope anxiously, somehow or other, by some chance, not to fail in my last hopes on their behalf, though I am afraid I shall.

My friend, Lord Rosslyn, presented to nineteen livings in February. I have presented to two in four months ; neither of them worth acceptance. A wish to oblige you, when I can, I ever shall anxiously have, and this I persuade myself you do me the justice to give me credit for. In these circumstances, to me it is provoking beyond endurance, that every day brings me as many letters for preferment, from men strangers to me, as if every parson in England were dead, though they seem to be all immortal.”

[We have now come to the close of Mr. Pitt's first administration, the history of which has been greatly misunderstood, by friends and foes, and much undeserved obloquy has been cast upon him by both. Lord Malmesbury comes nearest to the truth, though even his account is mixed with considerable error. He says “This measure (the Catholic relief bill) is to be attributed in part to Pitt's carelessness, and in part to his want of real respect for the King ; for had he been provident enough to prepare the King's mind gradually, and to prove to him that the test proposed was, as far as went to allegiance and supremacy, as binding as the present oath, no difficulty could have arisen. Instead of this, he reckons on his own power, never mentions the idea at St. James's, and gives time for Lord Loughborough directly, and for Lord Auckland indirectly, through the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London,

to raise an alarm in the King's mind, and to indispose and exasperate him against the framers of the measure. This was very blameable in Pitt.¹ Afterwards, he fell still more under the influence of the backbiters who disseminate their malevolence in clubs and drawing-rooms, and accused him of playing a very selfish and criminal part:² of trying to be entreated by the King to keep the government in his own hands, or of letting his successors remain in office long enough to make peace, and then turn them out."³

If Lord Malmesbury had published his own Diaries, he would scarcely have allowed these unjust surmises to have held a place in them, since they are completely contradicted by the authentic facts which are afterwards detailed at great length.⁴ If such was the treatment that Mr. Pitt received from his friends, it may be supposed that his opponents would not spare him. Lord Holland was not far wrong in saying that Mr. Pitt acquiesced in an expedient by which a ministry was formed for the express purpose of resisting a great national measure, which he had earnestly recommended; and it is true that he wished his friends who differed with him on that point to remain in office. But it is not true that he suggested that expedient; and it is not true that the ministry was formed chiefly of his own creatures and dependants. Still less is it true, that Lord Auckland and

¹ Diaries, &c. vol. iv. p. 3.

² *Ibid.* page 3.

³ *Ibid.* page 40.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 75, *et seq.*

Lord Loughborough produced the breach between the King and Mr. Pitt.¹ Lord Brougham remarks upon Pitt's resignation: "Are the motives of it wholly free from suspicion? *Cui bono?* He was incalculably a gainer by it. Finding it impossible to continue any longer the ruinous expenditure of the war, he retired, placing in his office his puppet, with whom he quarrelled for refusing to retire when he was bidden; but the ostensible ground of his resignation was the King's bigoted refusal to emancipate the Irish Catholics." ²

The bigotry which is here imputed to George III., calls forth, in another place, the wrath of the noble writer. Like the lion who is said to have a thorn in his tail, he lashes himself into ungovernable fury, and lavishes upon the unfortunate monarch the wealth of his invective, with a ferocity which shows that the most bitter animosity and the most unforgiving resentment, which he attributes to the King, had taken possession of his own breast. "*Ira furor brevis est:*" and certainly the inconsistency of his anger looks very much like a temporary mental alienation; for he says, "the habits of friendship, the ties of blood, the dictates of conscience, the rules of honesty, were alike forgotten; and the fury of the tyrant, with the resources of a cunning which mental alienation is supposed to

¹ Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. i. p. 171.

² Historical Sketches of Statesmen in the time of George III., by Lord Brougham, vol. i. p. 201.

whet, were ready to circumvent or to destroy all who interposed an obstacle to the fierceness of unbridled desire.”¹ And yet, in his calmer mood, the noble Lord does not forget the rules of honesty, but makes this candid acknowledgment: “That he (the King) only discharged the duty of his station by thinking for himself, acting according to his conscientious opinions, and using his influence for giving those opinions effect, cannot be denied.”²

In remarking upon the intolerance of Percival and his party, Lord Brougham says, “They forget that those of opposite sentiments have exactly the same excuse for unyielding obstinacy that they have for rooted dislike towards adverse doctrines. They feel all the heat of intolerance, but make no kind of allowance for others feeling somewhat of the fire which burns so fiercely within themselves.”³ *Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*. So easy is it to discern the mote in another’s eye without perceiving the beam in our own. An additional instance of this “*furor brevis*” may be found in the charge brought against George III., of all men in the world, of forgetting the ties of blood. The sandy foundation on which this accusation rests, is stated thus: “The treatment of his eldest son, whom he hated with a hatred scarcely consistent with the supposition

¹ Historical Sketches of Statesmen in the time of George III., by Lord Brougham, vol. i. p. 201.

² *Ibid.* vol. i.

³ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 253.

of a sound mind, might seem to illustrate the shadier part of his personal disposition. He had *no better reason* for this implacable aversion, than the jealousy which men have of their successors, and the consciousness that the Prince, who must succeed him, was unlike him ; and being disliked by him, must during their joint lives be thrown into the hands of the Whig party, the adversaries he most of all detested and feared.”

No better reason for aversion ! Now what was the character of the person thus disliked ? After running a course of dissipation uninterrupted by any rational or worthy pursuit, prematurely exhausting the resources of indulgence both animal and mental, and becoming incapable of receiving further gratification, it was found that a life of what was called unbounded profusion, could not be passed without unlimited extravagance. He had become wholly selfish through unrestrained indulgence. He neither commanded respect, nor conciliated esteem. He had neither firmness nor truth in his character. “The Whig party, being the enemies of George III., found favour in the sight of his son and became his natural allies.”¹ But perhaps this is an overcharged statement. It may be, but it is the statement of Lord Brougham himself. If the King therefore detested and feared the Whigs, it was not because they were Whigs. On the contrary, he declared to Lord

¹ Historical Sketches, vol. ii. pp. 4, 5, 6.

Malmesbury, that he himself was an old Whig. But there are better reasons for dislike than jealousy or whiggery, or even the despicable character of the man, which the historian of the statesmen of that reign can scarcely be permitted to ignore.

From his earliest youth, the Prince had been a source of pain and sorrow to his father. When he was fourteen years old the King was very ill. Lord Hertford said, "Think what he must feel at finding already that his son is so headstrong that he has not the least authority over him." His tutors too were driven away by his ungovernable temper. When he was eighteen, and became emancipated from the surveillance under which he had lived, he is described by Walpole as getting drunk, swearing, and intriguing with various women. This was the period too of the following complaint :—

"When we hunt together," said the King (in 1781), "neither my son nor my brother will speak to me; and lately when the chase ended at a little village, where there was but a single postchaise to be hired, my son and brother got into it, drove to London, and left me to get home in a cart, if I could find one. He complained, too, that the Prince, when invited to dine with him, came an hour too late, and all the servants saw the father waiting an hour for the son."¹ From the same authority we learn, that "the Prince of

¹ *Memoirs and Correspondence of C. J. Fox*, by Lord John Russell, vol. i. p. 270.

Wales had of late thrown himself into the arms of Charles Fox, and this in the most undisguised manner," who dictated his politics in his lodging; "and in this school did the heir of the crown attend his lessons, and imbibe them. Fox's followers, to whom he never enjoined Pythagorean silence, were strangely licentious in their conversations about the King. At Brookes's they proposed wagers on the duration of his reign, and if they moderated their irreverent jests in the presence of the Prince, it was not extraordinary that the orgies of Brookes's might be reported to have passed at Fox's levees, or that the King should suspect that the same disloyal topics should be handled in the morning, that he knew had been the themes of each preceding evening." ¹ It was believed that he had demanded of the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Ashburton, "what redress he could have against a man who had alienated from him the affections of his son."

The true causes of the King's estrangement from his son are distinctly visible in the Diaries of Lord Malmesbury and Lord Eldon. In an interview with the Prince in 1785, Sir James Harris² proposed to get Mr. Pitt to obtain from Parliament an income of 100,000*l.* a-year, on condition, that he would set aside 50,000*l.* to pay his debts and cease to be a party man. The Prince's answer was, "It will not do. I tell you the

¹ *Memoirs, &c.* vol. ii. p. 47.

² Afterwards Earl of Malmesbury.

King hates me. He would turn out Pitt for entertaining such an idea : besides I cannot abandon Charles (Fox), and my friends." How was it possible for the virtuous monarch to tolerate such a man, who shuffled from the path of duty by meanly pretending scruples about turning out Pitt, which was the very thing most desired by Charles and his friends; and who preferred association with profligacy to being an honest man and a good son? What a striking contrast to this undutiful conduct of the Prince is presented to us by his younger brother the Duke of Kent, who made this declaration of his feelings to Lord Eldon : "The King is my object; to stand by him at all times my first duty, and my inclination; and I think I cannot prove this more strongly, than by pledging myself always to support his servants. I have ever acted up to this profession, and I always will."¹

But there is other evidence of the unworthy and unscrupulous behaviour which provoked the severity of the King, in their private correspondence. That private correspondence the Prince proposed to publish, because his requests, which were probably unreasonable, were refused, and his extravagance and dissipated manner of living reprobated. So callous and deadened was his conscience, that he said to Lord Malmesbury, who had seen the letters, "I cannot bring myself to say that I am in the wrong when I am in

¹ Lord Eldon's Life, by H. Twiss, vol. i. p. 485.

the right. The King has used me ill, and I wish the public knew what you now know, and had to pronounce between us." The sage counsel which he then received should have shown him the folly of his unfilial treachery; for Sir James Harris replied, "I should be very sorry indeed, Sir, if this was known beyond these walls; for I am much mistaken if the public would not pronounce a judgment widely different from what you think. It is not sufficient for the King to be wrong on one point, unless you are in the right in all; and as long as any part of your conduct is open to censure, the voice of the public will always go with the King."¹ Nevertheless, the Prince published the private correspondence. Who can wonder that this act of baseness rankled in the royal mind, and proved the only bar to a perfect reconciliation? When at a subsequent period, one solitary symptom of a better spirit touched the tenderness of a father's heart, the King said to Lord Eldon, "The Prince of Wales's making the offer of having the dear little Charlotte's education and principles attended to, is the best earnest he can give of returning to a sense of what he owes to his father, and indeed to his country, and may to a degree mollify the feelings of an injured parent; but it will require some reflection before the King can answer how soon he can bring himself to receive the publisher of his letters."²

¹ Lord Malmesbury's Diary, vol. ii. p. 129.

² Lord Eldon's Life, by H. Twiss, vol. i. p. 485.

There was another correspondence¹ published in 1803, but that contained only one short letter from the King, and cannot be accepted for the "letters" to which he alludes. But the manifest insincerity which the Prince's letters breathe throughout, the almost irony with which he beseeches an *affectionate* father to open his ears to the supplications of a *dutiful* son—supplications to which he knew full well the King could not, would not, and ought not to listen; and the prevaricating spirit of altercation with his brother the Duke of York, who steadfastly resolved to obey his father, show more desire to plague the King, and embarrass his government, than any serious wish to gain his confidence. The high military command to which he aspired had been repeatedly and resolutely refused, for obvious political reasons, which he does not attempt to controvert. From all this it is abundantly manifest, that the King had plenty of better reasons for disliking his eldest son, than the foolish jealousy which is imputed to him. Thirdly, Lord Brougham says, that the Whigs were "the adversaries whom he (the King) most detested and feared." How far this is true or otherwise, we shall have another opportunity of showing. At present it is sufficient to say, that it was not because they were Whigs; for, as we have seen, he said of himself that he was an old Whig, and the Whig administration of Queen Anne he con-

¹ Annual Register, 1803, p. 564.

sidered the most able we had ever had.¹ Lastly, the accuser asserts, that in all that related to his kingly office, he was the slave of deep-rooted selfishness ; and yet he owns, that when he threatened to abdicate rather than do what he considered wrong, they who knew him were well aware that he did not threaten without a full resolution to act.² The Duke of Portland said, he was sure the King had rather suffer martyrdom than submit to the measure of Roman Catholic emancipation.³

It was no theological bigotry that actuated him in his pertinacious resistance to that measure, but a conscientious conviction that it was his duty. He probably knew little or nothing of the doctrinal differences between Protestants and Roman Catholics, but the oath which he had taken at his coronation bound him to support the established Church. In that sense he had taken the oath. In that sense he believed it was intended to be understood by those who framed it, and therefore he was resolved to abide by the obligation which the state had laid upon him, and to which he had vowed his unreserved adhesion. This is no mere surmise, or arbitrary assumption, but rests on the King's own declaration, and the uniform expression of his feelings on other occasions. To Mr. Pitt he wrote thus : " A sense of religious, as well as political duty,

¹ Lord Malmesbury's Diary, vol. iv. p. 44.

² Historical Sketches, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*

has made me, from the moment I mounted the throne, consider the oath, that the wisdom of our forefathers has enjoined the Kings of this realm to take at their coronation, and enforced by the obligation of instantly following it in the course of the ceremony with taking the sacrament, as a binding religious obligation on me to maintain the fundamental maxims on which our constitution is placed;—namely, that the Church of England is the established Church; that those who hold employments in the state must be members of it; and consequently obliged not only to take oaths against Popery, but to receive the Holy Communion agreeably to the rites of the Church of England.”¹ Stronger still was his statement in a conversation with the Duke of Portland, in which he said, “that were he to agree to it, he should betray his trust, and forfeit his crown, and that it might bring the framers of the measure to the gibbet.”²

In all this there was no symptom of antipathy to other creeds, or their professors; but a deep, ineradicable impression that he was bound by his oath to defend the Church to which he belonged from all encroachments. This was the uppermost idea in his mind during his illness; and when he came to himself, he said, after a silence of several hours, “I am better now; but I will remain true to the Church.”³ It was, in fact, the cause of his illness on that occa-

¹ *Memoirs of Fox*, vol. iii. p. 251.

² *Lord Malmesbury*, vol. iv. p. 44.

³ *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 19.

sion, which he thus signified to Mr. Pitt : “ ‘Tell him,’ ” said he to Dr. Willis, “ I am now quite well ; quite recovered from my illness ; but what has not he to answer for, who is the cause of my being ill at all ? ” ¹ No better proof can be desired of his warm affection for the minister who had served him faithfully for seventeen years, than the pain at parting from him which produced this derangement. He told General Bode that “ this was the first and only difference of opinion between them ; that the measure took him quite by surprise, and hurt him very much.” ² But that no “ unforgiving resentment took possession of his breast,” is proved by the conversation which he held with Lord Malmesbury a few months afterwards, in which “ he spoke in friendly terms of Pitt,” ³ and by his desiring, through the Duke of York, to see him. If he had been a selfish man, he would have consulted his own ease, and undisturbed enjoyment of life, by yielding to the earnest entreaties of so great an authority. But he was cast in a nobler mould ; and even those who most widely differ from the conclusion at which he arrived, must reverence the high sense of duty which prompted him to sever his strongest attachment, and sacrifice his peace of mind rather than do that which his conscience told him would be a great sin.

The state of the King’s feelings on this subject,

¹ Lord Malmesbury, vol. iv. p. 32.

² *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 8.

³ *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 63.

after his recovery, is shown in the following extract from a letter of Sir George Rose, who at that time lived at Holly Grove, near Windsor, and frequently conversed with the King in his rides. He is writing to his father:—"Many points in the Bishop of Lincoln's letter are indeed highly satisfactory, and give a hope of termination to a state of affairs so abject, so galling, and so humiliating." (This refers to a scheme of Mr. Pitt's friends, unknown to him, to induce Mr. Addington to resign a post for which they considered him quite unfit.) "The obstinacy on the Catholic question is most mortifying. This country does not care a straw about it,—perhaps is against it; and with the enormous advantage of the Union, and the means of making various concessions, short of the grand one, we might safely have waited at least for experience to know whether it was indispensably necessary or not. In this neighbourhood it is distinctly understood, that Mr. Pitt put himself under the governance of Lord Castle-reagh, who drove him to the question in the view to debase and pull down the established Church, to which he (his family being at the head of the Dissenters in Ireland) is peculiarly hostile. You will judge how this persuasion will render the resistance to Mr. Pitt's views acrimonious and insurmountable.

This leads me to a recent conversation, in which a firm belief was expressed (by the King), that Mr. Pitt, before the question had been agitated, or the

violent hostility to it which drove him out was known, had pledged himself to some person (I suppose Lord Castlereagh was meant) to carry the question or to resign his office. I could not pretend to say that no such pledge existed; but, as I could not believe Mr. Pitt capable of giving it to that extent, upon a question in great measure speculative, and in the state of the country, and of a war which he had undertaken, I used every argument in my power, drawn from circumstances, the nature, principles, and high feelings of the man to eradicate this opinion. If what I said did not convince, I am sure it did not offend. I was told shortly before that, that Mr. Pitt had but one fault,—pride. I endeavoured, as far as I was able, to soften that opinion, and to put the amiable parts of his character in as strong a light as I could.”

A similar charge has been preferred against Mr. Pitt by others of his friends besides the King; and where many voices concur in pronouncing the same sentence, it may usually be taken for granted that there is some truth in the allegation. But where better motives are sufficient to account for the phenomena of political conduct, it is the part of Christian charity not to attribute it to worse. Mr. Pitt’s conduct has been much misunderstood, or rather it has not been understood at all. A recent writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, with all the assistance which the memoirs hitherto published can give, says, “His conduct at this crisis was as unintelligible to those of his contemporaries to whom it

was known, as it is to us at present : ” and again, “ We confess ourselves at a loss to justify, and scarcely even to explain, the course which he pursued ; why, if he was willing to remain in March, he was so resolved on resigning in February, or why, if he was so resolved on resigning in February, he was so willing to remain in in March, we are equally unable to determine.”

Nevertheless, with the additional light reflected on this transaction by the Rose papers, the explanation is not difficult. Besides that self-respect, which, though invidiously denominated pride, is felt more or less by every great man, the two motives, which from first to last most swayed Mr. Pitt’s political conduct, were attachment to his sovereign, and his duty to the country. For the long period of seventeen years, they had worked together in perfect harmony ; but now a case had occurred in which they were at variance, and which impelled them in opposite directions. He knew the King’s aversion to the measure he proposed, and yet he thought it his duty to propose it. But why (if Sir George Rose was right in saying, that at that time the country did not want it) did he voluntarily and suddenly bring forward a measure which he knew must make a breach between the King and himself ? For it is well known that he was bound by no engagement to the Roman Catholics. He had given them no pledge or promise of relief, and his own declared opinion was, that it was a remote contingency de-

pending upon their good conduct. But it is probable that the report then current was correct; and that Lord Castlereagh was the person who introduced the question into the Cabinet, not from any hostility to the Church of England, of which there is no ground whatever to suspect him, but because, having been employed to bring about the union, in his anxiety to accomplish the task assigned to him, he had overstepped the bounds of discretion, and encouraged hopes which he was not authorized to inspire.

The majority of the Cabinet, however, having decided in favour of the concession, Mr. Pitt was bound to report that decision to the King. Perhaps he was not without a hope, that the influence by which his Majesty had so long been governed, might overcome the resistance which he foresaw; but he also foresaw, that the only alternative would be his own resignation of office, unless the King should be satisfied with the assurance, that he not only would not introduce the measure himself during his Majesty's reign, but that he would do all in his power to prevent the discussion of it in Parliament. It was necessary, however, that such an assurance should be accompanied by one stipulation, for the sake of the country. It was impossible to administer its affairs with any tolerable chance of success if it should appear that the Minister did not enjoy the full confidence of the Sovereign; if the servants of the Crown were opposed by the Crown, and the Cabinet defeated by the King's own friends.

The condition, therefore, of his sacrificing his opinion, and retaining office, was, that the King should not use his personal influence to control the proceedings of Parliament. To this demand, however, the King refused to accede, and Mr. Pitt resigned. But when he found that to this desertion of him the King attributed the derangement of his mind, his inflexibility melted at such a proof of the monarch's personal attachment, and he felt that, according to his own expression, in proportion to the difficulty which a sovereign might have in accepting the resignation of a minister, who, for good reasons, sought permission to retire, so ought to be his love for such a sovereign¹; and this moved him to write the contrite letter mentioned by Lord Malmesbury, retracting, it may be supposed, the condition on which he had insisted before.

It may be doubted, however, whether this letter was ever actually sent; at least, no notice is taken of it in Mr. Rose's Diary, amongst the confidential communications which he had with Mr. Pitt. Yet the feeling which would have dictated that letter, plainly existed; for we learn from the Diary, that at that period Mr. Pitt showed much more willingness to return to office than he had ever done since his resignation; which, of course, indicated an unconditional submission to the King's wishes. But it is not, therefore, to be assumed that he acted upon this impulse. His own deliberate feelings upon the whole subject are

¹ Gifford's Life of Pitt, vol. vi. p. 599.

recorded by Lord Mahnesbury, as communicated to Mr. Canning. He said that "he went out, not on the Catholic question simply, as a measure on which he was opposed, but from the manner in which he had been opposed; and to which, if he had assented, he would, as a minister, have been on a footing totally different from what he had ever before been in the Cabinet."

This obliged him to resign; but as his sincere wish was, that his going out should distress neither the King nor the country, he had required no one to follow him. Those who did so, did it voluntarily, and against his desire. He had quitted office, leaving behind him means and preparations so likely to insure success, both in the expedition to Egypt then pending, and in the proposed attack on the Northern Powers,¹ as to free him, in his own breast, from any deserved reproach of deserting his post at an hour of distress, and of abandoning war measures when they were in an unprovided or inauspicious situation. It had been his anxious hope and endeavour to leave behind him such a ministry as would be most agreeable to his Majesty; and who, on all great national points, would act on the same principles that he had acted on. For this purpose he had pledged himself, but himself singly, to advise and support the present ministry. This pledge he considered as solemnly binding, nor ever to be cancelled, without the express consent of Mr. Addington.

The fruit of this was the battle of Copenhagen.

Being asked whether, in case of war, it would not be his duty to resume office, he said, "I do not deny it; I will not affect a childish modesty; but recollect what I have just said; I stand pledged. I make no scruple of owning that I am ambitious; but my ambition is character, not office. I may have engaged myself inconsiderately, but I am irrecoverably engaged." When he was asked whether he would not seek to be released from his engagement, he answered, "I cannot bring myself to do it. It is impossible to prevent its wearing the aspect of caballing and intriguing for power."

This plain statement of facts entirely demolishes the unjust surmises of the Marquis of Buckingham, who seems to have gloated over every malevolent report, and viewed every action of Mr. Pitt through the distorting medium of a venomous ill-will. It shows that his retirement was not a sham; and that Addington was not his creature, his agent, or his representative, in any sense of preconcerted subordination, though the latter was weak enough *at first* to call himself his *locum tenens*; but, having tasted the sweets of office, he determined to hold it as long as he could, without consulting his friend, or attempting to secure his approbation of the measures by which the country was to be governed.

The hostility of the Grenvillites, after their long and intimate union with Mr. Pitt, is explained by an observation of Mr. Canning's. Lord Grenville,

he said, cannot be persuaded but that Lord Buckingham would be a good and popular Prime Minister; and whenever his family come upon him with this idea, it bears down before it every other consideration. Such was his subserviency to his brother, who was infinitely inferior to himself in abilities and character, and who was described by Lord Mahon, on the evidence of his letters, as steeped in selfishness and pride, that though he had previously been ready to declare that the Catholic question was completely abandoned, and considered by him quite gone by and dead, and that the strongest assurances of this might be given to the King; yet afterwards, under the influence of his brother, he retracted, because he found that the question which he, on his part, had agreed to consider as given up, was by no means so readily to be put aside by others.¹ They were all piqued at finding that the Marquis was not held in the same consideration by Mr. Pitt, as in his own family, and vented their spleen in captious animadversions upon his conduct; yet that conduct, it is now perfectly clear, was dictated by principles which it is impossible not to admire.

The union with Ireland had brought the question of repealing the Roman Catholic disabilities into discussion in the Cabinet, the result of which was that Mr. Pitt concurred with the majority of his colleagues in judging that to grant the repeal

¹ Lord Malmesbury's Diary.

would be the wisest policy. Perhaps he foresaw that the time would come when it would be inevitable. But he felt no immediate necessity for forcing it forward ; and he was unwilling to harass the mind of a Sovereign whose unvarying affection he had enjoyed for so long a time, and to embitter his life, which was not likely to have a long duration, by insisting upon a measure to which he was conscientiously opposed, and which the country not only did not demand, but probably viewed with apprehension and dislike. As the friend of the King, therefore, Mr. Pitt thought himself justified in engaging, as far as depended on him, to postpone the agitation of this question. But then, there were other duties to be taken into account. He was at the head of the Government, and maintained in that high position, not only by royal favour, but by the confidence of a large majority of the people of England ; and it was his opinion, that he could not carry on that government with credit to himself, or advantage to the country, if he had to encounter a new sort of opposition,—the opposition of the King—or if any of the Opposition, or of his own colleagues, who did not concur in his views, and were not actuated by his motives, should bring forward the question, a case might arise in which it would be necessary for him either to suppress his conscientious convictions, or find himself at war with his sovereign, and perhaps defeated by the party called the King's friends. This he thought it necessary to guard against,

by stipulating that no such party should be formed against him.

When, therefore, the King, conceiving that neutrality in such a cause would be treason to the Church, which his coronation oath bound him to defend, refused to abstain from exercising his influence to defeat the measure, nothing remained for Mr. Pitt but to resign his office. Still he was sincerely anxious that neither the King nor the country should suffer from his retirement, and therefore desired that his successor should be a personal friend of the King, and at the same time one who would continue to follow the same policy, which, in his judgment, was best for the country both at home and abroad: at home by the similarity of his financial arrangements, and abroad by strenuous warfare, or an honourable peace. He suggested no one; but when the King sent for Mr. Addington, who was on terms of intimacy with both, he thought his object was attained, and found out too late how much he was mistaken. The consequence was, that he not only promised Mr. Addington his support, but wished his friends to serve under him; for his own resignation was from motives entirely personal, and peculiar to his position; so much so, that he took no counsel, even of his closest intimates, till the die was cast and the act of his abdication signed.

But we must now go back to the spring of this year, when a cold interchange of letters took place between Mr. Rose and Lord Auckland, both bewailing the resig-

nation of Mr. Pitt, but with a mutual reserve, which soon afterwards broke out into open hostility; for on the 21st of March, Lord Auckland, thinking himself aggrieved by it, because no provision had been made for him, attacked Mr. Pitt in the House of Lords, in a manner, which drew this remark from Lord Malmesbury:—"Lord Auckland has received from Mr. Pitt obligations that no minister but one possessing the power of Pitt could bestow, or any one less eager for office than Lord Auckland ask; yet scarcely has he left office, than Lord Auckland insinuates that he did it from some concealed motive, and that the ostensible one is insincere." For this speech Lord Auckland was much abused; and Mr. Rose, who was probably personally touched by the censure, resented it so much, that he declined all further intercourse with his ungrateful friend.

MR. ROSE TO LORD AUCKLAND.

"Saturday Evening, March 21st, 1801.

"The account I have had this day of what fell from your Lordship in the House of Lords last night, must interrupt the intercourse I have had with your Lordship during the last fourteen or fifteen years. Ever since I have mixed in public matters I have thought it possible that persons taking different lines in politics (separated very widely indeed on subjects of that sort) might mix pleasantly in private society, at least occasionally. But there are circumstances in the present

case of so peculiar a nature as to render that impossible with respect to your Lordship and me. It would be as painful to me to enter upon these as I think it would be to you to have them even more directly alluded to. You will, of course, not take the trouble of calling on me for the papers we talked about this morning."

CHAPTER VIII.

1801.

CORRESPONDENCE AND NEGOTIATIONS RESPECTING THE PAYMENT OF MR. PITT'S DEBTS IN 1801, BETWEEN MR. ROSE, THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN, AND LORD CAMDEN—11,700*l.* SUBSCRIBED BY MR. PITT'S FRIENDS—THE KING'S OFFER DECLINED—MR. PITT'S FRIENDS URGE HIM TO WITHDRAW HIS SUPPORT FROM THE ADDINGTON ADMINISTRATION, ON A STRONG SUSPICION OF TREACHERY BEING INTENDED TOWARDS HIM.

MR. PITT'S mind was so much devoted to public business, and engrossed by the affairs of the nation, that he entirely forgot his domestic concerns, and the duties of regulating his household. The consequence was, as might well be expected, that he became the prey of unprincipled men; his tradesmen and his servants plundered him at their discretion; for instance, in one year, the charge for his servants in London and at Hollwood—their wages, board wages, liveries, and bills, amounted to more than 2,300*l.* It may be supposed, that the large amounts entered against him for his stable and his housekeeping were neither controlled nor understood by him; but the heavy expense of his cellar, it is probable, was too well known and sanctioned. He was a great drinker of port wine, but he had no other extravagant taste. He was not a collector of costly curiosities or works

of art; he was not a speculator in schemes for making money, or for spending it; he had no turn, as his father had, for ostentatious extravagance; his debts were not like those of Charles Fox, the effect of gambling and profligacy. When in both cases the partisans of the respective leaders offered to raise money for their payment, Mr. Fox had no scruple in accepting their assistance, though a sense of honour induced him from that time to abstain from gambling, which was so much the more meritorious in him, because he is recorded to have said, that the greatest pleasure in life was to win a game of hazard, and the next was to lose it. But Mr. Pitt was too proud to consent to be treated like a pauper, living on charity, at the expense of others; and when it was mentioned to him, he said he would sooner return to his early profession, and earn enough by practice at the bar to discharge his debts. This, no doubt, he might have accomplished without much difficulty, if he had remained out of office; for who would not have been anxious to employ his powers of oratory? George III. testified his regard for so faithful a servant in the handsomest way, by offering to pay 30,000*l.* out of the privy purse, but, with the delicacy of true affection, desired that it might not be known from what quarter the payment came. No better proof than this can be wanted of the truth of Wilberforce's statement, that "the King and Pitt part on affectionate terms; the King saying that 'it is a struggle between duty and

affection, in which duty carries it.'” But this most liberal offer was declined. Nevertheless, Mr. Pitt was reduced to the greatest extremities, and the trial was severe; for this great political financier not having been able to control his own finances, or to attend to the administration of his private revenues, his debts amounted to 45,864*l.*, and now that he was out of office, his creditors became clamorous. Executions were threatened, his houses were in danger of being stripped of their furniture, and his stables of their horses. In this emergency some of his most intimate friends came forward to his relief, by contributing a sum of money, which he was content to receive in the light of a loan, to avert the pressure of his most imminent embarrassments, and to save him from the mortifications and distresses which hung over his path. That sum was 11,700*l.* The proportions subscribed, as well as the general state of Mr. Pitt’s debts at that time, will be given at the close of the following correspondence between the Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Camden, and Mr. Rose. Their letters show the timidity with which they approached the subject, and their great fear of offending Mr. Pitt, and meeting with a rebuff.—ED.]

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“You may rest assured that Mr. Pitt’s assigned reason for not going to the Cambridge commemo-

ration was considered unsatisfactory ; but still, things remaining as they now are, I do not think that any opposition either to him or to Lord Euston would prevail. I have no expectation of seeing Mr. Pitt at Buckden, and indeed a visit to me without going to Cambridge, would only aggravate the offence. He cannot go to Cambridge before November with any propriety. It is exactly with me as it is with you ;—the more I consider Mr. Pitt's debts, the more distressed and perplexed I am ; but I think you consider relief as more practicable than I do. Lord Alvanley dined here on Tuesday, on his way to York, and came two hours before dinner, principally, I believe, to talk to me upon this subject. I found that Lord Camden had been talking to him, and that Lord C. had seen Joe Smith, and had likewise mentioned the subject to Lord Carrington. Lord Camden said that some of the creditors were growing very importunate, and that there was real danger of violent measures being soon taken against Mr. Pitt's horses, carriages, or furniture, at Hollwood or Walmer. Nothing had occurred to Lord C. and Lord A. but some subscription amongst Mr. Pitt's private friends ; but then, of course, the difficulty of Mr. Pitt's consent, or acting without his knowledge, occurred ; and also the difficulty of raising a sufficient sum. Lord Camden and Lord Carrington talked of 1,000*l.* each, but afterwards Lord Camden said they would go farther. Lord Alvanley said that he would give nothing which should diminish his principal ;—he meant that he would advance only such a sum as could be spared

out of his income, but mentioned no specific sum. I went so far with him as to say I had reason to think that there was more difficulty in applying than in raising the money ; and that I believed the money would be ready, if any mode could be devised for paying the debts which should not be liable to serious objections. He seemed to think that the debts might be paid, and the receipts sent to Mr. Pitt. But then, who is to pay the debts, and what is he to say when questioned by Mr. Pitt ? We parted without being able to fix upon any plan. Indeed I do not think our friend Lord A. a very good man for such a business. The enclosed is a copy of a paper which Lord Camden received from Joe Smith. If Mr. Pitt would allow Hollwood to be sold by auction, it would certainly sell for more than by any other mode ; and there might also be a contrivance for increasing the sum. Would he consent to an auction ? or does he think of that mode of selling ? To give more than a common broker or purchaser would give, in the common way, would be a very inadequate relief. To offer *much more* than the real worth of the thing to be disposed of, would immediately excite suspicion in Mr. Pitt's mind, and wholly defeat the scheme. To give a *little more* would answer no purpose. The largeness of the debts is a great obstacle to any indirect method of relief. I do not feel the confidence, I must own, which you do, in the thing remaining a secret if done by the King ; and were it to be so done, and ever known to Mr. Pitt, the mischief might be very serious. Do not, however, suppose that I

fall short of you in reverence and admiration of the King's character. I entirely agree with you that Hollwood should not be kept. I am most decidedly of opinion that you may consult the Lord Chancellor, unless before you see him any practicable mode of effecting this great business shall have occurred—of which I despair.

“I am sorry that you have no faith in the conversation said to have passed between the King and Sir J. Banks. Is his Majesty satisfied that Mr. Pitt, during his Majesty's life, whether in office or out of office, would never bring forward the Catholic question? It seems to me very material that this should be strongly impressed upon his mind. I fear at Weymouth you will not have much opportunity for private conversation. Besides your objection to the scheme upon the score of disingenuity, it is a very important question, whether Mr. Pitt, upon discovering so peculiar an obligation to the King, would not refuse ever to take office again.

“Adieu, my dear sir. I shall be most anxious to hear from you.

“Believe me always most truly and

“cordially yours,

“G. LINCOLN.

“Buckden Palace, July 16th, 1801.

“Dundas has certainly a very fair claim to a peerage, and there ought to be no difficulty about it.”

LORD CAMDEN TO MR. ROSE.

[*Most secret.*]

“DEAR ROSE,

“As I am confident there is no person more interested than you are in Mr. Pitt’s public character and private convenience, I feel no difficulty in writing to you on a subject in a great degree connected with both those circumstances;—I mean the state of his affairs. In conversing with two or three of Mr. Pitt’s friends most confidentially, I learn from the best authority, what I too well guessed before, that unless some arrangement takes place, and he is enabled to discharge a portion of his debts, he will suffer the greatest inconvenience.

“From communications I have had with Mr. Pitt himself upon this subject, I am convinced it will be more difficult to induce him to listen to any loan from his friends, than to induce them to offer it, and various expedients have suggested themselves to me in order to relieve him; but I am convinced, upon reflection, that he will discover any attempt to discharge his debts without his knowledge, and will be displeased at that sort of conduct in his friends. It has, therefore, been thought best that upon the review he cannot fail to be obliged to take of his affairs, it should be stated to him, which Long and Smith have undertaken to do, that it is impossible to discharge the bills that are owing, unless a sum of money is raised; that they know such a sum can be raised, if he chooses, without

any interest being paid ; but as we are sure from what he has said that he will not allow of that sort of loan, the payment of, or at least the undertaking on his part to pay, the interest, must be submitted to. Long and Smith have also undertaken to tell Mr. Pitt that they can procure the money, but that he must not know the source. This secrecy is absolutely requisite, and without it I certainly can have no share in it. With it I have been desirous of taking as active a part in the transaction as I can : 18,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* is the least sum which, together with the sale of Hollwood, upon which Long writes me word he has determined, will relieve him. There are those who are ready and desirous to give or to lend some part of this sum, and they are Mr. Pitt's most intimate and confidential friends ; beyond these I think we ought not to apply, and there would indeed be little chance, if we did, of retaining the secret. Those who can afford it have agreed to lend 1,000*l.*,—or more, if they please ;—those to whom such a sum is inconvenient will give 500*l.*, below which sum it is thought not proper to go.

“ I have thus given you a sketch of this plan ; if it were in my power to give you more details, I would do it ; but I trust I have said enough to enlist you as our assistant in this undertaking, which I am aware there is no one so fit to direct. Pray let me hear from you, with an account of your opinion upon this business, and the sum you will be willing to lend upon it. Lord Carrington, Lord Bathurst, myself, Smith, Long, the Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Alvanley, and some

others, are eager upon the subject. I do not mean to mention it to any of the present Administration.

“ You had better direct to me in Arlington Street.

“ Most sincerely yours,

“ CAMDEN.

“ Bayham Abbey, July 23rd, 1801.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I thank you for your short note and long letter. I believe the 5,800*l.* to be a separate debt of Mr. Pitt's, originally charged upon Burton, for which Lady Chatham ought to pay interest, but does not. The security was transferred to Coutts when he advanced the money. *I cannot bear the idea* of Mr. Pitt accepting any office in the gift of Mr. Addington. I cannot think that Hollwood would sell for 16,000*l.*, except it were by auction. I am very anxious you should have such a conversation as you propose with Mr. Pitt, when you see him at Cuffnells. You may, perhaps, gain from thence some new light. It cannot leave us in a more perplexed state than we are in at present, and I am confident he will not be offended at it. I have told Mr. Pitt that I should be at the Deanery next Friday noon, and that I should be glad to see him on that day, or any of the two or three following ones, if he be still in the neighbourhood of London. I have also written to Joe Smith. If I hear anything of importance, or anything passes between Mr. Pitt and me, you may depend upon my communicating it to you instantly.

“ I really think that even if others were to bring forward the Catholic question, Mr. Pitt would find means of not acting contrary to the King’s sentiments. *I am confident* he thinks so, and it seems to me highly important that the King should know it. Perhaps you may also ascertain this point when Mr. Pitt is at Cuffnells. I agree with you entirely about the private subscription amongst *friends*; the sum is far too large.

“ I own I do not see any great objection to Mr. Pitt having a second sinecure place, provided it comes directly from the King, and it was understood that he owed it to him only. *The Pitts* are most perfectly out of the question in my judgment.

“ Kindest compliments and wishes from Mrs. T. and myself.

“ Yours, ever most truly and affectionately,

“ G. LINCOLN.

“ Buckden Palace, July 24th, 1801.

“ Surely facts have proved to demonstration that Mr. Pitt was deceived with respect to the state of the Irish Catholics; and this may justify a change of sentiment, as upon the Reform Question.

“ Pray remember the Prebendal Papers.”

MR. ROSE TO LORD CAMDEN.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ You do me but justice in supposing that I feel great anxiety respecting Mr. Pitt’s situation. I can say with the sincerest truth, that it disturbs me incessantly by night and by day. I had a long con-

version with Mr. Pitt on the subject, before I left London, which I became less satisfied with in proportion as I reflected on his statements, unquestionably sanguine ones. This led me into a correspondence with the Bishop of Lincoln, full and explicit on all points of the case, and on the possible ways of extricating Mr. Pitt, as any *probable* ones, I own I cannot devise ; for he has most unequivocally declared to me that no consideration shall induce him to accept of relief from Parliament (if he could even be sure of an unanimous vote), or from the King, who, if we may judge from former circumstances, has it not to give ; or from individuals. He will not, I think, easily be brought to submit to promise not to ask who *lends* the money, because he knows that in his situation a loan is a positive gift. I am not sure whether I ever told you, that in the spring of 1789 the merchants of London agreed to raise 100,000*l.*, and to present it to him as a token of their gratitude for his services to the country, and of their warm approbation of his public conduct. One body of them raised their proportion of 20,000*l.* instantly. The remainder would have been completed in a few days, of which I had intimation, with assurances that not a name of a subscriber would ever be known to Mr. Pitt ; and not choosing he should be taken by surprise, I mentioned it to him, when he desired me to express to the party from whom I had my information, his positive and unalterable determination never to receive a shilling in that mode. The subscription now proposed would certainly be a cheaper one, but in my own mind, there

are objections to it stronger than to the other, unless it can be confined to an extremely small number of most intimate and confidential friends. Would it be fair to subject him to obligations to persons, who, however liberally and disinterestedly they may feel, he would not like to be obliged to? For myself, the smallness of my means will hardly be believed, but I am willing to take from those who can ill spare it (I mean Mrs. Rose and my daughters), to contribute to make up the sum wanted. I cannot, consistently with my feelings, avoid saying this; and yet it might, to some, savour of ostentation, with the impression on my mind, that Mr. Pitt will not avail himself of a subscription. I think 25,000*l.* must be found to put him at ease; to raise which more than thirty persons must of course contribute, if the subscription is to be made up of sums of 1,000*l.* and 500*l.* Are there half of that number you would choose to call upon?

“In my last letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, a few days ago, I told him my determination to state distinctly to Mr. Pitt the absolute necessity of his availing himself of *some mode* of assistance to avoid the consequences you allude to, which would certainly be injurious to him as a public man, and, of necessity, to the country, the interests of which are inseparable from his conduct and character; and would be not less painful to the feelings of himself and his friends. I expect to see him soon on his way to Weymouth and to his mother; and I have a plan to propose to him, easy and certain in execution if he will acquiesce in it, that I have not

thought myself at liberty to allude to in the remotest possible way to any human being except the Bishop of Lincoln, which I *think infinitely less exceptionable* than a subscription of twenty or thirty persons, and which would leave him in possession of a very large part of his income. If he refuses that, the other mode may be resorted to on his return to London, and I should hope Smith might, by seeing the most urgent of the creditors, prevent any disagreeable measures being taken during that interval. If, however, your Lordship is clearly of opinion that a subscription should be entered into immediately, tell me so, and I will explain to you with the utmost fairness my pecuniary situation, and what I will contribute. You will have the goodness to consider the *particulars* I have here entered into as strictly confidential and to be confined to yourself. I feel myself on most delicate ground, and surrounded with difficulties. You will, I hope, be able to devise means of deferring the measure thought of for two or three months without referring to me, if you shall concur in thinking it advisable to do so. I agree with you most entirely in the propriety of not communicating on the subject, in any event, with persons in the present Administration; but I am persuaded your Lordship would not include Steele in that number, nor Ryder, if he was in a state to be spoken to. I am grieved to the heart at the accounts I hear of the latter. He can very ill be spared. You know as well as I do, the correctness of the judgment of both, and their cordial attachment to Mr. Pitt.

If the subscription shall be decided on, I know no man living I should more wish to be consulted than Steele.

“ I am, my dear Lord,

“ Very truly yours,

“ GEORGE ROSE.

“ College, Christchurch, July 26th.

“ The objections to the subscription plan (to me insurmountable) are of a nature which prevents my committing them to paper in a hurry, even to your Lordship. I will cheerfully go as far as Farnham, under the colour of a visit to the Bishop of Winchester, more than sixty miles from hence, to meet you, that we may talk these matters over, if you shall wish it; or even to London if it shall be thought essential; though in the present state of my health, I had rather avoid the latter, for I am still forced to observe strict rules. I write this by return of post. If anything further occurs to me, you shall hear from me again.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Yesterday’s post brought me your letter, enclosing Smith’s; and it also brought me a letter from Lord Camden. I believe I mentioned to you that I had a long conversation, at the Deanery, with Lord C. just before I left town, about Mr. Pitt’s affairs. This letter is to inform me, that Mr. Pitt had consented to a sum of money being raised, by way of loan, amongst his friends, but he does not know whether it be pro-

posed that interest should be paid ; that is, this point seems not to be settled. That it is intended to apply to *intimate* friends only ; that Mr. Pitt is not to know from whom the money comes ; that 18,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* are to be raised ; that those who can afford it, are to advance 1000*l.*, or more if they please, and none less than 500*l.* ; and that a progress is made to the amount of 7000*l.* or 8000*l.* Lord C. seems himself to have had no conversation with Mr. Pitt, but only with Long, Smith, and Lord Alvanley ; and Mr. Pitt's consent seems to have been communicated by Long. I was rather at a loss to know what answer to give ; but I have just written to him, that it is to no purpose to discuss whether this be the best plan that could be devised. That being the only one to which Mr. Pitt would consent, it must be adopted by his real friends, and acted upon with zeal and discretion. That the two principal points to be attended to were, secrecy and care not to apply to any person to whom Mr. Pitt ought not to owe such a favour. That I despaired of secrecy, as so many must be privy to it. That with a view to give it as little resemblance as possible to the subscription for Fox, the money should be advanced as a loan, not as a gift (Lord C. in his letter had mentioned gift) ; and also upon interest, without the slightest idea or wish in the contributors that either principal or interest should ever be paid. That at the end of the year, Mr. Pitt's affairs should be looked over, and if there should be any surplus, which there certainly would not be, it should go as interest ; and that Mr. Pitt's friends

would not suffer any debt incurred in the year to remain undischarged at the end of it. Have I said anything wrong or improper? I have not mentioned your name, or alluded to our correspondence, or the subject of it. Shall I say anything about you, or will you write to Lord Camden, or Long, or Smith? I forgot to say that I had declared myself ready to contribute 1000*l.*, and that I would mention the subject to the Bishop of London and another friend; and that I considered 20,000*l.* at least as necessary. The precise sum of course depends upon the price that Holl-wood and the reversion of the pension sell for. Will they together produce 20,000*l.*? I think they would, if Hollwood were sold by auction, to which I shall press Mr. Pitt, if I see him. Could the King be informed of this plan, and if so could he be permitted to contribute? This seems to me a very nice and delicate point. Let me hear from you, if possible, by return of post, and in that case direct your letter hither. If you do not write till Wednesday, direct to the Deanery, where I shall be on Friday noon. I entirely agree with you in your distinction of *true* and *fair* value, and I am also satisfied that all Mr. Pitt's property of all sorts, if sold in the ordinary way, would not clear him. My mind is a little relieved at the prospect of something being done to which he will not object. I feel very anxious that his feelings should be consulted, though I am fully aware of his thoughtlessness, blameable thoughtlessness, in this respect. I cannot bear the idea of his having less than his Cinque Ports to live upon, or at least

2,500*l.* a year. He cannot live upon less with any degree of comfort. I shall be impatient to hear from you. If I see Mr. Pitt in town, may I state to him the King's proposal to you, that Mr. P. may be in possession of all circumstances before any step is taken, or shall I mention it to Lord Camden, if I see him? He wrote to me from Bayham Abbey, but he seems not stationary there, as he desired me to direct my answer to town. I have told him that I shall be in London on Friday, for two or three days, and perhaps he may wish to have some conversation with me. Adieu; kindest compliments and wishes.

"Yours, ever most truly, and affectionately,

"G. LINCOLN.

"Buckden Palace, July 26th, 1801."

LORD CAMDEN TO MR. ROSE.

[*Most secret.*]

"Bayham Abbey, July 28th, 1801.

"DEAR ROSE,

"I agree in many of the suggestions in your letter, and in the wisdom of many of your observations. I have been induced to interest myself in this business from the persuasion that communication and correspondence will bring matters into some train, although it may not be precisely that which is the subject of the first proposal. I am by no means wedded to the particular plan I have mentioned, which has been proposed to me by Long and Smith, and is not calculated to raise so large a sum as 25,000*l.*: but I hope that a smaller sum than that will answer a

very good purpose. As Mr. Pitt's particular friends are now dispersed, it is not probable that any great progress will be made in the transaction upon which we have corresponded ; and you will therefore, I doubt not, have ample time to speak to Mr. Pitt upon the proposition you have to submit to him. Another mode in which Mr. Pitt might be induced to accept the assistance of his friends, would perhaps be, that they should enter into joint bonds with him, and that then they (his friends) should raise the money, and pay it to the nominal person who advances it upon that security. This would prevent the *danger* of *joint bonds*, to which I am extremely averse ; but then the secrecy cannot be preserved. All my anxiety is to preserve Mr. Pitt's mind from the embarrassment, and his character from the imputation, which executions and actions for debt always cast upon a man ; and whether by subscription, loan, or gift, or by any trouble I can take, I can relieve him, I shall conceive my time and my money well employed. I am therefore ready to listen to and adopt any suggestion calculated to the object ; but as Mr. Pitt has so many friends interested for his case and credit, do not let us suffer him to lose the benefit of such a connexion. You will, therefore, let me hear from you when you think yourself at liberty to communicate any further. I certainly did not mean to exclude Steele and Ryder, to both of whom I feel in the same manner as you do. Bathurst and Long have communicated with the former. I imagined the latter too ill to be addressed on such a subject. I do not think it will

be of essential use that we should meet at present, and I also, who have not been well, should find a journey to Farnham not advantageous to my health; and at present I really think it unnecessary. If anything occurs, you shall hear from me; and I hope to hear from you, when you have anything to tell me.

“Most truly, sincerely yours,

“CAMDEN.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“The letter which I wrote to you on Sunday makes any detailed observations upon the letters which I received from you this morning unnecessary. I return them, and at the same time I send you Lord Camden’s letter to me. I have no copy of mine to him, but I mentioned to you the substance of it. I now rather doubt whether I was right in concluding that Mr. Pitt had said he would consent to the loan, &c. I inferred it from these words, “to which he will consent,” in Lord C.’s letter to me, page 2. I shall write to Lord C. to ask an explanation upon that point by to-day’s post. The more I consider this most distressing business, the more I am convinced of the importance of laying immediately before Mr. Pitt the King’s proposal. I cannot bear the idea of anything being done from that quarter without Mr. Pitt’s knowledge, and Mr. Pitt ought to be apprised of every circumstance before he decides. I really think that a delay of two or three months should not be risked, at least, not without con-

sulting Smith, who is better acquainted than you or I with the disposition of the creditors. I fear some of them are very clamorous. I received a letter from Mr. Pitt this morning, in which he says, that I shall find a note from him at the Deanery on Friday morning, fixing either Friday or Saturday for me to dine with him in Park Place. I am engaged to dine with the Bishop of London, at Fulham, on Friday ; but I shall, of course, put off that engagement and dine with Mr. Pitt, if he should fix Friday. I will make a point of having a full conversation with him about his affairs, and the modes of relief, with or without mentioning to him his Majesty's proposal, as you shall direct in the letter which I expect to receive from you here on Thursday, or to find at the Deanery on Friday. If I by any accident shall not hear from you, I shall, of course, say not a syllable about his Majesty's proposal. The great point seems to be to make Mr. Pitt consent to something effectual, which will leave him a comfortable income and not embarrass him in *any* respect in future.

“Lord Camden's idea that Mr. Pitt is not to know who subscribe, seems to me a very good one. I think you see this subscription in a stronger point of view than I do. Indeed, I think it very objectionable, and that it cannot be kept secret ; but considering it as the only plan to which Mr. Pitt would consent, I am disposed to try it. Something must be done, and without assistance Mr. Pitt would, as you first observed, be left literally without a shilling. Adieu. Kindest remembrance to all your ladies. I scarcely know

whether to direct this letter to Cuffnells or the College.

“Yours, always most truly and affectionately,

“Buckden Palace, July 28th, 1801.

“G. LINCOLN.

“Pray return Lord Camden’s letter, and remember my Prebendal Papers.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have had a pretty full conversation with Mr. Pitt about his affairs, and upon the whole am inclined to think that he would agree to a subscription; but, I am decidedly of opinion that he ought to have laid before him every plan and idea which is in contemplation before he determines upon any one. I also think that something must be done, as speedily as may be. No one can state to him so properly, and with so fair a hope of success as yourself, the King’s proposal; consequently, I think that it would be right, and may be useful, that you should come to town as soon as possible; and as some preparation, I have just now told him that you have *something* of a very delicate and important nature, relative to his private affairs, to communicate to him, and that you are not unwilling to come to town on Tuesday for the purpose of stating it to him. He said that he would see you at any time on Wednesday morning you would fix. I thought, that if I did not mention the business thus far to him, he might be out of town, and you might wait several days without seeing him. As a further strong reason

for your coming, I am persuaded that Mr. Pitt will not go into the west for some weeks, and he already thinks that it may be best for him to go straight for Burton ; and then afterwards, if he has time, make his other visits. Therefore there is some doubt whether you will see him at all at Cuffnells, and certainly not for six or eight weeks, and I think much longer.— All these things put together, I think it pretty clear that you will set out from Southampton on Tuesday morning, and arrive in town either that evening or Wednesday morning ; and I have determined to stay in town to see you, though I really must a second time put off my father and mother from coming to Buckden, which will give me a good deal of pain :— but I am very anxious to see you and to talk with you, and I do not like to leave London without some plan being settled, or at least some better prospect of a decision than there is at present. I think it may be right for Long to come to town too when you are here, but I see no use in Steele or Lord Camden being here ; but if you are of a different opinion you will write or send to them. I say nothing more, as I really have not time to enter upon the particular subjects of your letter written yesterday, and as I hope to see you so soon. Mr. Pitt is very well. I write in Park Place. Adieu.

“ Yours, most truly and affectionately,

“ G. LINCOLN.

“ I will meet you in Palace Yard any hour you may fix.

“ Saturday, August 1st.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“The conversation with Mr. Pitt yesterday was very short. We first examined the statement which was placed before us in Hill Street, and Mr. Pitt made some deductions and some additions, in consequence of money which had been paid and debts incurred since that paper was made out. The result was more favourable by about 2,000*l.* as I thought: he thought by about 3,000*l.* I then told him that some of the creditors were extremely importunate and put to serious inconveniences by the want of the money, and that it was very much to be wished that the debts of all the common tradesmen, at least, which were to a large amount, should be immediately discharged; and all other plans being rejected there remained only the one which I had mentioned to him the day before,—namely, the assistance of private friends.—To this he expressed his readiness to accede. I then asked him whether he persisted in his determination to know the names of those friends from whom he was to receive this assistance: he answered, most certainly. I then told him that the matter had been considered, and that six of his friends, namely, Lord Camden, Steele, Rose, Long, Smith, and myself, were ready to stand forward and put his affairs into such a situation immediately, that he might assure himself that he would suffer no inconvenience or embarrassment from his creditors. He signified his consent without a moment's hesitation, and added, there were no persons

to whom he had rather owe a kindness or accommodation than those whom I had mentioned. I instantly said, 'Then I believe, sir, we need not trouble you any further; you and J. Smith can engage for the thing being done.' Thus ended the conversation. I went and told Lord Camden, who seemed perfectly satisfied with what had passed. I then returned and sat with Mr. Pitt alone at least half an hour. He said nothing about this particular plan, but mentioned an idea of insuring his life, and assigning the policy as a security for the money he borrows. I am inclined to think that this would be a better scheme than selling a part of his Cinque Ports, and ought perhaps to be adopted in preference to any other, if he resolves to do something. I am confident he *means* to pay interest, and I think he will not be easy unless he provides some security for the principal. He thinks he shall want, after the sale of Hollwood and his reversion, about 12,000*l.*; the interest and insurance of which sum would be about 1000*l.* a year. But that point, when I have leisure, I can ascertain accurately. I wish him to do nothing, and I do not despair of the thing working on as it is. You will observe that neither the whole sum to be advanced by these six persons, nor the proportion of each, was mentioned. I thought it a great point to get the business left to us in this general manner, and shall be happy to hear that you approve what passed.

"The above is a copy of what I wrote to Long, and having the same story to tell you, and very little time, I troubled Mrs. T. to copy it. When you go

to Weymouth, do not forget the Catholic question. Remember my Prebendal Papers. All well here. Kindest compliments.

“Yours, ever most truly,

“G. LINCOLN.

“Buckden Palace, August 7th, 1801.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I am very glad that you think of going to Weymouth, and I am impatient that you should have the conversation with the King. Recollect that when the King was recovering from his illness, Mr. Pitt saw Dr. J. Willis at Mr. Addington’s; and before Mr. Addington, authorized Dr. Willis to tell his Majesty that during his reign he would *never* agitate the Catholic question; that is, whether *in* office or *out* of office. Mr. Pitt left Dr. Willis and Mr. Addington together. I saw Dr. Willis’s letter to Mr. Pitt, and I suspect that the message was not properly and fully delivered. All this is of course private history, but I think it very important. Joe Smith has sent for Bullock from town, and as soon as there are *means* the bills will begin to be discharged. Soane’s office has offered only 19,000*l.* for the pension of 2,000*l.* a year for the three lives of Lady Chatham, Lord Chatham, and Mr. Pitt, which is a *Jewish* offer. I have desired Smith to apply to other offices. *Pray* send my Prebendal Papers, as the Prebend is near lapsing. Mrs. T. thanks Miss Rose for her letter. Kindest

compliments, and every possible good wish to you all. Adieu.

“Yours, always most cordially,

“Buckden Palace, August 14th, 1801.

“G. LINCOLN.

“Our wheat is all carried, and I hear from every quarter excellent accounts of the harvest.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I am confident that Mr. Pitt’s message and the determination of his own mind were not confined to his bringing forward the question himself. Mrs. Pretyman now recollects the account which I gave her of this business at the time, and she is certain that the words I used were, that the ‘Catholic question should never again give his Majesty any trouble during his reign.’

“It was expected, as you know, that the Opposition would bring forward the question last session; and Mr. Pitt’s intention was to have resisted it upon this ground,—that such a proposition ought to be brought forward only by his Majesty’s ministers, and that he should oppose it now, and at all future times, whenever it should be brought forward from any other quarter.

“This is a general principle, and would apply to all times and cases, even, indeed, if another King were on the throne. It is true that Mr. Pitt cannot prevent the discussion, but he may always find means to get rid of the question. What those precise means may be, will depend upon circumstances at the time, but I am

positive you may answer for this ; that Mr. Pitt will never bring forward the Catholic question himself, and that he will resist it if brought forward by another, during the King's reign : and this, whether Mr. Pitt be in office or not. Surely he was as much pledged upon the question of reform, as upon the Catholic question. The former he had actually moved ; the latter he has not. The enclosed is perfectly correct and proper. I prefer the words in the parenthesis, and it does not appear to me necessary to add, ' during your Majesty's reign : ' that is understood.

" I thought the paper alluded to by you a most imprudent and unfortunate one, but I was not aware that Mr. Pitt adopted it in any degree that would fetter him hereafter. I have no copy of it. I perfectly agree with you in what you say of such pledges.

" I have only time to add our kindest wishes to all our good friends at Cuffnells.

" Yours, most truly and affectionately, &c.

" G. LINCOLN.

" Buckden Palace, August 18th, 1801."

ESTIMATE OF MR. PITT'S DEBTS IN 1801.

To Contra, advanced upon security of Burton Pynsent	£5,000
Ditto. on Bond	6,000
Ditto. overdrawn	1,750
Mortgage, Hollwood	11,000
State of Debts, 1st of February	7,408
Old Debts, Hollwood	2,190
Mr. Soane	2,098
Bills unpaid	9,618
	<hr/>
	<u>£45,064</u>

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE SUM OF £11,700 ADVANCED IN 1801.

Lord Camden	£1,000	
Lord Bathurst	1,000	
Bishop of Lincoln	1,000	
Lord Carrington	1,000	
Mr. Steele	1,000	
Mr. Rose	1,000	
From Scotland, supposed to be—		
Lord Melville	£1,000	
Duke of Buccleugh	1,000	
Duke of Gordon	1,000	
Chief Baron	1,000	
	—	4,000
Mr. Wilberforce		500
Mr. Long		500
Mr. Joseph Smith		500
Uncertain, probably from Lord Alvanley		200
		<u>£11,700</u>

[On the 1st of October, 1801, Mr. Pitt showed how much he was in the confidence of the Government at that time, by sending to his correspondent the first intimation of the preliminaries of peace being signed, before the fact was publicly known.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Park Place, Oct. 1st, 1801, 6 P.M.

“DEAR ROSE,

“Though I have but a moment to save the post, I must send you one hasty line, to tell you that the die is at length cast, and the preliminaries are actually signed. I am not at liberty to-day to mention particulars, but I think I can venture to promise you that

the terms, though perhaps not in every point exactly what one should wish, are, on the whole, advantageous, and certainly very creditable to the country. I hope to be able to send you a fuller account to-morrow or next day. The signature has but just taken place, and will not be made public till to-morrow morning.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. PITT.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Park Place, Oct. 3d, 1801.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ On coming to town this morning for a few hours, I have just found your two letters. I will, with the greatest pleasure, take an early opportunity of mentioning your son to Lord Hawkesbury, who will, I flatter myself, be very favourably inclined to consider his pretensions; but I think it would be clearly desirable that he should also himself state his wish to be considered as a candidate for any proper situation in the foreign line, and that you should, at the same time, write to Lord Hawkesbury.

“ I hope the particulars which you will have received by this morning's post, from Hiley, will have answered your expectation.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. PITT.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Park Place, Monday, Oct. 26th, 1801.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ I received your letter yesterday morning, just as I was setting out from Walmer. All the sentiments it states are precisely those which I feel, and in which, I think, all moderate and dispassionate men will concur ; but I fear there are some of our friends who will not be found to be of that number. I am very glad that you have determined to come up, and, if it will really be no inconvenience to you to be in town on Wednesday, I shall be much obliged to you, as there are many points connected with finance on which I wish much to converse with you, and on which I have some large projects in my mind.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. PITT.”

[About the end of this year there seems to have been a suspicion amongst the friends of Mr. Pitt, that some acts of treachery towards him had been practised by certain members of the Government, in order to lower him in public estimation, and withdraw from him the affection of the King. Evil rumours were circulated about him, and royal messages were withheld. It is not likely that Mr. Addington would have wished to injure him ; but injury may sometimes be inflicted by forgetfulness and reckless language. Certain, however, it is, that from this time Mr. Pitt's

friends began to besiege him with importunities to withdraw his support, and let the Administration die of a political atrophy ; in which, after a long struggle, they succeeded. The Bishop of Lincoln and Mr. Rose led the way.—ED.]

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“ You will easily believe, my dear Sir, that your letter was as little satisfactory to me, as your conversation with Mr. Pitt was to you. I will not, however, trouble you with my lamentations, as you know precisely how I feel upon this most truly mortifying subject. There is, however, one point upon which I must express my anxiety, and that is, that you will *yourself* contradict, to the King, the account which he received of Mr. Pitt’s determination to resign last *October* ; and also that you will state to his Majesty, that his message to Mr. Pitt to keep his engagement of visiting him at Weymouth, was never delivered. These subjects the King has already mentioned to you, and surely there can be no impropriety in your recurring to them. A little breach of etiquette may be risked in matters of such importance. Be assured that Lord C. is not a fit person to trust such an explanation to ; and, indeed, no one is so well suited to it as yourself. I entreat that you will not leave the neighbourhood of Windsor without accomplishing this object ; and I hope that in every conversation you may have with his Majesty, you will be upon the watch for any opportunity which may offer of opening his eyes.

With respect to Mr. Pitt, the point to urge to him seems to be, that the conduct he is now pursuing is the very one most calculated to lower his influence and consequence in the country ; and that others are taking great pains to bring about the same thing, and are aiming, in all their measures, to be able to do without him. The only ‘ ray of hope ’ your letter conveys is, where you say that Mr. Pitt owns he feels uncomfortably. If he will but cease to have such complete confidence in Mr. A., and see that he does not deserve his active support and assistance in the degree he has hitherto given it, circumstances will soon point out some line of conduct different from his present, and perfectly consistent with his honour ; which, after all, is the first thing to be considered. If Mr. Pitt withholds his advice and direction, the face of things will soon be changed. Insufficiency and profligacy will soon appear, and the public will be convinced that Mr. Pitt has just ground for altering his conduct.

“ You seem to think of going soon to Cuffnells. If we do not see each other before you set out, pray let me know by letter whether I be at liberty to state to Mr. Pitt any of the circumstances and facts you have mentioned to me, and to comment upon them. I am fully aware that nothing must be done or said to revolt Mr. Pitt.

“ I have written to Mr. Carthew, as you suggested, and directed my letter to him at No. 12, Queen Anne Street West ; concluding that he had not changed his habitation. If he has, pray send after the letter, and in any case I should be glad you would

inquire whether he has received it, as I should be sorry if it fell into other hands.¹

“If this should find you at Holly Grove, pray distribute our kindest compliments to all your party. Mrs. Pretyman desires to be kindly remembered to you.

“I am, my dear Sir,

“Always most truly and cordially yours,

“G. LINCOLN.

“Buckden Palace, Nov. 19th, 1801.

“I think you might urge to Mr. Pitt the effect—the revolting effect—which the continuing his present line of conduct will have upon his real friends, and the most respectable men in the country firmly attached to the constitution; now that A. has taken Tierney and formed a coalition with Opposition: and the real magnanimity of his conduct is not understood, but his motives misrepresented.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“The King is, in my judgment, perfectly clear. The design most certainly is to kick away the ladder; and this makes me exceedingly anxious that no further assistance should be given upon the subject of finance, or indeed upon any other point. Surely Mr. Pitt’s eyes must be soon opened. Pray watch the debate on the 25th, and see whether new light cannot be collected

¹ Allusions to letters intercepted at the Post-Office, as stated with regard to Mr. Pitt.

from the speeches of certain persons ; and if anything appears, do not fail to state it strongly to Mr. Pitt.

“ It seems to me very desirable that you should have some conversation with Steele, not only on his own account, but as some criterion to judge how Mr. Pitt’s other friends feel concerning what is now going on.

“ I see no objection to the receiving 1,000*l.* from Lord Rolle ; but I think the thing should first be mentioned to Lord Camden. Above all, do not fail to show the last paragraph in the enclosed *Times* to Mr. Pitt, and to tell him of the communication between Hiley Addington and Mr. Waller. I hope you will keep the enclosed paper, or send it again to me, that we may keep it with other things of a similar nature. The spirit of Jacobinism is surely visible in the above paragraph. In great haste.

“ Yours, ever most truly and affectionately,

“ G. LINCOLN.

“ Buckden Palace, Nov. 20th, 1801.

“ Pray let me hear again from you.”

MR. ROSE TO MR. PITT.

“ Holly Grove, Nov. 22d, 1801.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ The opportunities I have had of talking with you on confidential matters lately have been so interrupted, that I fear nothing but the strongest attachment to you, and the most sincere and unaltered regard for the public interest, could have induced me so often lately to press on your attention, points which

appear to me as important for the latter as they are to yourself. My want of discretion may be blamed, but you cannot mistake my motive. To the hour of your announcing to me that Mr. Addington was to succeed you, I considered him as one of your most attached and devoted friends, and was in the habit of going to him in preference to any other person on the most confidential matters. The very day on which I was informed by you of that event, I had appointed to see him in order to have a conversation of the sort. I can therefore have no prejudice against him, nor can I have been led to express to you the opinion I entertain of what is going forward at present by any interested motive. I shall not have the remotest wish to see you in office again so long as you continue to feel that you cannot return to it with credit and comfort. But, having a firm impression on my mind that there is a systematic plan, originating I know not where, to lessen you as well in the opinion of the public as of the King, I do feel most anxiously desirous that that should be counteracted; conceiving it to be for the interest of both, as well as from considerations of a nature personal to yourself, that it should be done as effectually as possible. At the same time I cannot help deeply lamenting that you see the difficulties in the way of your returning to the public service so forcibly as you do; and I feel convinced that the best aid you can give in a private station is very far short of what you could do if you had the direction of matters, of which recent experience can leave no doubt. I may be mistaken as to a nego-

tiation having been attempted with any other person in opposition besides Mr. Tierney ; but I believe his reception by Mr. A. affords a ray of hope to Mr. Fox and every other enlightened Jacobin in the country, as well as to the gentleman himself. They will naturally speculate on the possibility, at least, of that opening the way to more of their friends, perhaps finally to the exclusion of Mr. A. ; and to an adoption of some of their measures, when it may not be in your power to prevent it. It will be a great satisfaction to me to have a quiet hour or two with you before I go into Hampshire. I wish indeed to have your opinion as to the best mode of combining the matter in my two pamphlets, so as to connect all that is material respecting finance in your administration. I hope, therefore, you will have the goodness to come here with me the end of this week—though you must be in town on Sunday.”

MR. ROSE TO MR. PITT.

“ Holly Grove, Dec. 7th, 1801.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ My son, with the same opinion as my own on the subject of the wish you expressed to me on Friday, and repeated with increased anxiety the day following, has not diverted the strong inclination I have felt, since our last conversation, to comply with your desire ; and it is a great relief to me that I can thus give another proof of my strong attachment to you.

You will, I am sure, permit me to say to the *very*

few to whom I shall think it necessary to say anything, that I did not ask the seat in the Privy Council from Mr. A. but that I receive it at your instance, because I shall receive it under circumstances of a very different nature from those that existed when I sought it as *a distinction*. I had been Secretary of the Treasury under you longer than any person had held the situation who was appointed in the whole of the last century. I had not been entirely idle when the exertions were making which opened the way for the Administration to come in, at the head of which you rendered such important, and, I may say, unexampled services to your country; and in the early part of it especially I had laboured indefatigably. I had acquired some influence in the country in which I settled, and brought forward usefully to Government the infinitely greater weight of others,—at the same time that I secured to myself and my family, honestly and fairly, a permanent parliamentary interest; and I was at the time of your retiring from office the only person who remained in the same political employment so filled on your entrance into the public service. If I had been selected for an honour then, it would naturally have been considered as a reward for the sort of claim I thought I had when I asked for it; and I should have had an honest pride in receiving it: it must come to me very differently now. I assure you, that, seriously, I do not state this with an intention either of making a merit in acquiescing in your wish, or of suggesting anything in the shape of a grievance;

both are utterly repugnant to me. I have not the slightest ground of complaint, and my attachment is more strongly riveted to you than when you were in power. I wish you only to be apprised distinctly why I was solicitous for the object before, and hesitated to comply at once with your wish when I saw you were earnest about it. Having taken my determination, I shall drive from my mind every reflection that can be painful about it; and you shall never see or hear of a symptom respecting it that is unpleasant.

“It was not my intention to have said anything more to you about the object my son has at heart; but I found here the *Times* of Saturday, in which persons are mentioned for all the missions open, I believe, except Madrid, without any notice taken of him. I imagine Mr. Drummond is at Naples. If the information had been in another paper, I should not have much regarded it; but I happen to know that Lord Hawkesbury particularly favours that one, though I have no imagination that he can influence it. One of the gentlemen named (Sir James Crawford) came into the line long after my son, as Mr. Frere and Mr. Drummond did. I am perfectly sure that there is not an individual in it whose education was likely to qualify him better for it. At the head of Winchester School a year or two earlier than usual, he had an opportunity of spending eighteen months in Geneva, under the care of one of the ablest and most respectable men there, in attaining modern languages, acquiring the principles of the law of nations, &c., and then went to Cambridge at eighteen. As soon as

he had taken his Bachelor's degree, he was placed under Lord Auckland at the Hague, with the privilege of seeing the whole correspondence of Europe, then passing through there, where he remained for more than a year, working at least ten hours a day, till Lord Grenville sent him to Berlin, with the charge of the King's affairs, on the ground of the character he heard of him, without any application from me; and I had the satisfaction of being told repeatedly, by his Lordship, that he was most entirely satisfied with him. I know, too, that Lord Malmesbury (an impartial judge at least) has several times spoken of him in extremely flattering terms, from the observations he had opportunities of making while he was with him at Berlin. It was not in the smallest degree my son's fault that he has not been employed for some years.

"You will not, I trust, understand me as conveying a wish that you should do anything on the subject in the remotest degree unpleasant to you. I flattered myself that *your* support of reasonably fair pretensions with Lord Hawkesbury would have been decisive. If it shall prove otherwise, it will not make the slightest alteration in my mind or conduct. If it is meant to open Naples, I think my son would be perfectly satisfied and happy with it."

MR. ADDINGTON TO MR. PITT.

"Downing Street, Dec. 19th, 1801.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I expressed to his Majesty, on Wednesday, your wish and my own that Rose and Long should

become members of the Privy Council. He acceded to it most graciously, and I have told Long what has passed. The communication to Rose should, I think, proceed from yourself, and I hope this will be in time to enable you to make it by this evening's post.

“I will take my chance of finding you at home at three to-morrow.

“Yours, affectionately,

“H. ADDINGTON.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“Deanery, St. Paul's, Dec. 23rd, 1801.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I remained in town till the 14th, and then went with Mr. Pitt to Cambridge. On the 16th, after dining at a great feast in Trinity College Hall, we went to Buckden, and he left us on the 19th. I did not receive your very interesting letter till I reached Buckden; and the short time I was there I was so occupied by company and business (having an Ordination on the 20th) that I really had not leisure to write to you. I set out from Buckden yesterday, and came hither this morning. I saw very little of Mr. Pitt while I was in town. He was a day or two at Lord Hawkesbury's, and then he went to Hollwood. When he was in town he was engaged every day to dinner. I scarcely know why, but I could not bring myself to enter upon any of these important subjects on which I knew I should differ from him as we went along in the carriage, and I felt almost an equal reluctance when he was at Buckden.

However, in the last walk we took on the Friday, we fell insensibly into politics, and he talked with his usual openness and good temper. I expressed very decidedly my opinion concerning the insufficiency of the present Administration, especially upon subjects of finance, and reprobated the dangerous tendency of that spirit of candour and conciliation which had hitherto marked his conduct to Mr. A. I endeavoured to prove to him that he would materially injure his own character, if he continued upon his present intimate footing with Mr. A., and if he abstained from declaring his opinion upon the measures which he really disapproved. I told him that such a line of conduct appeared to me a betrayal of the interests of his country. I mentioned the pains which had been taken, and which were still continued, to lower him in the estimation of the public, and I ventured to say that his present conduct was precisely what his enemies wished and his friends could not approve.

“I am willing to think that I made some impression upon him. He owned that the opening of the distilleries was ‘perfectly absurd.’ He said that if the peace establishment should not be settled as he wished, or that one or two certain measures of finance should not be adopted, he would certainly declare his opinion in Parliament. He seemed to think it not impossible but this opportunity might be afforded him.

“Upon the Catholic question our conversation was less satisfactory. He certainly looks forward to the time when he may carry that point, and I fear he does

not wish to take office again unless he could be permitted to bring it forward, and to be properly supported. I endeavoured to convince him that he had been deceived by those on whom he relied on this question, as far as Ireland itself was concerned, and that the measure would be very unpopular in England. I did not seem to make much impression upon this point, but I had not time to say all I wished and could have said. I thought it better not to touch upon the treacherous part of a certain person's character and conduct. That point had been fully urged by you, and I had no new matter to state. It appeared to me wiser to argue upon public grounds, and upon regard and concern for his own character.

“ When he was leaving Buckden, I told him I hoped I should see him in town this week, as I did not think of being in London again till the first of April. He received that information in a manner which struck Mrs. Pretymann and me exceedingly; and immediately said that he would make a point of coming to town for a day on purpose to meet me. In the course of the conversation I have alluded to, I said there were other matters upon which I wished to talk to him, but which I could not then enter upon, and I am inclined to think he is desirous of talking to me again.

“ He was certainly not in so good spirits after this conversation, and he remained some time in his room doing nothing immediately after it, although he knew that a large party from Cambridge was waiting for him in the drawing-room. I am confident that he is

not perfectly easy in his own mind about public matters, and I am satisfied that his uneasiness will increase.

“What may be the termination of this strange, uncomfortable state of things at home, even without any fresh convulsion in Paris (which seems expected), it is impossible to conjecture.

“I have been interrupted several times, and have now only time left to say that Mr. Pitt told me of your acceptance, &c. with great satisfaction, and he said he should write to you as soon as he got to town. I was delighted that you had so full a conversation at Windsor. I hope you will tell Mr. Pitt about the offer to Grey. Depend upon it, such incompetency and such knavery cannot long go on and prosper.

“I shall stay in town till Monday, perhaps Tuesday. I left Mrs. Pretymann not quite well; she has fever hanging about her, which disturbs her sleep, &c.

“Kindest compliments to your party at Cuffnells.

“Yours, most cordially and affectionately,

“G. LINCOLN.”

MR. SMITH TO MR. ROSE.

“Hereford Street, Dec. 24th, 1801.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Messrs. Biddulph and Cocks have informed me that you have paid in to my account one thousand pounds, which I will take care to apply to the discharge of certain debts.

“I am, dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

“JOS. SMITH.”

CHAPTER IX.

1802.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. PITT, MR. ROSE, THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN,
AND MR. CANNING, RELATIVE TO THE ADDINGTON ADMINISTRATION.

[THE debate alluded to in the following letter seems to be that in which the question arose, whether the debts of the Civil List should be paid by Parliament; and whether the King should, or could, be bound to keep his expenditure within the sum allowed him at his accession to the throne. Another question then raised was, whether the Prince of Wales was not entitled to be reimbursed for all the sums, minus the expenses of his education, which were paid to the Crown out of the Duchy of Cornwall, during his minority. --ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“DEAR ROSE,

“Park Place, Friday, Feb. 19th, 1802.

“I knew nothing of the precise day on which the Civil List was to be brought on till I returned to town accidentally on Tuesday, after a week’s absence at Walmer. The Committee is now sitting from day to day, and, I imagine, will probably make a report in the course of the next week, though I have not happened

to hear anything particular as to their progress. It is certainly very material that nothing should be omitted which can place the subject in a clear and just point of view; and though I think the leading parts of the case will be so clear on the face of the accounts that they will hardly escape notice, the materials which you have in your possession may be of considerable use. If, therefore, it is really no inconvenience to you to come for a few days next week, I shall be very glad of it; and, indeed, there are some things connected with the debate of last week which I should be glad to talk with you about. Awkward as that debate was in some of its circumstances at the moment, I am persuaded, in its consequences, it has done, and will do good.

“I shall be in town all next week, unless, perhaps, for a single day either on Wednesday or Friday.

“Ever sincerely yours,

“W. PITT.”

[In the next letter, the modest simplicity of Mr. Pitt's character is remarkably exemplified in the slight notice which he takes of a high compliment which had just been paid him by a numerous body of his supporters, on which most men would have delighted to dwell without any undue self-complacency. Nearly nine hundred persons, the most eminent in rank, character, and talent, assembled in Merchant Taylors' Hall, on the 28th of May, to celebrate Mr. Pitt's birthday.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Walmer Castle, June 7th, 1802

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ I felt, as you will believe, truly obliged to you for your very satisfactory account of the 28th, and for all the trouble you have had since in prolonging my furlough here. Immediately on receiving your letter, I returned to Mr. Darke the copy of the paper in question, with a certificate, which, as I have heard nothing since, I suppose fully answered the purpose.

“ This air, and the quiet and retirement which I have been enjoying, have been of great use to me. I mean to remain here till quite the end of the week, and am not without hopes of stealing another eight or ten days afterwards before the dissolution, which, I imagine, we may expect somewhere about the 24th or 25th; at least, if it be true, as I am told, that all the business will be out of the House of Commons on the 28th.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. PITT.”

[In the following notice of the general election, in 1802, it will be observed that Mr. Pitt identifies himself with the ministerial party, in opposition to the Foxites, whom he calls Jacobins: a name which the leaders of that party had earned for it, by their sympathy with the French Revolution; but it is remarkable also for his characteristic forbearance in avoiding personalities. He alludes to them in general

terms ; but there is no attack upon any one individual. The rest of the letter is an overflowing of kindness towards his correspondent and friend.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Bromley Hill, Saturday, July 10th, 1802.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ I was sincerely glad to find that the election at Southampton passed in a manner which must have been so satisfactory to yourself and your son. You will have seen that ours at Cambridge was perfectly quiet ; and it was not only quiet, but attended with every mark of zeal and cordiality. I wish we had as good accounts of three or four other places, where (as it has turned out) the Jacobins have triumphed, and, in some instances, unaccountably ; but, upon the whole, I do not see anything likely materially to change the relative strength of parties or the general complexion of the House.

“ I am likely to be detained by different engagements near town for a week or ten days, and shall then return to Walmer Castle, where I shall be most happy to see you whenever you find it most convenient, and have a fair wind. I shall probably not go to Somersetshire till late in the autumn ; but I hope to find an opportunity of making a coasting voyage, and returning your visit in the course of the summer. If your sons are with you when you embark, I shall be very glad, if it suits them, to be of your party. I am going on extremely well, and expect to

pass muster as a stout and able-bodied seaman by the time I see you.

“ Ever yours,

“ W. PITT.”

[The determined hostility with which the Bishop of Lincoln continued to assail the Addington Administration is displayed in these three following letters, and also the perseverance with which he endeavoured to shake the “*immobile saxum*” of Mr. Pitt’s mind. —ED.]

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I have this morning received a long letter from Mr. Pitt, and you will like to know the contents of it, if you have not heard from him yourself. He says that the Bath waters agree with him, and he seems to have a very confident hope that they will be of material service to his health. He is going to Burton this week, for a day or two. Not thinking it right to be absent from the meeting of Parliament, in the present state of the country, he means to be in town about the 19th, to stay for five or six days ; then go to Walmer for ten days, pass through town in his way to Bath, where he hopes to arrive about the 10th of next month, and to stay there till Parliament meets after the Christmas holidays. All this is, of course, subject to what may arise to require attendance upon the House of Commons. In speaking of political matters, he says the state of things is full of difficulty ; that

during the summer he knew nothing of what was going on, except from the newspapers; that in passing through London, on his way to Bath, he was glad to learn that the line taken by our Government was such as he approved; and that their future intentions seemed to be right. He thinks that war with France cannot long be avoided. This is the substance of what he writes; and I own that the political part of his letter has not given me much satisfaction or comfort. I am aware that he has a very difficult part to act; but I think he will injure his own character if he expresses, which I fear he will, an unqualified approbation of the conduct of our present ministry.

"All things taken together, the situation of the country seems to me truly alarming. I write in great haste, and have only time to add our kindest respects to Mrs. Rose.

"Ever most affectionately and truly,

"G. LINCOLN.

"Buckden Palace, Nov. 7th, 1802."

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I thank you for your letter which I received this morning, and rejoice most heartily that Mr. Pitt has desired to see you at Bath. I really think that your meeting may be very useful. I am most decidedly of opinion that what you propose to state in the House of Commons is exceedingly right in itself, and of the highest importance. It ought surely to be said as early as may be on the first day, before people

have committed themselves. I have no doubt there are many members whose minds are in suspense, and who would be determined by such a speech as you describe. Remember to state your approbation of the preliminaries, and to mark strongly the conduct of ministers since they were signed; and that the only chance of preserving the peace and sparing the country is by having a firm, able, and respected ministry. If, however, you mean to wait for Mr. Pitt's full and cheerful consent, I fear your speech will never be made. Consider whether you need mention your intention to him, provided he be not in the House, and you have reason to think that what you will say will not be opposite to his real opinion.

“I wish to apprize you that I wrote a very strong letter to Mr. Pitt, last Monday, entreating that he would not, in the House of Commons, express an unqualified approbation of the late measures of Government; reminding him that he had not been consulted during the summer, and that now his assistance was likely to be wanted, they were paying court to him; that they used ‘every effort and every art’ to obtain his support when necessary. I told him how much ministers were despised in the country, and begged that he would not identify himself with such men. And, lastly, I begged that he would stay at Bath, for which his health afforded a sufficient reason, and wait to see what turn things will take. I told him also, which I am sure is true, that by giving his unqualified support to the present Ministers, he would lose the confidence of the country.

“ Remember that you cannot do your country a greater service than by making the speech you meditate. I write in great haste, and have only time to say that I shall expect with great impatience your next letter. Adieu.

“ Yours, most affectionately and truly,

“ G. LINCOLN.

“ Buckden Palace, Nov. 11th, 1802.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Your compromise is, upon the whole, as good a mode of settling the business as could be expected. I was confident that Mr. Pitt would not consent to your making your intended speech ; and I agree with you in thinking it a great point that Mr. Pitt should not attend at the opening of the session under the present impression of his mind. I almost shudder at the idea of Mr. Pitt’s expressing his approbation of the late measures of Government.

“ I am persuaded that Lord Grenville will take a directly opposite line, and I greatly fear that Mr. Pitt will soon be driven to make his choice between the present ministers and Lord Grenville, with those who will act with him. I fear it, because I am convinced that Mr. Pitt will support Government.

“ I am very glad that you are remaining at Bath ; and, if anything occurs, I trust that I shall hear from you. You say nothing of Mr. Pitt’s health.

“ Adieu. Mrs. Pretymán desires her kindest compliments.

“ Ever, my dear Sir, most truly yours,

“ G. LINCOLN.

“ Buckden Palace, Nov. 17th, 1802.”

[The correspondence which closes this year consists of letters from Mr. Canning to Mr. Rose, with answers to some of them. They contain evidence of the high veneration with which Mr. Pitt was regarded not only by men of ordinary stamp, but by the brilliant talents of Mr. Canning ; they show Mr. C.'s anxiety not to cross that great man's path, or throw any obstacle in the way of his purposes, whatever they might be ; and the perseverance with which he endeavoured to worm out from his friend Rose his secret feelings and opinions, in order to regulate his own course in accordance with them, proves his conviction, that no one else enjoyed so large a share of Mr. Pitt's confidence, or was admitted to see so much of the interior of his mind ; but they also show how much machinery was at work to influence those feelings and opinions against Mr. Adlington, and to undermine the Administration.—ED.]

MR. CANNING TO MR. ROSE.

“ Dogmersfield, Thursday, Nov. 11th, 1802.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ It has been a great disappointment to me that the invitation of our friend Sir H. Mildmay did not

happen to find you disengaged this week. Independently of the pleasure of meeting you here, I was very particularly desirous of an opportunity of some communication with you before the opening of the session, upon subjects, not very fit to be discussed by letter, upon which I am confident you would feel as I, and other persons whom you would have found here feel upon them :—and to the measures relating to which you could, and I am persuaded would, have contributed the most efficacious and valuable assistance.

“ I should be very glad to know if you are likely to be in town before the meeting—and how soon ?

“ I return to town from hence on Saturday ; and for that, and the few first days of the ensuing week, a letter would find me at Lothian’s Hotel. On Thursday or Friday, I have promised to meet Mr. Pitt at Dropmore, on his road from Bath ; and shall return to town either with him, or the day after him. If, with this knowledge of my motions, you could contrive to give me notice of yours, so that we might fall in with each other the first time that we are within each other’s reach, I shall be very desirous of profiting by the opportunity.

“ Believe me, my dear Sir,

“ Very sincerely yours,

“ GEO. CANNING.

“ P. S. I understand that you intend taking this place on your way to town. If that should be the case, and if you would let me know beforehand the time of your coming, I would endeavour to meet you.”

[Towards the end of the year Mr. Pitt went to Bath to recruit his failing health ; and being now out of the trammels of office, the next letter shows more of the affectionate kindness which he felt for Mr. Rose, than when his head was full of matters of business. It shows also that he was still determined to support the Government on material points, though he seems to apprehend, that something might be introduced into the speech from the Throne, which might make him desirous to be absent from the address. It brought Mr. Rose into that immediate contact with him which induced Mr. Canning to write the following letters.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Bath, Nov. 7th, 1802.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ Your letter of yesterday reached me this morning. I am very sorry you should have given yourself a moment's trouble about my mislaid letter, as its contents were not such as to make the accident of any consequence. I had been meaning to write to you to tell you, what I know you will be glad to hear, that I am much the better for my visit hither ; and I meant also to say to you, that if you have really no engagement to make it inconvenient to you, you would make me very happy if you can let me have the satisfaction of seeing you while I am here. There are many points too long for a letter which I shall be very glad, if we meet, to talk over with you. I mean to go

on Thursday to my mother's, but shall return here in time for my afternoon's draught of the waters on Saturday; and from thence shall continue here till the business of the session calls me to town. It is possible things may take a turn that may make me wish to be present the day of the Speech, which will, I understand, be on Monday the 22d; but it is quite as likely that I may not see occasion to go till either the vote for the army or navy, or some material motion, is brought forward.

"Perhaps even the circumstances may be such as to make me doubt about going at all before Christmas; but of this I shall know more in a short time. If it suits you to be here on Saturday by dinner, I shall be happy to see you then; if not, the first day afterwards that you find in your power.

"Ever sincerely yours,

"W. P."

MR. CANNING TO MR. ROSE.

"Lothian's Hotel, Saturday, Nov. 20th, 1802.

"MY DEAR SIR,

Though I have but a moment to save the post, I will not put off till Monday giving you the pleasure, which I am sure you will derive, from hearing that Lord G. (whom I have seen to-day) appears to enter cordially into all the considerations of delicacy towards Mr. P., which you thought it of so much importance that he should entertain; and that the line of argument which he has laid down to himself, is one which will carry him *safely* past all the embarrassing and uncom-

fortable points of difference between them. There is no intention of moving any amendment.

“ In return for this intelligence, I shall be glad to hear from you that Mr. P. continues satisfied with his wise and saving determination to remain where he is ; and that he has done himself the justice to avoid (and to say that he *must* avoid) mixing himself by *advice* in the councils for which he ought to be in no degree responsible.

“ Yours, dear Sir, very sincerely,

“ G. C.”

MR. CANNING TO MR. ROSE.

“ 37, Conduit Street,

“ Monday, Nov. 29th, 1802.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ The last letter with which I troubled you produced me so comfortable an answer, that I cannot forbear to give myself the chance of another such return for the very little that I have to tell you.

“ The navy estimates come on on Wednesday : they mean to vote 50,000 seamen—as it is understood, only for three months. I should like very much to know (but without in the smallest degree intending to make any use of my knowledge) Mr. P.’s opinion of the sufficiency or insufficiency of such a vote. I do not write to him to ask—first, because I wish not to trouble him with letters just at present more than is absolutely necessary (he is much better left to his

own reflections); and secondly, because I do not think it fair to put such a question to him at a moment when, if put from other quarters, I trust he would decline to answer it. But if you should happen to collect what he thinks upon the subject, and should see no impropriety in letting me know it, it would be some satisfaction to my mind. I certainly have my own opinion : but I should be desirous to avoid stating one opposite to *his*—at least I would not do so knowingly. However, the debate will be in a great measure independent of this particular question.

“ Above all things, I anxiously hope to hear from you that he remains firm in his resolution to abstain from attendance, or interference.

“ The voting the establishments *for three months* appears to me to relieve him from the only awkwardness which he could possibly have felt—that of not being present at the settlement of the permanent peace establishment. This measure is confessedly temporary, adapted to *their* view of the circumstances of the moment, to which he is no party, and liable to revision hereafter ; when it will (I trust) be his *business* to revise it.

“ Peel is not in town. I stated *your* Swiss argument for you—and it was not answered—as indeed it could not well be.

“ Ever, my dear Sir,

“ Most sincerely yours,

“ G. C.”

MR. CANNING TO MR. ROSE.

“Conduit Street, Tuesday, Nov. 30th, 1802.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“As I mentioned to you yesterday that the estimates were to be voted only for three months—which was then true—I think it right to let you know that the Doctor¹ has just announced the intention of voting them for the year. This, I am persuaded, is Ryder’s doing, and it is done wisely. I do trust that it will make no alteration in Mr. Pitt’s intentions of staying where he is. But it makes it still more desirable, to know if possible, what are his ideas of the force that ought to be kept up. The Navy comes on to-morrow, 50,000 seamen, as I before told you. The proposed amount of the Army I have not heard. It (the army) does not come on till Wednesday. Fox, it is now confidently said, will not attend *either*, certainly not the navy. God knows he has done mischief enough already, and may well rest contented for a while with the tone to which he has brought the Government down. Perhaps, indeed, he is so well contented that he thinks it dangerous to risk any apparent diminution of his influence with them by attending debates on which he thinks they may receive a lesson from other quarters; and it is obviously his policy not to be obliged at the present moment to express a difference of opinion with Addington.

“You shall hear from me again as anything occurs.

“Yours very sincerely,

“G. C.”

¹ The sobriquet by which Addington was familiarly designated.

MR. ROSE TO MR. CANNING.

"Bath, Nov. 30th, 1802.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I conceive it to be quite impossible for Mr. Pitt to form an opinion of the sufficiency or insufficiency of the 50,000 seamen for three months, without any information whatever of what has been going forward lately, or of the actual situation we are in with France,—I mean as to the probability or improbability of a war with her. There are passages in Lord Hawkesbury's speech, either on the first or second day, which looked like his having no intention to lay papers before Parliament relative to the late discussion with the First Consul. That they should not do so now, is intelligible, and perhaps proper; but calling for a vote, evidently for a larger force than they can possibly mean for a peace establishment, can only be justified by the persuasion ministers have of the necessity for such a force on account of a conduct on the part of France which creates a just alarm in their minds. I can conceive discussions, even of importance, with a foreign country, passing even without papers laid, when Parliament is not called upon to act in consequence of them; *but when it is*, information at some period or other is surely demandable. Ministers may surely be driven to say why 50,000 men are desired for three months; they need not tell the specific cause, but they must admit that something extraordinary leads to it. Mr. Pitt went out for his ride before I got your letter, and I have no chance of an opportunity of talking to him on the above subject before dinner, but I am quite sure he could say nothing upon

it at all satisfactory. His health improves evidently, and he holds his resolution now to a certainty not to go to London, about which, however, he was a good deal shaken at the end of last week."

MR. ROSE TO MR. CANNING.

"Bath, Dec. 1st, 1802.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I thought it right, under so considerable a change in the vote for the seamen, as you mention, to show the letter I have just received from you, to Mr. Pitt, who desires me to say to you nearly what I did from myself yesterday;—that at this distance, and utterly uninformed as he is of everything that could enable him to form a judgment on the subject, he can express no opinion whatever upon it. It appears manifestly to be better to vote the strength for a year than for a short period, as showing a better countenance to *the enemy*. The number may be increased in the course of the session, if it be found necessary, and if so large a force should not be wanted, the surplus money may be otherwise disposed of. The period of the naval vote being extended strengthens my remark of yesterday respecting information of some sort being communicated to Parliament. In 1793, the vote was for 45,000 seamen; for 16,000 in 1792. I am not sure whether papers were then laid, but the ground for that augmentation, I am sure, was stated and debated. I trust Mr. Pitt will not be induced by anything that one can foresee as likely to happen to change his opinion respecting his remaining here."

MR. CANNING TO MR. ROSE.

“Conduit Street,
“Thursday, Dec. 2d, 1802.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Many thanks to you for your letter of yesterday, which I have just received. You will have seen with no small indignation how quietly the navy estimates went off yesterday. As far as *I* am implicated in the guilt of that remissness, I will honestly own to you that my excuse is this—that I wished to hear from you again before I opened my lips upon the subject. The change from three months to a year, though laudable in itself, appeared to me (as I now see it does to you) only to aggravate the folly and inconsistency of the conduct of Government, and to make their want of fair explanation with Parliament still more reprehensible. But I did not feel sure how it might have been represented at Bath; and though I am very far (as I hope you will understand me throughout) from either presuming to ask, or still less taking for granted that I have heard, anything of Mr. P.’s opinions, yet I thought that if he had been fully informed and fully satisfied upon the subject, he would have said so, and that would, with *me*, have been decisive against saying a word. As it is, you will be better satisfied with to-day than yesterday. And the loss of one day does us no harm. It has shown how little disposition the Government has to communicate information; and the indignation which everybody, whom I have seen or heard of, feels at such a vote *so* passed, will be a great help to us to-

day, and will take off any imputation of a vexatious seeking of opportunities to oppose. You shall hear from me again, and I hope you will send me from time to time any hint that may occur to you.

“Yours most sincerely,

“G. C.”

MR. ROSE TO MR. CANNING.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have no hesitation in saying that I believe such a vote as was adopted by the House of Commons on Wednesday, is, I believe, unexampled in the history of Parliament ; I mean without a syllable said on the subject by the ministers. My observation was purely my own, and not meant to implicate Mr. Pitt in the remotest degree. It is impossible at the present instant to be too cautious, not only of using his name, but of saying anything that can lead to conjecture as to what his opinion is.

“I shall return to Cuffnells early in the next week, and I think Mr. Pitt will probably go to Long Leat about the middle of it.

“I am, my dear Sir,

“Yours, &c.

“G. R.

“Bath, Dec. 3d, 1802.”

MR. CANNING TO MR. ROSE.

“Conduit Street, Friday, Dec. 3d, 1802.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I hope the debate of yesterday will satisfy you and will not *dis*-satisfy Mr. P., as I am confident, if

fairly represented to him (and if a mischievous paragraph in the *Morning Chronicle* does not deceive, and alarm him), there is no reason why it should. The disavowal which was obtained from Hawkesbury of Fox's doctrine of small establishments, I hope he will consider as an essential point gained, and (though I do not see that any paper, except the *True Briton*, states that part of what I said at all sufficiently) I am sure he will think *I* did right in hailing as cordially as I did this symptom of returning good sense and consistency. Hawkesbury's language was the more important; and it was the more important that it should be strongly remarked upon, as Addington had shirked in the meanest and most pitiful manner the whole of the questions which T. Grenville addressed to him; and indeed his (A.'s) whole exhibition was as contemptible as even I could wish. His own troops were heartily ashamed of him, and there is but one voice amongst all who heard his waverings and shufflings, that this man cannot govern the country; that we are not safe in his hands. Will he be the last man in the country to perceive this? We shall see on Wednesday how A. will face Fox if he comes down. *Then* (since he has not done it sooner) he must be called upon to adopt Hawkesbury's disavowal. But, depend upon it, Mr. P.'s presence would do us no good as yet. For God's sake let him remain quietly where he is, unpledged, unmixed with anything that is going forward. Assure him (what is strictly true) that his name was not once brought into question in last night's debate; nor shall be, unforced, by any of *us*.

The Grenvilles we cannot answer for, nor are they at all considered as answering for him. We keep ourselves quite distinct from them.

“You will be glad to hear, and so will Mr. P., that Sturges distinguished himself in last night’s debate most eminently. His speech was unquestionably the best of the night; and as a proof of its impression, old Pulteney came across the House to thank him for it, and to subscribe to every sentiment that it contained.

“Ever sincerely yours,

“G. C.”

MR. CANNING TO MR. ROSE.

“Conduit Street, Saturday, Dec. 4th.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Do not be alarmed lest I should have misunderstood *you*, or misquoted Mr. P., or quoted him at all. Be assured I have done no such thing. What I said to you of my readiness to say nothing if he had thought fit to say to me through you, ‘Hold your tongue,’ is purely between ourselves. I never quote him. I do not pretend to hear from him. Others do, but I hope I am not to believe them. I trust to hearing from you again on Tuesday.

“Ever sincerely yours,

“G. C.

“The effect of Thursday’s debate is excellent. The marked difference of the language of Addington and Hawkesbury, in respect to Fox’s doctrines, strikes people as one could wish. With Hawkesbury it is,

I am persuaded, Ryder's doing ; but I am heartily glad that *he* has profited by Ryder's advice. A., I trust and believe, is doubly armed in vanity and folly against any such impression."

MR. CANNING TO MR. ROSE.

"Conduit Street, Monday, Dec. 6th, 1802.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have this moment received your letter of yesterday, and as you talk of leaving Bath on Wednesday, lose not a moment in answering it.

"I am not sorry that you are *not* so satisfied with the result of Thursday, since your dissatisfaction is so entirely on the right side. I am quite aware that we did not do half of what we might have done ; but recollect the *fetters* in which *we* act from the dread of misrepresentation to Mr. P. ; from the apprehension of being mixed up too much in public opinion with the Grenville opposition of last year (which would do us a disservice just at the present moment that you cannot well calculate without being on the spot) ; and above all, under the uncertainty which some of the letters of last week from Bath had created, and which a thousand lying reports, circulated with incredible industry on Wednesday or Thursday, had contributed to aggravate, respecting the possibility of Mr. Pitt's coming up ; an event which, whatever had been the real motive, they (the Addingtons) would not have failed to ascribe to the opposition to *them* ; on which interpretation, our going one step or shade beyond what Mr. P.'s

opinion, when he arrived, might turn out to be, would have appeared to countenance them. The ‘others,’ to whom I alluded as quoting letters supposed to be received from Bath, are people hanging on to Addington and Hawkesbury, who have told those, that related it to me again (and I believe for the purpose of its being so related to me), that Mr. P. had written to A. last week, offering to come up if he was wanted; that he had written to Hawkesbury, dictating the answer to be made to Fox, in consequence of which H. made that declaration on Thursday; which *therefore*, perhaps, as well as on other accounts (I mean because it was understood to proceed from Mr. P., and because I believed it to proceed not indeed *directly* from *him*, but from Ryder speaking his sense), I thought it right to hail *for a great deal more than it was really worth*.

“In what sense he did write to Ryder, I would give much to know. Ryder’s wish to see Mr. P. where he ought to be, and where he must be again, it is impossible to doubt; but his tenderness for A. is so great, that he supplies him beforehand with all the means he can of meeting the strong points to be brought against him; and thereby, I think, throws difficulties in the way of Mr. P.’s return, in exact proportion as the faults which it is to remedy are rendered less observable. I cannot help being of opinion that in his precise situation he might properly *abstain* as much as Mr. P. himself does.

“Of what has been written to Long, if one is to judge from the effect, I cannot but judge well, as he

has not been in the House (I believe) since the first day—certainly has not stayed out any debate.

“After all, the essential point is that of which your letter of to-day brings the continued assurance,—Mr. P.’s not coming up. This will give us on Wednesday an opportunity of more free debate, and more clear *speaking out* than we have yet ventured. The two last debates, and especially the Attorney-General’s speech (which was a very good one of its kind), were full of taunting invitations to us to say distinctly what we meant,—whether we agreed with the Grenvilles in thinking Ministers unfit, &c. &c. And our *discretion—over-discretion*, I should think it, if there were not room to repair it on Wednesday—has had the effect of emboldening the Doctor’s friends to assert, and of inclining stupid and shabby people to believe, that all that we have been doing is *purely out of pique to Addington*, and not in the smallest degree from devotion to Mr. P. It is impossible to acquiesce in this imputation; but I am not sorry that we have borne it in silence thus long, and I hope that even on Wednesday that silence will not be broken without fresh and instant provocation:—but *that* we shall assuredly have, and as assuredly we must not suffer ourselves to be misconstrued and misrepresented to so mischievous a purpose any longer.

“Wednesday will afford opportunity for most of the observations in your letter;—many of which, however, were pressed out lightly last week, but remaining perfectly unanswered by Ministers, make the less figure in report.

“ I entreat you to let me have your last words from Bath. I cannot but be concerned that you are leaving him.

“ Ever, my dear Sir,

“ Most sincerely yours,

“ G. C.

“ Have you time to state your Exchequer Bills’ observations ? ”

CHAPTER X.

1802.

MR. ROSE'S DIARY, FROM THE 11TH OF NOVEMBER TO THE 27TH OF
DECEMBER, 1802.

[Mr. Rose's Diary of this year (1802) occupies only the two last months. The commencement of it is the substance of an attack which he would have made in the House of Commons upon the Addington administration, if he had not been prevented by Mr. Pitt. The rest consists of frequent conversations between them at Bath and at Cuffnells, in which the one is always using the spur and the other the rein; the one eager for the fray, the other checking his ardent desire to turn out the Government. It was not that Mr. Rose thirsted for place. He might have retained his office, and was vehemently pressed to do so by Mr. Pitt, at the time of his resignation; but he had been accustomed to see the reins of government held by a firm and unfaltering hand, and could not bear the feebleness and vacillations to which they were now consigned. Notwithstanding all the difficulties that stood in the way, and all the objections which were but too apparent, his devoted attachment to his

friend led him to conclude that nothing could save the country, which was then hovering between peace and war, but his return to power. But Mr. Pitt's attachment to the King weighed down the scale on the other side. He had promised his support and assistance; and the strictness of his principles bound him to keep that engagement, even under great provocation to think himself released from it; for Mr. Addington forgot that the obligations in such a contract are reciprocal: that if he wanted assistance, he must ask for it; that he could not expect to find in Mr. Pitt an obsequious follower, ready to support every measure, whether good or bad, and to sanction every plan, however objectionable, and proposed without his previous concurrence; that, in fact, the relation in which his predecessor stood to him was that of a guide, to be consulted on all occasions, to whose experience and authority he ought, for the most part, to defer. But that was not the light in which Mr. Addington chose to view it. He prided himself on being independent; and it was only at rare intervals, and under circumstances of great perplexity, that he resorted to Mr. Pitt for advice. It argues, therefore, a great amount of self-complacency in him, when his biographer declares that, "to the close of his life, he considered that he had been unkindly and unfairly treated by Mr. Pitt. He promised him his assistance and advice whenever he might request it, and nevertheless removed to a distance where it would be impossible to consult him;

he would neither be the adviser of the Administration nor its head: nothing would satisfy him but its dissolution.”¹

Could it really be expected that Mr. Pitt would put himself at the head of a Government falling to pieces from its weakness, without infusing some new blood into it? With this proviso, Mr. Addington was willing to accept his advice, but his Cabinet rejected it. His advice was never asked at any other time, except on two or three isolated points, of which no judgment could be formed separate from the context of his policy. It has been proved that he went to Bath for his health, though he sometimes stayed there to avoid being mixed up with the passing of measures about which he had not been consulted, and of which he disapproved. But Bath and Walmer were not situated in America or Australia. His friends found it not impossible to consult him at either of those places, and a letter would have reached him in two days. He who expected a servile assistance from him, as Aladdin did from the charm-bound Genius, deserved to be disappointed. It is true that when Lord Hawkesbury wrote to him, as related in these notes, in order to obtain from him an *ex-post facto* sanction to a course of policy about which he had never been consulted before, he evaded the compromising effects of that manœuvre by the plea that they were too far asunder; but it is quite obvious that this was not his real

¹ Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth.

opinion ; that it was only a specimen of diplomatic insincerity, a retort courteous for the disingenuous treatment which he felt that he had received. In one of his conversations he had stated that the plea of ignorance upon the subject would have drawn down upon him additional papers, which would only have added to his embarrassment : for he was too friendly to the Government to censure when it could do no good, and he was too honest to applaud what he was unable to approve. The whole object of his answer was to prevent his hearing anything more about the matter. It was not impossible that it was too late.—ED.]

MR. ROSE'S DIARY RESUMED.

Cuffnells, Thursday, November 11.—On reflecting on the present appearance of public affairs, uninformed as I am of what has been doing by Government during the last two or three months, I think it right before I see Mr. Pitt, to embody in a few notes what occurs to me from the conjectures I can form.

If Ministers have held a language to France that their proceedings in Switzerland (violent, atrocious, and unjustifiable as they have been) shall be considered as a just ground of war,—or if they have used anything like a serious threat that this country will resent them, especially if that has been done without a certainty that Austria will be a principal in the quarrel,—it will be difficult to find terms strong enough to express a censure of their conduct ; especially as at the time

the correspondence began, the remotest hope could not be entertained of the co-operation of Russia, because the change of the Minister of that country by the appointment of Count Woronzow, brother to the Great Chancellor, (who is unfortunately suspected to be corrupt, and not to have so decided an influence as was at first supposed,) had not then taken place. This opinion is formed not under a doubt of the infinite importance that ought to be attached to the independence of Switzerland, nor from a want of a warm feeling for the cruel and lamentable situation that *that* brave and virtuous people are in; but from a clear and strong conviction that our interposition can produce no possible good to the sufferers. It is quite certain that we can send them no force, and that even with the aid of our purse, they cannot collect a sufficient strength to resist the power of France suddenly poured in upon them, as well from that country as from Italy. Can any man in his senses hope that the First Consul will attend to the threats¹ of our Ministers (conveyed in the strongest expressions they could devise) to save Switzerland, important as it is to all his views of aggrandizement and security, when they tamely and quietly suffered the most direct and unequivocal insults and injuries to be inflicted upon us since the signing the preliminaries, without, as it is believed, a representation on the subject? It will be sufficient to state a few of these occurrences.

¹ Demosthenes, in the Second Olynthiac, observes, "Words, in general, if not supported by deeds, appear frivolous and vain; and in proportion as we use them with greater promptitude and alacrity, so do all mankind more assuredly disbelieve them."

First.—France prevailed with Spain, or rather ordered her, to cede the province of Louisiana; the importance of which does not appear to me to be sufficiently felt. The French have everything now within their grasp except the precious metals. In this province they may assemble with ease an army sufficient for the conquest of Mexico, on which it borders. The soil and climate are equal to any in the world; and if it shall be found difficult to march an army to take possession of the Spanish wealth, on account of not being able to find provisions, &c. in an unsettled country, the voyage across the Gulf must be short (favoured by the trade wind), and not easily interrupted. This will not appear romantic, or improbable, when the spirit of enterprise of French troops is considered, especially under a certainty of acquiring great wealth and other luxuries; and the invincible indolence and want of discipline of the Spaniards, as well as the utter dislike the natives have to them. The acquisition gives the French also an immense influence with the American States, by completely bringing under their subjection the State of Kentucky, already a very flourishing county, and likely to become infinitely more so, from the healthiness of the climate and the fertility of the soil, in which respects it has at least equal advantages with Louisiana, and is better inhabited. The exports from Kentucky already amount to about 1,500,000*l.*, though it has not been settled five-and-twenty years. The communication between it and the other States of America, for the conveyance of goods by land, is impracticable, being divided from them by the Alle-

ghany mountains. The only outlet it has, therefore, is by the Ohio, which falls into the Mississippi; which latter is navigable much higher than where it receives the former, without either a fall or a rapid. The situation of New Orleans, about thirty or forty leagues up the river, must give the French the command of the navigation most completely. Must not the representatives of this State be under the direct influence of France in the Congress? And will not the mischief of stopping the trade between this and other parts of the continent of America, produce a considerable effect in the other States? It will evidently, too, shut us out of all trade with the county of Kentucky, fruitful in flour, hemp, and naval stores.

Secondly.—France was permitted to consolidate with itself the Italian Republic, deeply affecting thereby not only the balance of power in Europe, *but some of the most important commercial interests of this country*.—Compare this alone with Switzerland!

Thirdly.—She was allowed to make such terms in the definitive treaty respecting Malta, as insured to her the possession of that island whenever she should please to have it; the insufficiency of a Neapolitan garrison is notorious. But if the bravest troops in the world had been stipulated for, and adequate in number to the defence of the place, the French would have nothing to do but to direct the King of Naples to order his troops to march out and allow their's to possess themselves of the island; and he must instantly obey, or they would without hesitation dispossess him of his kingdom. If the French should

not avail themselves of the interval while the Neapolitans are in Malta to get possession of it, how is it afterwards to be preserved in a state of independency? There is no way in which an income can be found to maintain a sufficient garrison and support the whole establishments. The revenue of the island is trifling; the estates of the Knights are almost all gone; those in Germany are distributed amongst the indemnities; in Spain they are confiscated; in France they are of course passed into other hands;—in short, none of any consequence are left. The provisions therefore under the definitive treaty were a mockery upon us, and not capable of being carried into effect.

Nothing surely can be worse than loose stipulations in a treaty of peace, or such as are difficult to execute. They are sure to occasion strife and ill-blood, and when a proper time occurs bloody and expensive wars. It were better infinitely at once to know what we are to depend upon,—the best or the worst we have to expect. In making peace, it is of the last importance to avoid, as far as honour and foresight will enable us, the occasion of future wars.

Fourthly.—The Island of Elba, (which in our hands had proved impregnable,) ceded by the definitive treaty to Tuscany, was immediately taken from the King of Etruria, a monarch of French creation, and annexed to the dominions of France; which country thereby acquired another important port in that part of the Mediterranean, for the protection of their commerce and the annoyance of ours. Tuscany too was taken into their hands, including the important

port of Leghorn; and in the East Indies the still infinitely more important port of Cochin. No notice is taken of the advantages acquired to France on the side of Brazil, by the boundaries as settled by the definitive treaty. I do not understand that part of the subject sufficiently to remark upon it with accuracy.

It is quite clear that the four points before enumerated, relate distinctly and plainly to the immediate interests of this country; and to these may be added France retaining possession of the port of Flushing (and of course of the whole Island of Walcheren in which is the port of Middleburg, the principal mart for the East India trade), a most important one for their own commerce, and in a future war for the annoyance of ours; giving the French too a *direct* power in the affairs of Holland, deeply affecting our commerce and navigation, as well as greatly adding to the before gigantic strength of France. All these occurrences happened after the signing of the preliminary articles of peace. These were borne, as far as the public are aware, with patience; they were certainly borne with submission;—for not a single remonstrance was known to have been made,—not an observation upon them in the papers favourable to Government. So matters stood, when the French, in the month of September, interfered in a most atrocious manner with the affairs of Switzerland, and in October proceeded to acts of positive violence. Here the Ministers interfered, to what extent I know not,—but they *certainly* made the conduct of France a

subject of loud complaint and remonstrance, if not of threat.¹ Much pains were taken to rouse the feelings and spirit of the country, by the papers connected with Government, and with considerable success. Having so roused them, the Ministers appeared to feel strong, and to decide on hostility if France should not recede. Thus in the spirit of chivalry and romance, embarking in the cause of Switzerland (without any aid or support whatever); after having allowed the French to injure and to insult us in the manner already alluded to under the four different heads,—deeply affecting our navigation and commercial interest.²

It is essential next to consider the state this country was in when we patiently submitted to these injuries.

Firstly.—We had then the greatest navy, beyond all comparison, that this country ever had, with 135,000 seamen.

Secondly.—We had a large army well disciplined and inured to service.

¹ On this part of the subject it is curious to refer to the address on the peace, as proposed by Mr. Windham, and as amended by the Ministers:—"And above all, that his Majesty will uniformly determine and prepare to defend against every encroachment the great sources of the wealth, commerce, and naval power of the empire." On these points can there be any comparison between the annexing all Italy, Louisiana, probably Malta, Flushing, &c. &c. to France; and her establishing her power more firmly in Switzerland?

² "A spirited behaviour in almost any circumstance of strength, is the most politic as well as the most honourable course. We preserve a respect at least by it, and with that we generally preserve everything; but when we lose respect, everything is lost. We invite rather than suffer insults, and the first is the only one we can resist with prudence."—*Account of the European Settlements in America.* (Supposed to have been written by Burke).

We had a disciplined militia that had been embodied nine years.

We had about 30,000 volunteers, in general tolerably well trained, and in most places well instructed how to act and what to do in the event of an invasion.

We had a great number of armed vessels hired, and ships fitted, for the defence of the coast.

There were in the whole 101 sail of pendants, under the command of Lord Nelson, between Beachy Head (Hastings) and Harwich, for the protection of the coasts of Sussex, Kent, and part of Essex, to prevent the approach of the enemy to the capital.

Thirdly.—We had almost all the colonies of France and Holland, and some of those of Spain.

Fourthly.—We had upwards of 25,000 French seamen, and more than 10,000 Dutch and Spanish, in our prisons.

Fifthly.—The commerce and navigation of France were utterly annihilated; those of Holland and Spain most materially crippled; and the manufactures of the former in a state of the utmost depression.

And lastly.—Exclusively of all these advantages, while the definitive treaty was depending, an account came of Toussaint resisting the force sent by the First Consul against Saint Domingo, which put completely at our mercy twenty-nine sail of the line, with frigates, armed transports, &c., and 35,000 troops. If we had interposed hostility, we should not only have secured the greatest part of these, but have enabled Toussaint

to resist successfully the attempts of France, and deprived her for a long time at least, perhaps for ever, of that invaluable island, the trade to which, when the island was in full cultivation, was considerably more than one-third of the whole commerce of France. By an account in my possession the value of the exports from Saint Domingo to France alone, was to the amount of 10,000,000*l.* sterling; and to America they were immense.

After losing such an opportunity as this, and suffering the injuries before enumerated under the four heads, when we were armed at all points,—we are now threatening to go to war for the protection of Switzerland! And in what condition are we for war as compared with our situation in the five preceding instances?

The following table shows the *average* number of seamen in each year, not the greatest number in each; and to these are to be added the men in the hired armed ships, cutters, armed transports and storeships;—in the whole 7 or 8000 men at the least:—

	VOTED.	ACTUALLY MUSTERED.
1793 . . .	45,000	59,000.
1794 . . .	85,000	83,700.
1795 . . .	100,000	101,700.
1796 . . .	110,000	112,800.
1797 . . .	120,000	120,000.
1798 . . .	120,000	119,900.
1799 . . .	120,000	122,500.
1800 . . .	120,000	128,700.
1801 . . .	135,000	132,800.

This would afford an encouraging prospect for the re-manning our navy two or three or more years hence

with an increased trade ; but it is perfectly certain for the reasons stated, that *that* could not be expected *now*.

In the first place,—our navy at present is reduced almost to the peace establishment ; not more than 44,000 men left, without a hope of getting as many more in the course of two or three years. No exertions will man a frigate ; nor can it be expected that after a service of six, seven, eight, or nine years, men will immediately enter as they did in the former war, though in a year or two they would probably not be reluctant. We should not in the first year get men enough to complete the crews of the ships wanted for the protection of the capital, on the scale of the last war, and all the rest of the coast left destitute, as well as our foreign possessions.

Secondly.—Our army is greatly reduced, with a difficulty of recruiting it as in the case of the navy. Ministers say we have a stronger army and navy now than we ever had before in peace. But the comparison with a view to the present question is to be made with what they were in the war ;—more especially considering the means of strength and offence we have given to the French.

The militia are disembodied, —and when re-assembled the men will be raw and undisciplined ; many of the officers too have quitted, and few will be found to supply their places.

The volunteer corps are disembodied, and in most instances will not be found again.

The armed vessels are discharged and the gun-boats sold.

Thirdly.—All the colonies of France and Holland are restored, not only affording those countries the means of commerce and navigation, but of reviving their manufactures ; and, worst of all, of getting possession of our colonies in the West Indies, and of greatly annoying us in the East Indies.¹

Fourthly.—The French have the whole number of from 25,000 to 35,000 seamen to man their fleet at once, as under their government they will be able to lay their hands on them directly.

Fifthly.—The commerce and navigation of France is already or in part restored, and will progressively go on, having the whole Mediterranean to herself, and advantageous treaties with Spain and Turkey ; Italy her own ; and the East Indies opened to her.

Lastly.—Saint Domingo is now quietly in the possession of France.

When the whole of this plain statement is considered, is it possible to account for the conduct of Ministers but by imputing it to the weakest imbecility ? They suffer the grossest injuries from France, affecting directly our commerce, navigation,² &c. &c. when they had in their hands the means of repelling them ; and as soon as they have greatly reduced the force of the country, they threaten to go to war for an object interesting enough, God knows, but one not *immediately* connected with the welfare of Great Britain, or affecting our commercial interests, &c.

¹ Cochin given up to France by the Dutch ; which can only be for the purpose of annoying us, as there is no commerce to that place.

² See again the Address on the Peace.

What has been said of the Ministers putting up with the injuries before enumerated, applies only to them personally. In reasoning on the expediency of war or peace at present, that conduct, I am aware, should not be mixed with the question. The gross inconsistency of their proceedings is sufficient to decide as to their utter incapacity for their situations; but when that is admitted, and taking the question of Switzerland by itself, no rational man will suppose we ought, in the actual state of the country and of its resources in various respects, to threaten France with war. It is ridiculous to suppose she will mind our bullying when we cannot strike. We must thus recede, and add one more degradation to the list before given, and so confirm more strongly to France that she may treat us as she pleases with impunity. Is not this, as I have already said, rather provoking insults than merely bearing them? It was truly observed that the first is the only one that can safely be resisted.

'These are the reflections which occur to me,'¹ and which I have thus hastily stated before I leave Cuffinells, in consequence of a letter from Mr. Pitt, at Bath, requesting me to go to him there.

Bath, November 13th, 1802.—Arrived at Bath, and found Lord Camden and Lord Carrington with Mr. Pitt. In the evening I was quite alone with the latter.

¹ I had determined to state these in my place in the House of Commons, under a persuasion that such a statement would open the eyes of many independent and respectable men to the utter incapacity and unfitness of the present Ministers; but I was so strongly dissuaded from it by Mr. Pitt, as to induce me to give it up.

I learnt from him that he had known nothing during the latter part of the summer of what had been going forward respecting foreign politics but what he collected from newspapers, except that in passing through London, on his way from Walmer here, he had some conversation with Lord Castlereagh, Lord Hawkesbury, and Mr. Addington. That even then he saw no papers, and could therefore have only an imperfect knowledge of the steps they had taken respecting the business of Switzerland, or of the grounds on which they had proceeded; but that from all he knew he thought Ministers had done right in interposing about Switzerland, even without having previously ascertained whether we could have a co-operation of the German Emperor; that as the Swiss had applied to us, with offers on their part to resist the tyranny and injustice of France, if they could have our support, our refusing them *that* until we could hear from Vienna, might occasion the loss of a favourable opportunity of preventing a further dangerous aggrandizement of the power of France.

I found, in the course of the conversation, that Mr. Pitt had been led to express the foregoing opinion to the Ministers he talked with (Lord Castlereagh is in the Cabinet); and knowing the generosity of his nature, with the high point of honour on which he invariably acts, it occurred to me strongly and irresistibly, that the proceeding on the part of Mr. A. and Lord H. was unfair in the highest degree. I mean by making no previous communication, nor consulting Mr. Pitt at all, in the course of the correspondence with France,

and then endeavouring to entrap him into a sanction of measures which they now find will either make them superlatively ridiculous or involve the country in war, for an object *already absolutely lost*, by the unequivocal submission of Switzerland ; but which, if still open for contention, would be beyond all possible comparison of less importance to the country than those already mentioned, which they shamefully bore with tameness and pusillanimity. I found too that Mr. Pitt meant to attend Parliament on the 23d, (the debate on the King's speech), and from all that passed I had a firm and clear conviction that in that case he would, on the principle on which he has acted invariably since his resignation, commit himself to an approbation of the measures taken by Government with respect to Switzerland. Under the impression stated in a preceding page, deeply fixed in my mind, and persuaded that it was of the last importance to the public good and to his own unsullied character, that he should not lose the weight and consideration which he now justly has in the country,¹ by supporting measures, which I am most confidently persuaded he would not himself have adopted if he had been in administration, I used all the means in my power to dissuade him from attending the House of Commons

¹ It is hardly possible to imagine anything so extraordinary respecting the public mind, as the warm and universal esteem in which he is at this moment held by all descriptions of persons, when it is considered that the grounds on which he went out of office are yet unexplained, which is incalculably to his disadvantage ; and that every newspaper, except the *True Briton*, is eternally abusing him ; and even that is much louder in commendation of Mr. Addington than of him.

on the day of the opening of the Session. He discussed the matter with me temperately, and with his usual kindness, but came to no determination. He told me Lord Bathurst, who was here a few days ago, had expressed the same wish, without saying why, or entering into any reasons for it.

Sunday, November 14th.—A good deal of general conversation in the course of the day, chiefly respecting the opinions Mr. Pitt had entertained and expressed to some of the Ministers, about the interposition in favour of Switzerland; in the course of which he relaxed a good deal as to the propriety of it.

Monday, November 15th.—The conversation was renewed respecting Mr. Pitt's attending Parliament on the opening, and with regard to my intentions already referred to. Mr. Pitt said, if I made such a statement as that, it would be impossible to avoid people suspecting that I was acting in concert with him, more especially as it would be known that I had been with him here; that if he absented himself as I wished, and I went up, it would not be to be wondered at if it should be said and believed that the part I took was connected with him. I felt the justice of this observation, but renewed my urgency respecting the importance of his not committing himself, so as to be implicated in the blunders and disgrace of the Ministers. And the discussion ended in a positive assurance from Mr. Pitt that he would not go to London, and on my promising to remain here with him, with which he declared himself to *be perfectly satisfied*.

Mr. Pitt, however, said he could not avoid going to

London for the votes for the army and navy, if there should be the least difficulty about a large peace establishment.

In the course of the discussion this day I found Mr. Pitt much less reluctant about taking office. He at first urged to me the improbability of his being able, if he came in, to do anything of essential service to the country ; to which I replied, I thought he might in the finances, and settling the peace establishment ; but above all, that a strong Government, in which the country would have confidence, and that would be respected abroad, would prevent a repetition of insults and injuries, which would otherwise be heaped upon us till we should be compelled to go to war ; and that if it should not be able to avert that evil, it would be prompt in making the utmost exertions the country should be found capable of, at the first moment they could be made,—which is evidently of the last importance.

Mr. Canning having written earnestly desiring to see me in my way to London, if possible, and if not, as soon as possible after my arrival there, I this day wrote to him, to say that Mr. Pitt had decided to stay here, which I was perfectly sure was right, and that I should remain with him. I expressed a wish also that Lord Grenville might not go such lengths in the House of Lords, as might make it extremely difficult for Mr. Pitt and him to act together ; which I did in the hope that it would be conveyed to his Lordship, and take the chance (however desperate) of its producing some effect.

Tuesday, November 16th.—Nothing material occurred in the course of this day ; but I took different opportunities of quietly suggesting what occurred to me, as carrying conviction, that our interposition (especially considering the manner of it), in favour of Switzerland, could have no other end than humbling the country by one more degradation, and so provoking further aggression ; which seemed to me to produce considerable impression on Mr. Pitt, and made him *entirely satisfied* with his determination not to leave Bath.

Wednesday, November 17th.—This morning, Mr. Canning arrived about nine, in consequence of my letter, having travelled all night. Finding that Mr. Pitt would not go up, he wished to discuss some points with him.

I had much conversation with Mr. Canning, in which I did not disguise from him at all my general view of matters, nor the advice I had given to Mr. Pitt.

In the evening, I was alone with Mr. Pitt, and he told me he had received in the forenoon a packet from Lord Hawkesbury, with papers respecting matters now depending with France, accompanied by a wish to know his opinion on the whole subject ; and that he felt very considerably embarrassed by it. This led to a further retrospect of all that we had before discussed, and especially as to the opinion he expressed in his way hither from Walmer ; on which subject I said all I could to strengthen his mind, on the ground of his being surprised in a manner not at all justifiable. He admitted that the papers now sent were by no means

sufficient to enable him to judge of all that has passed ; but said, if he should state that as the reason for giving no opinion, they would, of course, furnish him with more papers. After much consideration, he agreed to write to Lord Hawkesbury “that he felt the absolute impossibility of making up his mind on proceedings of such a nature as he had consulted him upon, by any information that could be communicated at the distance they were from each other.” So I trust he stands clear of any responsibility, and cannot be identified with the blunderers, which appears to be equally important to his own character and the public good.

Thursday, November 18th.—Mr. Canning communicated to me a plan in agitation (amongst persons who are strongly of opinion that the weakness and imbecility of the present Government must plunge the country deeper and deeper in disgrace and mischief) to induce Mr. Addington to relinquish the government, by convincing him of the dangerous situation in which he stands, and the want of confidence of the country in him ; the hope of accomplishing which rests on some very respectable men, entirely unconnected with Mr. Pitt, making such a statement as shall shake Mr. Addington, and prevail with him to make overtures to Mr. Pitt ; a persuasion being entertained that if Mr. Addington refuses that, a separation from Mr. Pitt must necessarily follow.

This plan struck me instantly as very unlikely to succeed, as well as highly objectionable, and to be attended with considerable hazard :—not likely to suc-

ceed, because unless there should be a decided falling off of support in Parliament, or a plain manifestation of the public mind in some unequivocal way, Mr. Addington's vanity will never allow him to believe the country entertains any belief of his insufficiency, or that it wishes for a change; he might also find difficulties with his colleagues: hazardous, because, if there should be the remotest trace of any concert with Mr. Pitt in the plan, or any plausible ground afforded for imputing that to him, it would be likely to affect his character deeply. In this Lord Camden concurs, to whom Mr. Canning mentioned the plan, as well as to me. I am strengthened in my opinion, too, by learning from Mr. Canning that the person proposed to take the lead in the business is Mr. Cartwright, member for Northamptonshire; who, although as respectable and independent a man as lives, is known to be an enthusiastic admirer of Mr. Pitt, and was the person who seconded the motion of thanks to him in the last Parliament.

Mr. Canning assured me that Lord Grenville had a most anxious desire to continue well with Mr. Pitt, and that he would do nothing to produce a separation from him; that he would not take the line in the House of Lords of endeavouring to force the country into a war, in any event, as its only resource against the spirit of ambition and aggrandizement of France; and that his Lordship had given him the most unequivocal assurance that he would be entirely satisfied if he could see Mr. Pitt again in the Administration, without a desire of coming into office himself. On the

whole, I derive great comfort at the account Mr. Canning gave me of the state of Lord Grenville's mind, and of his intentions.

In the evening, Mr. Canning set off for London.

Friday, November 19th.—Lord Camden left us to go to Lord Bathurst's and to London; and Lord Mulgrave arrived. In the evening, more conversation with Mr. Pitt about his coming into office. He admitted to me that he now found his health quite equal to the duties of it; and that he should have no reluctance to enter on them again, if his coming in could be brought about in a manner perfectly satisfactory to himself.

I thought it right, in this conversation, to mention to Mr. Pitt the plan respecting which Mr. Canning had talked to Lord Camden and to me, that I might not, in discouraging it, act upon my own judgment; and he concurred entirely with Lord Camden and me on the subject.

Thinking over what passed last night, I talked to Mr. Pitt about difficulties that might occur in arrangements, even if the way to his taking office should be opened in a manner that might satisfy him; and I suggested, in particular, a serious doubt whether he could be safe in taking his former situation, with Mr. A. in the Cabinet, considering the personal influence the latter had acquired with the King, and the degree of weight he would have with him. To which Mr. Pitt answered he should have no apprehension of *that*; that he was persuaded the King must have seen there is no firmness of character in Mr. A., and

that his Majesty must also be convinced before now of his deficiency in other respects. I own, however, I am not at ease on the point. His Majesty may be aware of what is obvious enough in Mr. A.; and yet the latter may have so ingratiated himself, as to have it in his power to make impressions on the King's mind very unfavourable to any one he may wish to injure. I know the use that has been made of partial or inaccurate information of what has passed in the Cabinet in the last Administration, as well as on other occasions.

Mr. Pitt thought he could not make any arrangement that should exclude Lord Hawkesbury or Lord Castlereagh, both of whom he pressed to take office with the present Government.

The conversation was renewed about the mode in which he should decline to give any opinion on the present state of foreign affairs, and what has been done on the subject; and Mr. Pitt promised he would write to Lord H., as was agreed on Wednesday; and that he would also write to Mr. Addington, thinking it better to speak out to him at once. He agreed with me, on reflection, that it is hardly possible it can be necessary he should fulfil his intention of going to the House for the army and navy votes, as alluded to on Monday last, there not being the remotest probability of large ones being objected to. In the event of his not going up, he said he would stay here till about the 18th of December; then go to Cuffnells with me for two or three days, and proceed by the coast to Walmer.

Sunday, November 21st.—Received a letter this morning from Mr. Canning, in which he says, “ Lord Grenville (whom I have seen to-day) appears to enter cordially into all the considerations of delicacy towards Mr. Pitt which you thought it of so much importance that he should entertain ; and that the line of argument which he has laid down to himself is one which will carry him *safely* past all the embarrassing and uncomfortable points of difference between them. There is no intention of moving an amendment.” This gives me great comfort, and is, indeed, all that could be expected or wished from Lord Grenville ; as it affords the best possible chance of Mr. Pitt and him acting together, if an occasion shall offer. Mr. Pitt has written to-day, as he agreed to do yesterday, to Lord Hawkesbury, not only declining to give an opinion as to what has been done, but in a manner that must prevent their attempting to draw him in to mix himself by advice in councils, for which he ought in no degree to be responsible.

No copy of the speech sent to Mr. Pitt, in which he expressed great satisfaction, as relieving him from any embarrassment on the subject.

Monday, November 22d.—I found, from the conversation at breakfast this morning, that Mr. Pitt did not write to Mr. Addington yesterday, thinking it would be too formal ; but that he stated to Lord Hawkesbury that the sort of approbation he had conveyed of measures, when he was passing through London, must not be considered as at all conclusive, as it arose from partial information ; and that, on the

subject of the despatch which he returned to him, he could make no observation at all. That he would on no account attend the House of Commons; that he imagined, indeed, there was little chance of that being of any importance; but that, in any event, he knew too little of the grounds on which they had proceeded to be of any use; and that it was essential to his health to persevere in drinking the waters. Lord H. had written, pressing urgently Mr. Pitt's attendance in the House of Commons.

Tuesday, November 23d.—Mr. Pitt is decidedly of opinion that Ministers will recede from their complaints of the conduct of France, which must necessarily be a submission to the First Consul;¹ and as necessarily an encouragement to him to offer injuries or insults of a more direct nature to us than overrunning Switzerland; and that no occasion is less likely to interest Austria than the late business. If Buonaparte should now take measures without disguise, for securing Malta, or wait till he gets the Cape, all the difficulties of our situation, suggested before, will open upon us as forcibly as they do now. We must expect *that*, because we have provoked it. Is the island of Malta, in the present moment, an object to go to war for? Where will the encroachments and aggrandizement of France end? She will next unite Holland with herself; will again get possession of Egypt, of which we shall not be able a second time to dispossess her. In neither of which

¹ This of course arises out of the despatch of Lord Hawkesbury, which he returned to his Lordship on Sunday.

cases will Austria move a finger, as Switzerland was an object infinitely nearer to her than these.

Wednesday, November 24th.—Mr. Pitt received a letter from Lord Camden, who had seen Lord Spencer and Lord Grenville, both concurring that his returning to office is the only thing that can save the country ; confirming what Mr. Canning wrote, that they would not move an amendment to the address, but that, consistently with the line they had firmly taken, they must of necessity expose the conduct of the Administration in their late proceedings (which I cannot regret), and point out to the public the absurdity of them ; not intending, however, to go on making motions in the House of Lords, or to take any measures merely to harass Government. That Lord Lowther had been applied to to move the address, which he had declined. Lord Nelson was to second. Mover not settled, but hopes of the Duke of Rutland. That it appeared to him (Lord Camden) that Lord Lowther had been consulted on the suggestion of a statement to Mr. Addington of the necessity of Mr. Pitt's coming in, and of the propriety of its being proposed by Mr. Addington himself.

Mr. Long told Lord Camden that the opinions of influential persons in the City appeared to be that Government had been too brisk in holding a threatening language, and too ready to recede. That D. Jennens had seen General Anderossi, who said to him the clouds were gathering, and would soon burst ; an indication probably of the intentions of Buonaparte.

Lord Camden had a conversation with Lord Castle-reagh, who particularly regretted Mr. Pitt's absence, but would not blame it, on Lord Camden stating the ground of want of information, &c. The latter endeavoured to impress on persons in general whom he saw, that Mr. Pitt's absence was owing only to the state of his health.¹

Lord Bathurst thinks Mr. Pitt should go up for the vote of the army and navy, to take an opportunity of giving a support to Government relative to the country being put in a state of respectable defence, and of showing to the public that he is not desirous of abandoning it altogether in a time of great difficulty. I am not averse to that. My anxiety from the first has been, that Mr. Pitt should be kept quite clear of all participation in the blunders and mischief of the late proceedings of the Cabinet respecting Switzerland.

Thursday, November 25th.—Received a letter from Lord Camden, expressing a wish to know whether I had learnt Mr. Pitt's sentiments respecting the plan alluded to above, as his Lordship suspects Mr. Canning has not been discreet in his language; and rather speaks as he wishes, than as he is authorized to do. To which I answered, that I had thought it safer and better to talk with Mr. Pitt on that plan,

¹ [In the King's speech this sentence occurred:—

“To maintain the true principles of the constitution in CHURCH and State, are the great and leading duties which you are called upon to discharge.”

Upon which Mr. Rose remarks:—

“The CHURCH could only be introduced into the speech to revive what led to Mr. Pitt going out of office, and to create fresh difficulty to his returning to it; *and so it strikes him.*”—ED.]

than to act at all on my own judgment about it ; though I was nearly certain he could not approve of any measure being taken by his friends to attain the end proposed. I therefore had a full conversation with Mr. Pitt about Mr. Canning's suggestion the day his Lordship left us, and found him entirely concurring with us in the matter ; that Canning had indeed promised he would not stir in it ; and that I hoped his zeal (however well intended) would not lead him to take any step which might in the remotest possible degree implicate Mr. Pitt.

[A long account of the speeches in Parliament upon the address is here omitted, with the criticisms upon them ; such details having now lost their interest, and affecting very little the character of the speakers.—Ed.]

Friday, November 26th.—Lord FitzHarris wrote to his father that Canning's speech was not as much cheered as he could have wished ;—that there appeared in the House much apathy, and on the part of individual members a considerable degree of neutrality, as if waiting for something to lead their opinion, and to direct their judgment. And that in the House of Lords *that* opinion was still stronger ;—that Lord Pelham told him, when they met in the House at half-past three, no Peer had been found who could be prevailed on, by any entreaties, to move the address ; and that at last they were reduced to the necessity of resorting to Lord Arden.¹ Lord FitzHarris described

¹ Recently made a Peer by Mr. Addington.

Lord Grenville's speech as remarkably able, and the defence very weak.

This state of doubt and of uncertainty in the minds of the members of both Houses, the truth of which I have no doubt of, rather confirms the inclination of my mind as to the expediency and propriety of Mr. Pitt going to London to attend the House on the vote for the army, in order, by the line he may then take, to show (without reflecting in the smallest degree on the conduct of Ministers) that he has had no communication with them on the late proceedings respecting continental politics; but at the same time taking the opportunity to hold an encouraging language to the country, and to give a *right* tone to the public opinion, which may otherwise take a *wrong* one.

Mr. Pitt showed me letters from Lord Grenville, Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Canning.

Lord Grenville, in substance, expressed a hope that if Mr. Pitt should not agree with him in the whole extent of his speech of Tuesday, yet he trusted there was nothing in it different from the ideas he had before stated to him. 'That what he said of the only mode by which the country could be saved,'¹ he spoke from the sincerity of his heart, without the remotest idea to his own interest or ambition;—with no wish beyond the enjoyment, peaceably and securely, of the station in the country in which Mr. Pitt's friendship not unseconded by his own exertions) had placed

Mr. Pitt coming into office.

him. He doubted, however, whether both security and independence are not out of our reach. His sense of the absolute impossibility of safety but in Mr. Pitt's hands, has increased greatly since the meeting of Parliament; taking the language of Ministers in the House of Commons (for in the House of Lords they are incapable even of answering an attack) that the general impression they wish to give, is of a resolution to execute the peace to the very last iota in despite of everything which has occurred, or may occur, on the part of France. That the countenance Ministers give to Fox's declaration against war *in any case*, and the degree to which they court and receive his protection, sheltering themselves under his wing from attacks, and answering them only by criminations of all that passed before their accession to office, have *lowered materially the tone and spirit of the public*. That Ministers have, to a certain extent, succeeded in impressing the public with a belief that Mr. Pitt's return to office must tend to a renewal of the war; whereas his (Lord G.'s) sincere opinion, which he stated, is, that Mr. Pitt's return is precisely the only possible mode by which peace can be preserved. That the only thing which gives the Ministers support is the persuasion that they will not go to war. Lord Grenville added that he learns, from a quarter of indisputable authority, that Cochin is ceded to France by Holland; and that the Vienna news is, that the First Consul has laid hands on Tuscany.

Mr. Canning states the protection afforded to

Government by Mr. Fox, and the complacency with which it was received; dwells a good deal on the attacks made on the old Government, particularly respecting the proceedings at the treaty of Lisle; justifying those at Amiens, particularly by Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Addington,—the former in a violent authoritative declamation; and the latter, in a style of crimination of his predecessors entirely uncalled for by anything that had passed. Thinks if Mr. Pitt is not Minister, Mr. Fox will be. Is persuaded that no out-of-doors' measure (such as had been thought of) will attain the end. (I am heartily glad he now sees this.) Says the Ministers are determined to hold out. Thinks the impression against them must work and spread; and that it is doing so already.

Mr. RYDER thinks that what fell from Mr. Addington did not justify the manner in which Canning took it up. He thinks Mr. A. alluded only to the old comparison between the *Projet* of Lisle and the *Treaty* of Amiens, for the purpose of arguing that Lord Temple (still less Lord Grenville) could not fairly state that there was not so much difference in the terms of the two as to make such a material difference in the danger of our situation. That Lord Hawkesbury dwelt more upon the distinction between a first *projet* and a treaty: and contended that, considering the difference of the circumstances, as much attention was shown to our allies in one case as in the other. To the unfairness of that comparison some objections were made by Lord Morpeth. Canning stated the

projet as an *ultimatum*;¹ and commented on the *generosity* of the present Ministers in justifying themselves at the expense of their predecessors. Bragge remarked, that the observations respecting the two treaties had been made before; and that Canning's present conduct would not answer the end proposed. On the whole, Mr. Ryder saw nothing in the speeches of Lord H. or Mr. A. that called for Mr. Canning's attack; and thinks they had no such intention as imputed to them, as the argument had been repeatedly used last year. Regrets much Mr. Pitt's absence, at a time when the knowledge of his opinions, and the tone he would give, is much wanted. Mr. Ryder does not go into the extremes of the violent alarmists, yet is far from being satisfied with the tone taken by Government. There is too much apparent acquiescence (in spite of words thrown in now and then to the contrary) in the opinion of Fox and Wilberforce; or at least too little disposition to state distinctly the points in which they differ from them. Thinks the times must soon call Mr. Pitt forth; but

¹ This was not correct. It is true as to Lord Grenville only, who would certainly have gone out of office rather than have receded from it. But it is equally certain that when Lord Malmesbury's instructions were delivered to him, Mr. Pitt stated to him distinctly, that if he found the French plenipotentiary would not accede to the terms of the *projet*, he should be allowed to resort to the Cabinet for further instructions; and Mr. Pitt further told Lord M. (in full confidence that his Lordship would exert his utmost energy to obtain all that was proposed in the *projet*) that if he failed in that, he should be authorized to give up the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Pitt said this however, under a fixed persuasion that in that event Lord Grenville would resign. Mr. Canning probably knew nothing of this: but it was unfair of him to make any assertion on the subject.

wishes to see him march in through open doors, and not through a breach.

Saturday, November 27th.—Mr. Pitt continues to express the utmost willingness to take office himself if a fair occasion shall offer; but thinks it quite impossible for Lord Grenville to come in with him, if such an occasion soon presents itself, on account of the language he has invariably held respecting the present Ministers. About that, however, no difficulty can arise, if his Lordship is sincere in the expressions in his letter, the substance of which I stated yesterday. Of this, however, there is no reason to doubt.

On reading the debate of Wednesday, as given in all the papers, it is curious to observe Mr. Fox's language respecting the folly of quarrelling with France on commercial points, compared with the language he held in the debate on the commercial treaty with France in 1786-7. He *now* thinks all commercial jealousies foolish and contemptible. He *then* thought an easy commercial intercourse with France highly objectionable, as likely to abate that spirit of hostility which should always exist in the minds of the people of this country against France.

Sunday, November 28th.—Mr. Pitt, this morning, expressed to me that he should feel considerable embarrassment on going to London, from what he conceived to be an impossibility of avoiding to see some of the Ministers previous to his being in the House of Commons, particularly his brother; that he could, indeed, as little avoid seeing Lord Castlereagh (who had lately taken office at his particular entreaty)

and Lord Hawkesbury, nor, if it should be desired, Mr. Addington himself; and that in the interviews with them his explaining himself on all such points as should be put to him would be a necessary consequence. That he would be then placed in a situation of doing so without full and complete information of all circumstances before him, and be drawn into a responsibility, in the public opinion, for all that had passed, because his general line in the House would certainly be that of support to the Government. I had hoped that he might go to London only the evening before the vote for the army (which is to be on the 6th of next month), state his sentiments in the House that day, as before agreed on, and return here the next morning. But agreeing with him, upon reflection, that when in London he could not avoid having communication with the Ministers, and so unavoidably implicating himself with them, I entirely concur, upon the whole, that it is most desirable he should remain quietly here; being, however, still aware that some inconvenience and risk may be incurred by this alteration of his intentions, adhering to the opinion before stated as to the advantages that might arise from his going up. But thinking the *danger* of mischief greater than the prospect of good *hopeful*, I strongly incline to Mr. Pitt's remaining here.

Lord Bathurst came in after the conversation I had with Mr. Pitt; and, finding me alone, asked me what Mr. Pitt's determination was. On my mentioning to him what had passed between Mr. Pitt and me, he said

that he adhered to the opinions he expressed to me a few days ago ; admitted that the embarrassment Mr. Pitt alluded to would be a distressing one, but thought he would have to encounter that whenever he should go up ; and that if by hanging aloof he showed evident signs of hostility to Mr. Addington, he would throw him into the hands of Mr. Fox, whose support he had already thankfully received. Not blind, however, to that, nor to the other circumstances already referred to, I still think it of the utmost importance Mr. Pitt should not commit himself with the Ministers respecting the late measures, which he would most certainly do, in the public persuasion, if he were to go up now. It is by his character and his talents that he must save the country, if these can be made available to the object ; both of which would suffer deeply in the estimation of every reflecting mind if he should identify himself with these men and their measures. I told Mr. Pitt, when he came in from riding, what had passed between Lord Bathurst and me ; after which they had a separate conversation when I went up to dress for dinner.

Monday, November 29th.—In the evening Mr. Pitt told me Lord Bathurst had urged to him all he did to me ; but that he continued to think with me, it was better he should not attend Parliament before the holidays. Mr. Pitt renewed the conversation about his attending Parliament, which led to a more particular discussion than has hitherto taken place respecting his actual situation with Ministers and the conduct it may be right for him to hold with them and towards

them. This conversation was long and temperate, every part of the subject was fully considered, and the consequences of each line that might be taken carefully adverted to. The result was a fixed determination expressed by Mr. Pitt not to advise Ministers how to act on any point in future. This he feels the necessity of, on various grounds. The advice he has hitherto given has either not been adopted, or has been followed in a manner entirely different from his intention, and so as not to produce the effect proposed by him. He also feels the impossibility of being able to form correct judgments on matters respecting which he has not full information and seen the whole correspondence, &c. &c. He will give his general support to Government whenever he can. That, to be sure, will be of little use.

Observations in the *Courier* very pointed on the conduct of Mr. Fox.

Tuesday, November 30th.—Received a letter from Mr. Canning, in which he begs I will tell him whether Mr. Pitt is satisfied that the intended vote of 30,000 men is sufficient for the navy for three months. To which I answered, that I was perfectly sure Mr. Pitt could not form an opinion of the sufficiency or insufficiency of the vote without any information whatever of what has been going forward lately, or of the actual situation we are in with respect to France; I mean as to the probability or improbability of a war with her. I observed to Mr. C. that there is a passage in Lord Hawkesbury's speech, which looks like his not intending to lay any papers before the Houses respecting

the late negotiation—suggesting to him also the propriety of Ministers being called upon to assign some *general* reason, at least, why 50,000 seamen are now desired, a number certainly beyond any peace establishment that can be intended, and must be founded on some conduct on the part of France; the correspondence about which must unavoidably become subject of parliamentary inquiry hereafter, if on perusal of the papers that measure shall be thought proper. It cannot be doubted that when the interposition of Parliament is called for it has a right to information.

Wednesday, December 1st.—Received a letter from Mr. Canning, in which he says Mr. Addington had just given notice that he should vote the increased number of seamen for the year,—which he thinks was on the suggestion of Mr. Ryder;—trusts it will make no alteration in Mr. Pitt's intention of remaining here; but considers it as rendering it still more desirable he should know, if possible, what Mr. Pitt's ideas are of the force that ought to be kept up. Mr. Fox not expected to attend either debate; certainly not that on the navy.

Under so direct an application for Mr. Pitt's sentiments on the matter, I thought it right to show the letter to him; and by his desire I told Mr. Canning nearly what I did yesterday from myself, “that at this distance, and utterly uninformed as he is of everything that could enable him to form a judgment on the subject, he can express no opinion whatever.”

Lord Malmesbury told me he heard Sheridan was

to go down to-day,¹ to abuse Mr. Pitt and his friends ; to lessen them, if he could, in the public opinion. His Lordship also told me that a friend of his heard Mr. Fox say lately that he did not think it at all likely he should ever be Minister himself, but that he was determined, if possible, to prevent Mr. Pitt ever again being so. In the course of a long conversation with Lord M., he talked a good deal about Mr. Fox, said he had known him from very early years, and all his habits and ways of thinking ; that he was sure his earliest principles of strong Toryism were still rooted in his mind ; and that if he ever should attain the government in a situation *in which he could act according to his own opinions*, he would be a high prerogative minister ; but that he did not think the country would endure him. His Lordship then went on to say, that in a tour he had made through Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, and a considerable extent of the central part of England, the enthusiasm for Mr. Pitt was as strong as amongst his most particular friends, even with the quietest and most retired people he saw.

He told me, too (what the Count himself had said, in substance, to me and my eldest son before he left England), that Woronzow, on his return to this country where he is daily expected, would co-operate most heartily with Mr. Pitt or Lord Grenville, in uniting

¹ He did not do this till the 8th, when he made a most brilliant speech with much quizzing on Mr. A., but replete with invective on Mr. Pitt ; artful towards the King, and deprecating Mr Pitt being forced on his Majesty after what had passed on the Catholic question ! He had forgot his justification of Mr. Fox being forced on the King in 1782, in a manner unprecedentedly offensive.

this Court with that of Petersburg ; but that if he should find the same people in office as he left, he would get himself superseded in the embassy, and return to Southampton, despairing of being able to do any good in this mission.

Thursday, December 2d.—Nothing occurred of any importance to-day. Mr. Pitt received a letter from the father of the man who now keeps Bull's library, expressing great satisfaction that he had lived to see the son in 1802 subscribe to the library which the father had been a constant subscriber to from 1750 to 1757 ; in which interval he (the late Earl of Chatham) used to have a young man from the library to read to him at hours when that was shut up ; and that the book he principally read to him at one period was Josephus's History of the Wars of the Jews.

Friday, December 3d.—In the *Times* of yesterday is a most virulent and elaborate attack on Mr. Pitt and his friends, and a most fulsome panegyric on the present Ministers ; but written with ability. The editor of this paper is in habits of constant intercourse with the Minister's brother. This essay is detestable in all its parts ; but more particularly so for the language in which Mr. Pitt is grossly censured for his skulking from office in a disgraceful manner in the hour of danger, and abandoning his sovereign.

Saturday, December 5th.—The debate on the report of the vote for the seamen, is one of the most extraordinary I ever read. The tone taken by Ministers in refusing all explanation on such a measure is certainly unexampled ; there *never* occurred an instance of a

large increase being proposed in the naval or military establishment without either explanation given, or papers laid. Ministers were pressed for the former, but were allowed at last to triumph, with saying to the Opposition, You are for a large vote as well as us, there is no difference of opinion; what is all this discussion about? To which the answer was obvious, You may intend this armament for one purpose, we may think it requisite for another: we have a clear and distinct right to know generally what your reason for it is.—Do you mean it is a regular peace establishment? If you do, we may agree with you or we may not. Do you mean it to give effect to any pending negotiation with France? Is it on account of additional strength recently acquired by France, that makes her more likely soon to go to war with us? Is it on account of Malta, respecting which fresh difficulties have arisen? In short, is it all or any of these reasons that induce you to continue armed? Some answer might have been extorted. Those who differ from Ministers certainly gave them great advantage, in allowing the vote for the seamen to pass in the committee without comment; but that did not deprive them of the right to insist upon information in another stage of the business. It is worth while to refer to what was done in the instances of the Spanish, Dutch, and Russian armaments in 1787, 1789, and 1790.

Something was gained in the debate by fixing Lord Hawkesbury to a declaration for a large peace establishment, from which Mr. Addington however shrank. What can Mr. Fox say to the number of seamen

voted? He has positively and recently declared for a very small peace establishment; he has also in the strongest terms expressed his conviction that we have nothing to fear from France. What then is this armament for? and where are all his strong assertions against blind confidence? But there *is no possible ground* on which he can avoid resisting the measure of a large navy.

On talking to Mr. Pitt this evening about the long article of abuse against him and the late Ministers in the *Times*, he grew to feel the utmost resentment and indignation at it; and said, if not apologized for in the same paper, or commented upon in the *True Briton* in the next paper, he should consider it as countenanced by the Administration; and that he would write to Mr. Steele to desire he would say to Mr. Addington, that unless it was disavowed in some shape in the same manner the calumny was published, he must consider it as sanctioned by him.

We were led insensibly again to discuss at great length the situation he would find himself in if he should return to the Administration by himself, or nearly alone; and he in the end agreed with me, that he could not take office with any degree of safety to himself, or hope of doing good to the public, without Lord Grenville and Lord Spencer doing the same.

Sunday, December 6th.—In the evening Mr. Pitt said he would certainly write on the morrow to Mr. Steele, as he had said yesterday; but it struck me that his doing so would, almost to a certainty, lead to some embarrassing and equivocal explanations:—that

Mr. A. was very sorry for the attack, but that Mr. Pitt must know how unmanageable the editors of newspapers were, and most of all Mr. Walters of the *Times*; adding just as much as he should think might suffice to prevent Mr. Pitt acting on the resentment he must naturally feel at the mixture of insult and injury, but in no degree sufficient to remove the impression made by the libel. It seemed probable, too, that the opening an intercourse of any sort at this moment with Mr. Addington might be productive of much inconvenience, as he might avail himself of it to introduce other subjects. After that was considered, Mr. Pitt gave up his determination to write to Mr. Steele, or to have any communication with Ministers on the subject.

Monday, December 7th.—I mentioned to Mr. Pitt this morning what had occurred to me yesterday on reading the newspaper, as to the proceedings in the House on the exchequer bills; in all which he agreed with me entirely; and said, he was the more surprised at Mr. Addington's intention, because he had repeatedly stated to him the indispensable necessity of providing at once for any extraordinary expenses which might occur in years of peace. Thus Mr. Addington had always admitted the principle, and had given him the strongest assurances that he would on no occasion, nor in any emergency, depart from it. That so late as the last summer he discussed the importance of it with him and Lord Hawkesbury; both eagerly embracing the measure, the latter most warmly: after which he dined with Lord Hawkesbury, to meet Mr. A. and Mr. Vansittart. Mr. A. did not come,

but Mr. V. agreed to the whole extent of what was urged by Mr. Pitt, and undertook to prepare materials for consideration; Lord Hawkesbury continuing anxious that there should not be the least relaxation from the plan. — Mr. Pitt, after that, returning through London on his way here, saw Mr. Addington, not more than seven weeks ago, when the point was again discussed, and the *strongest possible assurances given* by Mr. Addington, that nothing should induce him to depart from what had been so strongly enforced by Mr. Pitt, and admitted by him.

Tuesday, December 8th.—Mr. Pitt this morning revived the conversation about Mr. Addington's departure from the system of raising the money wanted for extraordinary services within the year, and told me that on reflection it appeared to him the more astonishing, as the last deliberation at Mr. Addington's was a full one, and that Mr. Vansittart was present with a plan (such as it was) for raising the money :—founded on the mischievous basis, completely reprobated and abandoned by us, of a £5 per cent. impost on the customs and excise.

Wednesday, December 9th.—I left Bath and returned to Cuffnells.

In the newspapers of the 11th of December I noticed Mr. Addington's statement of the supplies and ways and means for the ensuing year, on which the following observations occur :—

“He states the necessity of raising £5,000,000 for the service of the year, by exchequer bills, which he says he shall either fund at the end of the session or

borrow money to pay off;—evidently, therefore, not entertaining a thought of raising any part of the money within the year; thus departing from his solemn engagement to Mr. Pitt, and from the principles on which the stability of public credit most essentially rests. There will therefore be a debt incurred in this second year of peace equal to the capital redeemed by the commissioners:—where is the system of the sinking fund which was to be inviolable?"

Friday, December 24th, 1802.—Mr. Pitt came to Cuffnells. He told me that nothing had occurred after I left Bath till three or four days ago, when Lord Castle-reagh arrived there, who, from a variety of circumstances, *certainly* was there on purpose to sound Mr. Pitt on the present state of affairs; although in the whole of the conversations between them Mr. Addington's name was never mentioned, except in a direct message delivered from him to Mr. Pitt, "requesting to know his opinion, whether he thought it would be right to make a compromise with the Prince of Wales, by setting his income clear on condition of his Royal Highness waving his claims to the arrears of the Duchy of Cornwall, previous to his coming of age;" which can only be done by the public paying off the debentures at present payable out of the Prince's revenues. The inclination of Mr. Pitt's opinion was against a *compromise* in such a case; thinking the arrears should be paid if due; if not, that the question of setting the Prince's income free should be considered separately. Mr. Pitt, however, found it impossible to avoid the conversation turning on public

affairs in general. His Lordship told him that great difficulties had arisen respecting an arrangement about Malta ; and that the present inclination of the Cabinet, in order to obviate these, was to leave the nomination of a Grand Master to the Knights, who were to assemble *somewhere*, perhaps in Russia, for the purpose of choosing three of their number, out of whom the Pope should select one ; and Mr. Pitt understood him, that if that should be found impracticable, then, in that case, the Pope to name one of the Knights. To which suggestion Mr. Pitt told me he did not hesitate to express his decided disapprobation. At the same time he told Lord Castlereagh he was sure, from the statements he had seen of Mr. Addington's budget, that he had made great mistakes which would prove highly inconvenient. This conversation, or a part of it, his Lordship unquestionably communicated to Mr. Addington.

Saturday, December 25th.—On this day Mr. Pitt received a letter from Mr. Addington directed to him here, requesting to see him as early as he should arrive in town or in the neighbourhood of it. I conceive it to be clear that the communication was made by Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Addington, because the latter could not know Mr. Pitt was here except from his Lordship ; and because, during all the negotiations with Switzerland and France, Mr. Addington never held any correspondence whatever with Mr. Pitt, except a single conversation he had with him on passing through London ; nor had he any intercourse with him about his budget. The eagerness to see

him now, therefore, could arise only from the panic occasioned by the observations Mr. Pitt made to Lord Castlereagh at Bath.

Mr. Pitt feels it quite impossible to avoid the interview with Mr. Addington, under so decisive a request, and I can say nothing against it. Feeling, however, very considerable apprehensions that at the meeting, the low cunning and artful management of the one, opposed to the candid and generous nature of the other, may lead the latter to a disclosure, not only of all his opinions, and a detail of the gross blunders committed by the former in France; but also to give him his advice on every point of importance,—I thought it my duty to say everything I could to put Mr. Pitt on his guard; which I did with the utmost earnestness, and supported by every argument that occurred to me; under a strong conviction that if Mr. Addington's ignorance and incapacity is not detected and made manifest now, he will acquire such a character with the King and the public, as may be likely to fix him in his situation for such a period as will ensure the destruction of the country, by the tame and pusillanimous conduct of the present Government. The concessions they have already made, must impress the French with a persuasion that there is nothing they will not bear; and of course the First Consul will go on from one aggravation to another, till the country will be so goaded, as to drive the Government into a war, whether they are willing or not.

Sunday, December 26th.—Mr. Pitt told me, on

Mr. Dundas's peerage being mentioned, that he was beyond measure surprised at it; that he had not heard one syllable from him on the subject since they parted early in the summer; that he had indeed had no letter from him for some months; but what was most extraordinary, that when he last saw him, Mr. Dundas stated to him a variety of reasons why it was *impossible* for him to accept a peerage.

I renewed the conversation, while we were riding, about the interview with Mr. Addington; and Mr. Pitt gave me fresh assurances that he would be as much upon his guard during it as possible.

Monday, December 27th.—I again revived the subject of Mr. Pitt's interview with Mr. Addington, and he repeated to me his assurances of being on his guard, and promised he would write to me (of course in a guarded manner as it could only be by the post), after the meeting between them shall be over, to tell me what has passed. On talking over matters at breakfast by ourselves, he expressed great doubts whether in the event of a possibility of a way being opened for him to come into government, he could form an Administration with which he might act usefully to the public; about which, on the sudden, I could offer no distinct opinion; entertaining, indeed, considerable doubt on the subject, on the slight consideration I could give it. During the three days Mr. Pitt was here, we went carefully over all the papers on finance, necessary to a full and most attentive consideration of Mr. Addington's statements on the opening his budget; and he agreed with me entirely in all my

conclusions, going away perfectly persuaded that the whole of those statements were founded on *gross errors* arising from the most childish *ignorance*; thinking too that it would be impossible for him to avoid delivering his thoughts on the subject in the House of Commons.

Mr. Pitt brought with him and showed me the *Times* of the 14th, in which there was a libel on him, and the late Government, more gross and offensive than the former one, which he felt so strongly.

END OF VOL. I.

THE
DIARIES AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE.
VOL. II.

LONDON :
R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

THE
DIARIES AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE :
CONTAINING
ORIGINAL LETTERS
OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED STATESMEN OF HIS DAY.
EDITED BY THE
REV. LEVESON VERNON HARCOURT.
IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.



LONDON :
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.
1860.

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DIARIES AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE ROSE.

CHAPTER I.

1803.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. PITT AND MR. ROSE, FROM JANUARY TO
JUNE, 1803—MR. ROSE'S DIARIES FOR FEBRUARY AND APRIL, 1803.

[THE long correspondence between Mr. Pitt and the ex-secretary for the Treasury, on matters of finance, a portion of which only is given here, shows that he took as deep an interest in the financial schemes of the Administration, while he was out of office, as if he had been still presiding over its councils. It would have been well for his successor, if he had taken the same pains to sift the facts and ascertain the truth; but it is important, in the estimation of Mr. Pitt's character, to observe, that he was not actuated by any private or selfish motives, but solely by his solicitude for the public good. He had no wish to turn Addington out, or to take his place. On the contrary, he endeavoured to open his eyes, by private expostulation,

to the mistakes into which from want of experience he had fallen, and would have assisted him in turning aside the mortification of retracting his erroneous statements. But when the infatuated Minister was "like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ears, and refuseth to listen to wisdom," he preferred the public good to private friendship, and resolved to expose the faults which he was not permitted to correct. Perhaps he would have found it difficult to make this sacrifice of his feelings, if he had not been strongly urged to it by Mr. Rose and the Bishop of Lincoln: but to say, that their "unfriendly insinuations gradually rendered him indisposed to a just and candid view of the measures of the Government," is not consistent with the truth. Their arguments may be seen in their own letters, which will be given in the sequel. Hostile they undoubtedly were; but they had not the effect attributed to them.

In Mr. Pitt's line of conduct there was no want of justice, or of candour. It is described with perfect truth in a letter from Lord Melville to Mr. Addington:—"As matter of private gratification, Mr. Pitt has the reverse of any wish to return to official situation; and if the present Administration prove themselves competent to carry on the Government with reasonable prospect of success, his wishes, to be able to support them out of office, are precisely the same as they were at their first formation. He does not, however, disguise from me, that many things have

occurred, both in relation to their transactions with foreign powers, and with regard to the financial operations and statements of the Treasury, which have given him sincere concern; and if it were not under the circumstances of the present critical moment of the country, he doubts how far, considering the connexion he has had for so many years with its financial affairs, he was at liberty to refrain so long from stating to the public the fatal errors which, he is satisfied, exist in the statement made with regard to the amount of the national revenue, compared with the charges upon it. As things now stand, he is induced from all these considerations, for the present at least, to adhere to the resolution of continuing his residence where he is, and refraining from taking part in the discussions in Parliament. From the state of his health, nothing could induce him to come forward except an urgent sense of public duty, and a distinct knowledge that his services are thought essential both in the highest quarter and by all those with whom he might have to act confidentially."

If there are any, who wish to investigate the facts which confirm these statements, they will be found in the next series of letters. To others they may not seem to have much interest at the present time: but there is one in reply to Mr. Rose, who had intimated his intention to attack the Government, which is a model of mild and considerate expostulation, to dissuade him from a proceeding which,

being premature, would compromise his character and damage his policy. This appeal to friendship was not made in vain. In another letter, he animadverted upon the faithlessness of the Prince of Wales, and his shameless demand upon the public purse, to pay for his extravagance, his conscience being callous, and his selfishness insatiable. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated on the 4th of March, in the House of Commons, that the account between his Royal Highness and his creditors had been prepared and submitted to his inspection, and the propositions founded on it declared by the Prince to be according to his wishes; in consequence of which his income was to be 125,000*l.* a year, besides the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall. Nearly 800,000*l.* had been already paid to his creditors, and it was distinctly stated, that no debt could have been incurred since 1795, without a violation of the Act then passed for the payment of the heavy debts which he had incurred. And yet, he now felt called upon to declare, that he was still exposed to debts, for which no provision had been made, but which he considered himself bound in *honour* to discharge. The honour consisting in getting the country to pay them for him.

And yet Mr. Fox had the assurance to talk of the Prince having redeemed his character by the most prudential regard to pecuniary affairs, and a system of economy, which it was scarcely natural to expect in such a situation. Thus it appears again, that

the Tories were the defenders of the public purse, while the Whigs were for opening it to the widest extent, in order that the Prince might be able to live in "splendour and magnificence," at the nation's cost. The sum that he wanted was never explicitly stated; but Mr. Sheridan hinted that 100,000*l.* might be easily spared. It is true that he offered to renounce his claim to the arrears of rent from the Duchy during his minority; but it was proved by Mr. Johnstone, that a larger sum had been paid during that time on his account, than the whole of the available revenue. That sum amounted to, in the gross, 239,000*l.*; which was 500*l.* more than the entire produce of the Duchy of Cornwall.

There is another subject alluded to in this correspondence, concerning which, the information collected by Mr. Rose for Mr. Pitt, might prove to be of great value at the present time, when negotiations are in progress with respect to the island of Perim, in the straits of Babel Mandeb. It was a question then, not about occupying, seizing, or obtaining it by negotiation; but with respect to fortifying it, as if it already belonged to the British Crown.—*Ed.*]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

"Wilderness, Jan. 11th, 1803.

"DEAR ROSE,

"I received here this morning your letter of the 9th. It was not till Wednesday last that I had any

opportunity of holding the conversation of which you are anxious for the result. It has since been followed by another short one on Saturday. I think from both, that on the foreign points depending, there is still a probability that the line of Government may be more nearly conformable to my opinions than I expected ; at all events I have had the opportunity of stating those opinions as distinctly as I wished, without committing myself in embarrassing details ; and have let it be fully understood that my public declarations and conduct on leading points must be regulated by those opinions. This previous knowledge of my sentiments may perhaps prevent mischief, but if not, it will at least make any line I may be obliged to take much more satisfactory to my own mind. With respect to the question of Finance, I have received no detailed explanation, and have had no occasion to give any, though I have stated generally, and as I believe convincingly, the grounds on which I suppose the statement of the Consolidated Fund to be erroneous to so large an amount. I think I see that there is a determination, if possible, not to acknowledge the error, and a confidence that for the present the produce may be so much swelled by extraneous causes, as to support in some degree the result of the calculation, though not in the least to justify its principle, or any of its details.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. P.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“Walmer Castle, Jan. 28th, 1803.

“DEAR ROSE,

“I received this morning your letter of the 26th. I really feel great reluctance in saying anything to discourage you from executing a determination which you have probably not formed without much consideration. But, I should not do justice either to you or myself, if I disguised from you that the step you have in view must, in my opinion, produce the most awkward effects, and (what I am sure you would most wish to avoid) must place me personally in a very disagreeable and painful situation. You know already how prone people have been to think that they could collect my intentions from the declarations of persons, whose relation to me in no degree justified such an inference; and you must, I am sure, feel how much more this would apply to anything said by you, on any subject, and especially on that in question. It would be in vain to attempt to persuade the world that there was no concert between us, unless I were prepared to take a line directly contrary to yours, which is so far from being possible, that on the contrary I must, on the first proper opportunity, take precisely the same line myself. Do not imagine, therefore, that I either want, out of tenderness to Government, to prevent the discussion, or, that I conceive it would be possible to do so, if I ever so much wished it. What I do wish is, that where I must be forced to declare an opinion, which cannot fail to pro-

duce such effects on the credit of the Government, that opinion should come directly from myself, and not be collected from any other person. I feel this the more strongly, because I have already stated my sentiments distinctly to Addington, and apprised him that unless he can convince me that his original statement is right, and my objections to it are erroneous, it will be impossible for me to suffer the public to continue under a delusion on so important a point. Having received no attempt towards explanation before I left town, I talked over the whole subject with Steele, and repeated to him my intentions, that he might state them again to Addington. I probably shall hear from him before long, but I am perfectly confident nothing can be said on the real truth of the case that can materially vary our statement. I wait chiefly to see whether they admit their error, and are ready to take the steps which the real state of the income and expenditure requires, or whether they mean to persist and justify. If the former, I shall certainly wish to add as little as possible (as far as depends upon me) to the pain and discredit of such a retraction, and to give every facility in my power to such measures as are adequate to the necessity of our situation. If the latter, the task of exposing their blunders will be more disagreeable both to me and them, but must at all events be executed, both for the sake of my own character and the deep public interests involved. At all events, my present notion is to take the first opportunity (probably on the discussion, either of the repeal of the Convoy Duty or the Malt Tax), to

give my general opinion on the state of our finance, and to be regulated by the circumstances I have referred to in the further measures I may pursue. I have thus stated to you, as shortly as I can, the whole of my opinion and the grounds on which it rests. They will, I trust, appear to you as strong as they do to myself; but I am sure at all events, that even if my opinion does not satisfy you, you will, I am sure, be inclined to give all the weight I can desire to my wishes.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. PITT.

“ If you have been able to ascertain what is the real state of the case with respect to the bonded duties, or any postponement (if there has been one) of the East India duties, pray let me know.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Walmer Castle, Feb. 16th, 1803.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ The return of something like fine weather gives me so much occupation here, and will probably give me so much health, that it would alone have tempted me a good deal to change my plan, and remain here some time longer. But, besides this selfish reason, I am more and more persuaded, by all that I see of things and parties, that any part I could take at present, if I were in town, would be more likely to do harm than good; and that I am, therefore, in every view, better where I am. There are, however, *many*

points in our situation, and particularly on the subject of finance, which I should have been very glad to talk over with you; and if it was not proposing to you anything very inconvenient, it would be a great satisfaction to me, if (whenever you are released from your Southampton Bill, or anything else you wish to attend) you could spare a few days, to let me have the pleasure of seeing you here. According to my present notion, I should not be likely, if I can help it, to move from hence for some weeks. I am now quite free both from gout and bile, and am gaining strength every day. The picture from my windows this morning is as delightful as in the middle of summer.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. P.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Walmer Castle, Wednesday, March, 2d, 1802.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ I shall be much obliged to you if you will move leave of absence for me, as you propose, and for whatever time you think will least occasion remark. When once granted, I conclude, it will be easily prolonged till after Easter. I think clearly the leave, when once obtained, must supersede the necessity of any other excuse for not attending when the names of defaulters are called over; otherwise the express leave of absence would be rendered nugatory by the construction of a preceding order, which is evidently absurd. Lest however, so absurd a doubt should be started, I mean (if my apothecary’s opinion is what I take it to be) to

send you a certificate to-morrow. I begin to think, on considering all that is passing about finance, that it may be desirable to move immediately for the accounts, of which we prepared the list; and to give notice now of an intention to discuss the subject, as soon as it appears what is Addington's final statement and plan for the year. On this I will write more fully to-morrow. The business respecting the Prince seems to grow more awkward and entangled every day. Our fine weather has been interrupted, but for a very short time, and is now completely returned.

“ Ever yours,

“ W. P.

“ 'The Consul's *exposé* speaks pretty plain, and amounts, I think, to a declaration that we must soon expect either avowedly to receive the law from him, or to encounter war.' ”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Walmer Castle, March 3d, 1803.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ On further consideration I am inclined to think that it is better to postpone, just for the present, the motion for accounts which I mentioned yesterday. My reason is, that it is impossible not to suppose, from the language of the First Consul in his *exposé*, that the discussions between this country and France are on the point of being brought to a speedy issue of peace or war; and I am very much confirmed in this opinion by private information from a quarter

on which I can entirely rely. At such a moment you will agree with me that it might, in a public view, have a bad effect to give notice of a discussion which must be so embarrassing to Government; and that it will, therefore, be better to wait a little, to know what turn things may take.

Lord Camden and Hope, with whom I had a good deal of conversation on my notions of France, both knew of my intending to write to you respecting the propriety of calling for the accounts, and, perhaps, may ask you about it. If they should, I can have no objection to either of them being told, in confidence, why I now should rather wish such a step to be delayed.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. P.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Walmer Castle, March 6th, 1803.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ Lord Grenville’s wish to see you is a little embarrassing, but I really do not see on what ground you can decline going to him, and giving him any information he asks as to the true state of our revenue and charges. It may, perhaps, be possible to give all the information necessary to ascertain this principal point, without going minutely into all the collateral errors in Addington’s speech. The credit of the Treasury must certainly, at all events, suffer from the exposure of their errors, from whatever quarter it comes; but the effect would be a very different one, especially just now, if it proceeded either from you or

from me. The private information I referred to in my last letter, I am sure, would have no relation to anything I had in contemplation on this subject.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. P.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Walmer Castle, March 8th, 1803.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ I am much obliged to you for the information¹ you have taken the trouble to collect, which throws a good deal of light upon the most important points. I quite agree with you in thinking that it would be impossible to be totally silent, if the surplus revenue (as stated by Addington) should be urged as an argument for repealing the tonnage duty. It strikes me that the best line would be to say, that one fears that argument (whatever might be its weight) is not warranted by the truth of the case ; that this is not the proper moment for a minute discussion of that point, which it is better to reserve till the final budget of the year, when it must be fully gone into ; but that, in the meantime (though the permanent revenue is certainly highly flourishing, and *more than sufficient* to defray all the charges incurred by the last war, and even a considerable increase of the peace establishment beyond what has ever before been requisite), yet it does not appear to be equal to an establishment so *much*

¹ This was relative to the navigation of the Red Sea, fortifying the Island of Perim, in the Straits of Babel Mandeb, and other matters respecting Egypt.

higher, as the present circumstances of Europe make indispensable, and as the Chancellor of the Exchequer has assumed, in forming the comparison of income and expenditure for future years; and that, on the contrary, on the supposition of such an establishment, there seems reason to apprehend a very considerable deficiency, instead of a surplus, as has been stated. Something to this effect seems to me to be as free from objection as possible, and I suppose you would think it sufficient. I imagine by this time you will have seen that my expectation of a crisis approaching¹ is confirmed.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. P.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Walmer Castle, March 9th, 1803.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ From what I had heard, I was not surprised at the account of the message. It is so general, that beyond the address, which I suppose will have been voted to-day, I hardly see any immediate parliamentary measure that it can lead to; and, therefore, my present intention is to remain here till things take some more decisive turn, which may not be yet for some time. I quite agree with you, that any further vote for the Prince ought on every account to be resisted. The proposal seems in all respects highly indecent. If

¹ The King's message about preparations being made in France and Holland, of an alarming nature, was delivered to both Houses, on the day on which this letter was written.

made at all, it could only properly be made through the Crown. Besides, the Prince, by message, has already (as I understand) declared his satisfaction in the arrangement just made ; and, above all, the proposal (if I am not mistaken) is founded on an admission of debts contracted in the teeth of the last Act of Parliament, and in breach of repeated and positive promises. I am not sure (without referring to the Act) whether the existence of such a debt might not itself be made a charge against our Treasury, and at least against the Prince's officers ; but at any rate I should have thought, that if once brought under the notice of Parliament, it was a reason for refusing all relief. That Parliament should specifically recognise and pay such debt, is monstrous.

“ Ever yours,

“ W. P.”

“ I think I see, on the first view, that the accounts you have sent me are prepared under Lord Auckland's direction. Nothing can be more perspicuous in its form than the abstract. It is unluckily subject to the remark, that in the charge on the Consolidated Fund, it wholly omits the interest of the Imperial loan, and is in some other respects below the result of former statements by about 150,000/. ; and that in the income it includes amongst the permanent taxes 2,000,000/. temporary (now substituted for the land-tax), and takes credit also for the unredeemed land-tax itself, and for the saving of interest arising from the redemption. Whether the accuracy of the detail corresponds

with the outline, I have not yet examined; but I suspect in the beer duties it takes credit for the postponed duties, but forgets to deduct for the stock in hand of malt."

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

"Walmer Castle, May 1st, 1803.

"DEAR ROSE,

"Many thanks for your letter. I hardly think Patton can mean to make his motion, if the final answer is not come; and if it is, he will surely still wait for the papers, which I suppose in either case of war or peace, must be laid before Parliament. At any rate if the motion is for the *state of the nation*, I own if I were present, I should be much inclined to oppose it. If the answer is not come, the time alone is a sufficient objection; but the very nature of so general and indefinite an inquiry makes it, in my opinion, very seldom fit to be resorted to; and it seems much fairer and better, if there were sufficient grounds of complaint, or well-founded suspicion on specific points, to make them the object of separate motions, instead of going into a vast field which may include every grievance—real or supposed. On this argument (independent of all others) we have repeatedly opposed motions of this sort; and it appears to me to apply as strongly to the present case as on former occasions. If the subject strikes you in the light in which I have stated it, perhaps you may think it right to vote against the motion, by which I do not conceive you can be in any degree committed to any opinion

respecting the measures which have been adopted by Government. If, however, you feel the least hesitation on this point, staying away, as you propose, seems certainly the best course. I have been writing a long answer to a letter from Lord Grenville, on the subject of Revenue, in consequence of which he will probably wish to trouble you on two or three points, which you will be able to clear up easier than I can.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. P.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Bromley Hill, June 12th, 1803.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ I had from Steele a general account (as far as he recollected them from a cursory view) of the amount of the supply, and of the intended taxes. This account did not differ very materially from what you have learnt, except that he supposes only 1,500,000*l.* to be raised on malt, and larger sums on some other articles; but he did not profess to state the particulars with accuracy. He puts the income tax at 4,500,000*l.*, and the other taxes at 7,500,000*l.*

“ As far as I understand, I see nothing to object to in the principle of any one of the taxes, though the produce in some instances may be considered as very questionable. The general plan and scale of the ways and means I think very conformable to what the circumstances require; and on that ground my object

will naturally be to endeavour to smooth as much as possible all difficulties of detail.

“ Ever yours,

“ W. P.

“ I mean to be in town pretty soon to-morrow.”

MR. ROSE'S DIARIES FOR FEBRUARY AND APRIL, 1803.

[THE alarm exhibited in this diary at the prospect of France getting possession of the Isthmus of Suez, and the Red Sea, by occupying Egypt, is not without its interest at the present day. The Prince of Wales's claims to the arrears of the Duchy of Cornwall are discussed, and rather in his favour. Mr. Pitt's love for the King is strikingly shown by his disinclination to resume office, and consequently to take any steps for turning out Addington, on account of the effect which it would produce upon the King's mind.—Ed.]

Walmer Castle, Sunday, February 20th.—Found Mr. Pitt on my arrival here remarkably well ; and being alone, we entered immediately on a discussion of the state of public matters. The first thing he mentioned was Sebastiani's account of his proceedings in Egypt, &c., &c. to the First Consul ; which he considered as a declaration of the intentions of France as to the line of conduct she meant to pursue in taking possession of Egypt ; for extravagant as it may appear,

that a country should announce beforehand its determination to commit acts of aggression against another, such has been the practice of France since the revolution, and it appears to have answered the purpose, by familiarizing other nations with their atrocities, and persuading their own people that they are in pursuit of a right object. However that may be, the publication of such a statement at all, is giving authenticity to it and stamping it with marked approbation, as it could be made only by the government, but it having appeared in the papers under the immediate sanction of government fixes it completely upon them, and calls for the most decided representation from our Ministers to force France to an explanation on the subject. If not, whenever she shall invade Egypt she will tell us, "I avowed my intention of doing so, and you were so conscious that you had no pretence to interfere that you did not say a word on the question." I was naturally led, in pursuing the subject, to talk of the importance of Egypt. We agreed that the possession of that country must, in one way or other, completely take from us the advantages we at present derive from our possessions in and trade to the East Indies. The facility that it would give to France to invade India with large armies carried down the Red Sea from Cosseir, where they could embark easily and have a perfectly safe navigation, during a considerable part of the year, to the Malabar Coast, cannot be questioned. These armies they would be enabled, of course, to reinforce from time to time, as they should find it necessary. In another point of view, it appears to be within a

probability that, with the spirit of enterprise so strongly manifested in the French lately, they would be very likely to attempt to make a large and navigable cut from the Red Sea to the Nile, either from Suez to Cairo, or, more probably (as it would certainly be much more useful), from Cosseir to the neighbourhood of Chennah; in which attempt, if they should succeed, they would effectually bring the trade of India to Marseilles, and other ports in the Mediterranean, by carrying the commodities of that country through Egypt, for probably about one half the expense of our freight by the Cape of Good Hope.

Under these circumstances Mr. Pitt agreed that the evacuation of Malta, which in any way that can be thought of would let France almost at once into possession of it, would be inexcusable; as it must unavoidably facilitate the French establishing themselves in Egypt.

Mr. Pitt agreed too that Sebastiani's interference in Corfu, and generally with the republic of the Seven Islands (the government of which had been settled under the mediation of Russia and Turkey, guaranteed by France), manifestly tending to fix the direct influence of the First Consul, if not the supremacy of the French nation, over those islands, was as violent an aggression as could be committed, and almost as dangerous a one; as Corfu is considered nearly as important as Malta, both from its natural strength and situation, with a view to either the attack or defence of Egypt. It followed, of course, that this was a strong additional reason for insisting on an expla-

nation of the intentions of the First Consul, arising out of the strange and extraordinary papers of Sebastiani.

Mr. Pitt told me he knew to a certainty that when Captain D'Auvergne was taken up at Paris two or three months ago, he was examined *as to what his instructions were during the last war when he commanded at Jersey, and as to his conduct in executing those instructions*; which he found from a conversation he had with the Chancellor, when last in town, was not known to his Lordship. Mr. Pitt supposes some explanation has been given on the subject by the French Ambassador, but by no means a satisfactory one; and not as having been authorized by his court to disavow the transaction. He states it, it seems, to have been done by some subordinate officer without the authority or the knowledge of the government. On a point so essential to the national honour, a direct disavowal appears to Mr. Pitt as well as to myself indispensably necessary.

We next discussed the business of the Prince of Wales, which is to be under the consideration of Parliament this week. On that, I had the good fortune to find Mr. Pitt agreeing with the opinion I had repeatedly expressed in town; indeed, nearly with what he had stated to Lord Castlereagh at Bath before Christmas, that in any event the question of right as to the income of the Duchy of Cornwall, during the minority of his Royal Highness, should have been decided; which he thought (as to any present advantage to that Prince) could not have been

available to him ; because, supposing him to have been, in the contemplation of law, of age from his birth and so entitled to the income, he had in fact had it, it having been laid out in the charges of his maintenance, &c. &c. during his real minority. That, however, he (Mr. P.) saw no material objection to the debt of the Prince being paid, if anything like a general opinion prevails that after having been for many years restrained in his income he should now have it free.

In the evening Mr. Pitt entered very fully into his own situation, and what he ought in the present state of things to do. He admitted his health to be fully good enough at present for him to undertake business, but doubted very much whether a close attention to that would not throw him back, and render him unfit for the principal charge of public affairs. His disinclination, however, to an immediate attendance in Parliament he distinctly admitted to me arose from the extreme difficulty of his situation ; he supposed Mr. Addington wished him to be present, though no direct application had been made to him ; he knew from Lord Camden, that Lord Spencer and the new opposition wished him to attend, and that they were holding back from making any motions or taking any steps till they should see what line he would pursue : and I have no doubt, but that Mr. Fox wishes him to be forced into a declaration of his sentiments publicly, conceiving that he would thereby be considerably embarrassed, by his dislike, on the one hand, to do anything that would distress Government, and by the

impossibility, on the other hand, of his approving the timid and irresolute measures pursued by those who are in it. He said (if he should attend) his stating objections to the measures pursued by Government, in foreign affairs, would probably be inevitable; the consequences of which might be the removal of the present Government; and he entered then into a train of reasoning to prove the utter inexpediency of his forcing himself into administration, or coming into office again at this moment, even if Mr. Addington's cheerful concurrence could be obtained; referred to what he had before said about the danger to his health; ¹—the little chance he had of doing good;—the effect it might have personally on the King;—the almost certainty of its being attended with a renewal of the war;—and the knowledge that he could not return to his former situation without having nearly the whole weight of the government upon him, which he now felt himself unequal to.

On the subject of finance I found Mr. Pitt had stated *in detail* to Mr. Addington, to Mr. Vansittart, and to Mr. Steele the whole of the errors the former had fallen into on opening the budget on the 10th of December last;—that Mr. A. was so thoroughly ignorant of the whole matter, that he could not make him comprehend the extent or even the nature of his gross blunders;—this Mr. Vansittart justified in part, but cut the conversation short; and that Mr. Steele stated the explanation of Mr. Vansittart by letter, which he admitted to be by no means satisfactory:

¹ Lord Eldon's Life, vol. i. p. 443, line 23.

acknowledging, indeed, that Mr. Addington would be under a necessity of explaining his former statements, and of proposing considerable taxes, but that he thought he would defer the latter till next year when the produce of the revenue in peace would be better known, and the peace establishment could be better ascertained. Mr. Steele, in further explanation, said that Mr. A. knowingly overstated the future revenue of the country in order to prevent Mr. Fox resisting a high peace establishment, which was thought indispensably necessary ; thus subjecting himself to a just imputation of a direct imposition upon Parliament and the public to avoid the charge of childish ignorance.

Mr. Pitt told me that the paragraph at the bottom of page 20, in Mr. Addington's printed speech, beginning "inferences no less favourable," and ending at the bottom of page 21, was not spoken by him ; but inserted in it to obviate an objection made by Mr. Pitt to Lord Castlereagh, at Bath, before Christmas, of Mr. Addington not having said anything about the permanent taxes, but relying altogether on the produce of the Consolidated Fund. He told me also that the speech was printed the very day he saw Mr. Addington, and on which he stated to him the gross and monstrous errors : and that three days afterwards Mr. Addington sent it to all the foreign Ministers resident in London, and to all our Ministers at foreign Courts. On reflecting on what has passed in these conversations with Mr. Pitt, the difficulties of his own situation, and of that of the country, do certainly appear to me in a most formidable point of view ; nearly, indeed

I fear, insurmountable, unless by the interposition of Providence.

The conduct of France, in their undisguised intention of seizing upon Egypt, leaves us, apparently, no possible means of avoiding a war. Even if that aggression, ruinous and destructive as it must be to us in various points of view, as affecting our manufactures, commerce, navigation, and revenue, could be passed over, and Malta should be evacuated at the command of France, other aggressions must inevitably follow, that would force us to hostilities with her, however reluctantly ; in which view of the subject, perhaps the best thing that could happen, abstractedly considered, would be Mr. Pitt's return to administration, in order to conduct the war with spirit and ability. But his coming into office in consequence of having brought on a renewal of the war, would infallibly render him unpopular, and would prevent his having the country with him, as he had during the last. This unpopularity would be increased, perhaps incalculably, by the enormous taxes that must of necessity be imposed. The latter consideration is, indeed, not sufficiently felt, perhaps, by any one individual in the whole kingdom except by himself and me, and not even by him to the extent I am impressed with it. It weighs much with me in reflecting on the probable consequences of his coming into administration again. If he had been in Government at the time of the peace (supposing him to have acquiesced in the terms on which it was made), I think his known spirit and firmness (however he might have thought peace desirable on such terms

under the exigency of the period) would have prevented the gross and repeated insults and injuries which have been heaped upon us. But we have submitted to them, and we could hardly hope that Mr. Pitt's resuming office would arrest Buonaparte in his ambitious career, or prevent his availing himself of an opportunity, which, if now missed, might not recur, of laying his hands on Malta and Egypt. On the other hand, if Buonaparte is to be allowed to possess himself of those quietly, and we are consequently to lose India, or, at least, all important advantages from it, what a situation are we in ! We shall have to contend with France a little later, but crippled, discredited, dispirited, and narrowed in our means of exertion. Mr. Pitt had a strong impression on his mind that if he held the language he must hold, if he attends at all, it might force the Ministers into a war they are utterly unable to conduct under all the disadvantages of want of preparation, especially in financial measures ; and that if from motives of prudence, founded on an opinion that France, having seen such glaring instances recently of our irresolution and weakness, would not be restrained by the most spirited remonstrances, and with a persuasion in his own mind of the difficulties before alluded to in finding resources, he should suggest anything like temporizing measures, that they would at once abjectly throw themselves at the feet of Buonaparte.

If he does not attend he will certainly suffer in the public opinion to a considerable extent, as it will be thought he should not withhold his advice at such a crisis ; but there are such serious objections (independ-

dently of personal considerations) to his attendance, that, upon the whole, I cannot urge him to it. It is of great consequence towards his rendering future services to the country, in times of danger, that he should not diminish materially the degree of popularity he still retains; and I am convinced great risk would be incurred, if any measures were adopted by him, or forced upon others by him, that would infallibly lead to a renewal of the war, which the country is so extremely averse to. Upon the whole, anxious as I was for Mr. Pitt's attendance before I came here, I am a convert to his reasons which, under a choice of very great difficulties, incline him to remain in the country.

Monday, February 21st.—Mr. Pitt told me that when he was in town, after Christmas, he dined and slept at Mr. Addington's, in Richmond Park; that they were alone the whole afternoon and evening, and a considerable part of the next morning, in all which time Mr. A. never dropped the remotest hint about Mr. Pitt returning to office; but in the chaise coming into town, when they had reached Hyde Park, Mr. A., in a very embarrassed manner, entered on the subject by saying that if Lord Grenville had not stated the indispensable necessity of Mr. Pitt coming into office to carry on the Government, he should have been disposed himself to propose his return to administration; and followed that up in a way that rendered it impossible for Mr. Pitt to remain silent. He, therefore, said that whenever it should be thought there was a necessity for his returning to office, he should consider very

attentively how far it would be right and proper for him to do so ; and in such an event he should first desire to know what his Majesty's wishes might be on the subject ; and that he should not decide without knowing the opinion of Mr. A. and his colleagues about it. It appeared, from Mr. Addington having delayed this conversation till this time, within ten minutes or a quarter of an hour before their separation, and from the extreme embarrassment he was under during it, that he felt reluctant and awkward in beginning it, and that he wished it to be of no long continuance.

Tuesday, February 22d.—Mr. Pitt read over with me attentively the notes I had prepared for a speech, in answer to Mr. Addington's on finance, on the 10th of December last, and concurs with me in every part of my statement, and in every observation thereupon ; admitting to the fullest extent that the prospects held out by Mr. Addington were illusory, and that his statements were full of the grossest errors, founded on the most childish ignorance. He persisted, however, so strongly in entreating me not to make the exposure of those blunders, and urged such reasons for it, that I agreed to be silent on the subject till the final budget at the close of the session, when he promised to probe the whole business to the bottom, unless there should be any allusion to Mr. Addington's representations about the financial situation of the country in the meantime ; in which case I told him it would be utterly impossible for me to forbear in general terms warning the House from relying on the expecta-

tions held out to them and to the country, in which he perfectly agreed ; and on that understanding we closed the subject.

[Mr. Addington was very unwilling to descend from the lofty pedestal on which the King had placed him, but finding himself utterly incompetent to carry on the Government with the feebleness of his own party, he was constrained to look out for other alliances to strengthen himself. He could not well coalesce with the Whigs, whose principles were entirely opposite to his own ; and therefore, even if ancient friendship had not directed him, there was nothing left for him but Mr. Pitt. It might be thought that it would be no humiliation to a man of his calibre to recognize the superiority of that statesman, but he felt it so ; and to avoid that degradation proposed a scheme that would place them on the same level in the Cabinet. They were both to serve under a third person. He proposed to place at the head of the Treasury, Lord Chatham ; on account of his name, which was not then tarnished by the expedition to Walcheren, and also on account of his relationship to Mr. Pitt, which he thought would reconcile him to the manœuvre. But *aut Cæsar aut nullus* was Pitt's motto. He knew that the country would consider him responsible for whatever occurred ; and he would not have the responsibility without the power which it implies.

Being now therefore driven to the wall, Addington complied with the victor's terms, and it seemed as if the object of coalition was effected ; but it turned out, contrary to his expectation, that his colleagues did not appreciate the difficulties of their position so accurately as the Premier did. They objected to the treaty, and he was weak enough, contrary to his own convictions, to break it off. Probably the objectors were those who knew that they would not be acceptable to Mr. Pitt, and would therefore lose their places ; but they could scarcely be persons of sufficient consequence to justify the breach of the capitulation. From that time forward Mr. Pitt would listen to no overtures from Mr. Addington, but waited in calm security till he should receive the King's commands to form a new administration. The following portion of Mr. Rose's Diary traces the progress of this negotiation, concerning which it is remarkable that Lord Eldon's biographer seems to have been unaware of its existence, and even of some conversation on the subject, attributed to him in this Diary.—ED.]

Walmer, April 8th. 1803.—Mr. Pitt, after talking a good deal to me respecting the death of his mother, and of feelings awakened by that event, entered upon the matters respecting which he had expressed much earnestness to see me before he went to the neighbourhood of London.

He told me that Lord Melville came here on Sun-

day, the 20th of March, purposely to make an overture to him from Mr. Addington, in terms nearly as follow:—That it was very much his wish (Mr. Addington's) to strengthen the Government, by taking in Mr. Pitt and some of his friends; that in carrying such a measure into effect he was sure Mr. Pitt would be disposed to let it be done, with as little pain and degradation to him as possible; in order to which, he hoped Mr. Pitt would not insist upon resuming his former situation, but would be satisfied with naming the first Lord of the Treasury, and filling the office of Secretary of State;¹ suggesting at the same time Lord Chatham, as a desirable man to be first Lord of the Treasury; to which Mr. Pitt flatly objected *in limine*, and expressed considerable surprise that Lord M. would allow himself to be the bearer of such a proposal; insisting upon his (Lord M.) conveying by letter a most unqualified refusal. Lord M. wrote accordingly; and Mr. P. thinking there were expressions in the letter too flattering to Mr. Addington, drew his pen through them, and the letter was sent off. In the course of the conversation, Lord M. threw out that Lord St. Vincent was impatient to retire, and that *he* was proposed for the head of the Admiralty. Lord Pelham to retire, and Mr. Addington to be Secretary of State in his room. The arrangement, stopping there, was utterly unsatisfactory to Mr. Pitt, exclusively of the objection to his not being at the head of the Treasury.

¹ It is difficult to decide whether the impudence of Mr. A., or the baseness of the messenger who could charge himself with such a communication, is most to be admired.

When Lord Melville returned to London on the Tuesday, Mr. Pitt desired him to say to Mr. A. that if anything should induce him to listen to a proposal for returning to Government he would not entertain a thought of any situation but the Treasury, as he thought his being placed there was essential to his being able to carry on the King's Government, especially with a view to effecting the important objects he had in view, respecting the finance of the country; observing, that it was essential there should at all times be one person on whom the responsibility of the Administration should principally rest, and who was known to be at the head of it; that the advantage of that had been invariably found; that experience had, during the whole of the late Government, shown this advantage; and how practicable it was to have the advice and opinion of others; reserving (when it might be indispensably necessary) the decision to the one with whom the responsibility chiefly rested. That, under this impression, he was decided not to hesitate a moment in resolving, that if he came into office, to take only the Treasury.

This communication having been made to Mr. Addington, he sent down Mr. Long, last week, to say that he would consent to propose to the King Mr. Pitt's returning to the Treasury; still adhering to Lord Melville being at the head of the Admiralty, and himself being Secretary of State. On which Mr. Pitt desired Mr. Long to say on his return, that he would be at his (Mr. Long's) house, near Bromley, to-morrow evening, and would see Mr. A. there on

Sunday, the 10th, in order to enter fully on the several points, which he stated to me fully :—

First,—and principally, whether he should take office pending the negotiation; feeling strongly the objection to his doing so, which I had on a former occasion stated to him, viz.—the odium that would be fixed upon him in the event of its terminating in war, which seems absolutely unavoidable.

Secondly,—whether he should take office without Lord Grenville, and Lord Spencer, as well as Lord Melville.

With regard to the first, I repeated all that I had before said; adding, that it did not appear to me that any advantage to the negotiation could now be derived from his taking a part in it, as Buonaparte, by his late manifesto, published at Hamburgh by his express order, had committed himself much too deeply to retract; and that, on the other hand, Buonaparte would attribute the decisive advice for war to Mr. Pitt, and that an impression of the same sort would be made to a considerable extent on the public mind here. How mischievous that might be in rendering Mr. Pitt's government unpopular, was but too evident; especially as Mr. Pitt would, to a considerable extent, be mixed with all the blunders and irresolution of the present ministers. He felt the full force of these objections, and some others of less weight very forcibly; but he argued that it was extremely possible the negotiation might be drawn to considerable length by Buonaparte, perhaps for months. That, indeed, he might hang the matter up just as long as he pleased,

by allowing us to keep Malta till the moment he should see it to his advantage to break. That if the business should be so trained on for any time, the opportunity would be lost of taking vigorous measures for the defence of the country¹ and rousing the national spirit; which he thought it of the utmost importance should be done instantly. He trusted, too, that the late manifesto of Buonaparte, already referred to, had opened the eyes of the whole country, as to the violent aggression of France; and that there would be but one opinion and one feeling, as to the measures indispensably necessary to be taken for repelling it. That much valuable time would, in the event of a protracted negotiation, be lost also as to operations of finance, no less necessary than those for defence.

These reasons certainly render the point very doubtful whether Mr. Pitt, supposing all other difficulties removed, should take office directly. Lord Chatham thinks the question of peace or war will be decided by the day Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington meet; but there is no real foundation for this hope.

Mr. Pitt is clear, in the event of an arrangement going on, that he should insist on Lord Hobart retiring as well as Lord Pelham: Lord St. Vincent, of course, himself being stated to desire it; that Lord Liverpool should not hold the Duchy, and Lord

¹ This Mr. Pitt thought of importance, as no steps whatever are taking either here or in Ireland for the purpose, the urgency of which is certainly very strong; and it must be admitted that on this point the loss of even a week is of serious importance.

Hawkesbury the Secretaryship of State; that Lord Dartmouth should retire from the office of Lord Steward, which may be made a cabinet one for Lord Camden, as in the instance of the Duke of Rutland; conceiving that persons who have got into offices by occurrences on his quitting the Government, and since, which they could not otherwise have looked to, should not be allowed to retain them. Mr. Pitt doubted whether there is any obligation upon him to continue Lord Salisbury as Chamberlain; he himself remained in office without at all consulting him, when the change of government took place in 1801.

He thinks it will be impossible to avoid Mr. Addington being Secretary of State and a Peer; unless he could be prevailed with to take the Speakership of the House of Lords separated from the Great Seal, making up to the latter the income of it.

He agrees with me, that there are objections to Lord Melville being at the head of the Admiralty, and that he had better be Secretary of State for the War Department again. Of course, if Lord Spencer returns, he must have the Admiralty. The Law arrangements to remain as they are.

Mr. Pitt is of opinion that Mr. Addington's principal inducement to wish for the strengthening his government is the dread of exposure of his finance blunders, and the impossibility of going on, in a war, with that department. He thinks, too, that Mr. A. stated the certainty of having fifty sail of the line much more broadly than Lord St. Vincent authorized him to do; conceiving that the latter had qualified his

opinion in that respect by adding "if men can be provided for them."

Mr. Pitt thought of retaining Lord Hobart in some situation; but, after a good deal of discussion, he concurred with me, that he would be of no use, and had no claim on him. The pretensions of Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Castlereagh he admitted were the only ones on him personally; but, as before suggested, the former not to keep his situation, and Lord Liverpool retain the Duchy of Lancaster also.

Mr. Addington stated by Mr. Long, that the King has not yet been apprised of any new arrangement in the Government. This, Mr. Pitt does not believe; but insists upon it, that nothing whatever shall be decided upon till his Majesty shall have been consulted on the subject, and expresses his entire approbation of Mr. Pitt's ideas respecting his return to office.

Mr. Pitt is persuaded that his brother knew nothing of Mr. Addington's suggestion for him to be at the head of the Treasury.

Nothing decided in Mr. Pitt's mind, as to his insisting upon Lord Grenville and Lord Spencer returning to office with him; but he is resolute on being allowed to communicate as freely as possible with them, and to act on their advice.

In the *Sun* of yesterday, there was a violent and gross attack on the Grenville party, in an *official* paragraph, notifying a negotiation with Mr. Pitt.

If Mr. Pitt shall decide to take office, it is his intention to open his plan of finance as soon as he shall be re-elected, which we reserved the discussion of;—

agreeing that the country can be in no security in that respect unless we can obtain almost at once the taxes that will be wanted for seven years, in addition to the income tax, which must of necessity be imposed again.

Mr. Pitt seemed resolved not to submit to any restriction about removals of persons from the highest situations.

He expressed great regret that no communication had been made to Parliament from his Majesty when the additional seamen were voted; conceiving it was most peculiarly called for. If he should come soon into office he will certainly bring one, stating the substance of what has passed.

April 9th.—Mr. Pitt went to Bromley Hill (Mr. Long's) for the purpose of a personal communication with Mr. Addington, and I returned to London by sea.

April 11th.—Mr. Pitt came to me in Palace Yard, to communicate what had passed with Mr. Addington at Bromley Hill the preceding day: which was, in substance, that he had had a very full discussion respecting the arrangement which Mr. A. expressed an anxious wish should take place. Mr. Pitt told him the only terms on which he could talk with him were, that he should be at liberty to propose, in order to its being submitted to his Majesty's consideration, a list of persons from those who formed the late Government, and from those who formed the present one, to make an Administration; of which, he should himself be at the head, returning to his situation as first Lord of the Treasury. That he should also be at liberty to communicate fully with Lord Grenville and

Lord Spencer respecting the arrangement; and the arrangement should on no account take place till the foreign negotiation should be completely over, and the question of peace or war be completely decided.

These preliminaries having been cheerfully acquiesced in by Mr. Addington, Mr. Pitt proceeded to say, if the other ministers should likewise concur in them, it would be his intention to submit to the King the names of Lord Grenville and Lord Spencer amongst the persons to form the new administration; mentioning at the same time other particulars, that he thought it right Mr. A. should be early apprised of: Lord Pelham to retire, which his Lordship had before agreed to; Lord Hobart to retire;—against which Mr. A. remonstrated, but agreed to it. Lord St. Vincent to retire, as he had earnestly desired to do; some subordinate situations to be opened, into which persons had got from circumstances that occurred on the late change, who otherwise could not have looked to them; such as Mr. Bragge from the Pay Office, &c. &c. All which, in the end, (after suggesting that Lord Grenville returning to office might make an unfavourable impression on the public mind) Mr. A. cheerfully consented to (though it was evident from his conversation, that Lord Melville had led him to expect that Mr. Pitt would have been much more acquiescent), and expressed an impatience to return to Bromley Hill to settle matters finally. Mr. Pitt, however, told him he had better take full time to consult his colleagues at leisure. After Mr. Pitt had made this statement to me,

I had hardly a shadow of a doubt but that the whole arrangement would be immediately made to Mr. Pitt's perfect satisfaction ; and with this impression I went on the 12th to Taplow Court.

April 14th.—I returned from the Marquis of Thomond's, and the Bishop of Lincoln came to dine here, who told me Mr. Pitt had received a letter from Mr. Addington, most unexpectedly putting an end to the negotiation.

April 16th.—Received a letter from Mr. Pitt, at Bromley Hill, expressing a strong wish to meet me at dinner on the 18th, as he hoped the day following to leave London for the summer, going first with Lord Carrington to Wycombe for a day or two, and then crossing the country to the Wilderness (Lord Camden's place in Kent), and so on to Walmer.

April 18th.—Dined with Mr. Pitt at the Bishop of Lincoln's, and had a full conversation with him about all that had passed in the negotiation, subsequent to my last seeing him.

On the 12th he had a letter from Mr. A. (instead of the visit he had promised), telling him he *continued* to think the arrangement, as proposed by Mr. Pitt, would not be considered admissible by his colleagues ; trusting, therefore, he would not tenaciously adhere to it, but said he would consult them, and be with him on the 14th. Mr. Pitt was so much struck with Mr. A. saying that he *continued* to be of an opinion, the contrary of which he had distinctly expressed in conversation, that he wrote to him to say he was persuaded his coming again to him at Bromley Hill would be unne-

cessary, as his adhering to the arrangement as proposed by him was indispensable; but that if he thought otherwise he (Mr. Pitt) would be in the way the day following.

On the 14th, however, Mr. A. replied by letter that his colleagues did not see the necessity for the change in the Administration going so far as Mr. Pitt proposed, and closing the business in terms of civility.

The circumstances which occurred in the course of this transaction led Mr. Pitt to state the leading points in a letter to Mr. A. accurately;—particularly, that the proposal originated from an anxious wish expressed by Mr. A. for Mr. Pitt's return to office. That he (Mr. Pitt) had not insisted upon anything that could interfere with the King exercising his judgment most freely on the names that should be submitted for his Majesty's consideration, reserving to himself the right of judging ultimately whether, in the event of objections being made to persons, he would come into Government again or not; desiring it to be clearly understood that Lord Grenville and Lord Spencer knew nothing of his having mentioned their names, or of his intention to say anything about them; and, of course, that he did not know whether or not they would take office if it should be offered to them. That in no case whatever should the arrangement take effect till the question of peace or war should be finally decided; adding that he considered the present business as completely at an end, and stating distinctly that he would in future receive no overtures but such as may be made by the express command of his Majesty.

CHAPTER II.

1803.

MR. ROSE'S DIARIES FOR AUGUST AND OCTOBER, 1803—CORRESPONDENCE
WITH MR. PITT FROM SEPTEMBER TO DECEMBER, 1803.

[THE following record of Count Woronzow's conversations may be considered an exception to the general tenor of Mr. Rose's Diaries, for it is filled with anecdotes very inimical to Lord Sidmouth and Lord Hawkesbury, which, if they are true, certainly show that they were not equal to the tasks which they had undertaken ; that the business of their offices was too much for them ; and, consequently, that some part of it was occasionally neglected. The portraits of the Court of Petersburg, and the contrast between the Russian and the English Prince, are historical curiosities.—ED.]

Cuffnells, August 20—23, 1803.—Count de Woronzow, the Russian Ambassador Extraordinary, made me a visit here for three days, in the course of which I had much interesting conversation with him on public matters ; the heads of the most important parts of which I have here noted. He told me

that he received a letter on Monday, the 15th, from the Emperor of Russia, written in his own hand, in which his Majesty expressed the deepest regret at hearing Mr. Pitt was not likely to enter upon the charge of the Administration again, as he could have no confidence whatever in the men who now govern this country, marked as they are throughout Europe for their utter imbecility; which, the Count said, occasioned no surprise in him, as he knew from all the foreign Ministers here, and from his correspondence with different parts of Europe, that they are held in universal contempt. The Count added that he had so much experience of their weakness, and in some instances of their falsehood, that he should conceive it a point of duty to do all in his power to disabuse the King respecting their true characters; with a view to which it was his intention to communicate the original letter above alluded to, through Baron Leuth, the Hanoverian Minister, to his Majesty, as soon as the Baron should return from Germany,—having made frequent confidential communications to the King through that channel.

The Ambassador from Portugal (Marquis de Souza) told the Count that our Ministers had given him the most positive assurances two or three months ago that they would immediately send to Portugal 4,000 infantry, chiefly foreign troops, probably from Egypt and elsewhere, 2,000 horses for their cavalry; and 50,000 stands of arms; but that no measures whatever were taken for sending any part of that supply; and that although he continued to receive assurances,

as at first, he now entirely despaired of receiving any aid at all.

Previous to Lord Whitworth leaving Paris, in May last, the Count received from his Court clear and distinct instructions to propose to the King the mediation of Russia for terminating the differences between Great Britain and France, which he immediately communicated to Lord Hawkesbury, waiting impatiently for an answer.¹ After a fortnight had elapsed without his receiving one, he saw in the newspapers a speech of Mr. Addington, in a debate on the war, containing a declaration that if the interposition of Russia had been offered, due regard would have been paid to it; in short, that it would have been made available as far as possible. Astonished at such an assertion, the Count wrote immediately to Lord Hawkesbury to remonstrate upon it, stating that, as the English debates were translated and inserted in many of the newspapers on the Continent, his Emperor must be filled with surprise when he should see such a statement from the first Minister of this country after the instructions he had given on the subject to him (the Count); to which his Lordship replied that the speech of Mr. Addington had been incorrectly given in the papers, as he had not made such an assertion as stated; adding, *that he had not yet had time to lay the offer of the Emperor of Russia before the King, but that he would take an early opportunity*

¹ The Count told me that at the time of his making this communication to his Lordship, the only observation made by the latter was, "It is too late."

*of doing so.*¹ He had then, as has been already observed, had that offer in his possession more than a fortnight; and, in the debate alluded to, Mr. Fox pressed the Ministers so hard respecting the mediation of Russia, that in order to get rid of his motion for an address to the King to seek it, they positively undertook to try to obtain it. On which the Count observed to me, that by doing so, they would have given to Mr. Fox the merit of the measure, if it should have succeeded; which, however, by their conduct, they had prevented any chance of, as the Emperor could hope for no success in a mediation into which the British Government was reluctantly forced.

The Prince Casteleicala, Minister from the King of Naples, told the Count that when his master heard of the appointment of Mr. Hugh Eliott to be our Minister at his Court, he had instructions from the King of Naples to remonstrate against it in the strongest and most lively manner, as a thing most offensive, painful, and disagreeable; possibly for reasons which from delicacy are not here noted. Lord Hawkesbury assured the Prince the appointment could not be revoked. The Prince then urged the necessity of it still more forcibly than at first; and entreated that, as the humiliating state to which the King of the Two Sicilies was reduced was owing solely to his attachment to this

¹ By this conduct we lost the chance, desperate as it was perhaps, of avoiding the war with France; but if we had not found that advantage, we should almost to a certainty have secured the friendship of Russia, in the event of France being unreasonable.

The Count told me he had shown the letter containing the words marked under, in Lord Hawkesbury's own writing, to Mr. Pitt, and that on my return to town, he would show it to me.

country, advantage might not be taken of that to degrade it still further by forcing upon him the only foreign Minister in England to whom any objections would be made. All was, however, in vain; and Mr. Hugh Eliott was sent out with Lord Nelson.

The Count received a letter from Mr. Vansittart, Secretary to the Treasury, in the summer of 1801, acquainting him, for the information of his Court, that, in consideration of the very liberal and handsome conduct of the Emperor, in giving up to this country the *Leander*, 50-gun ship, retaken from the French when the Russians got possession of Corfu, the King had ordered 10,000*l.* to be given as a present to the officers of the Imperial squadron which took that island; and that a warrant was signed for it; requesting, therefore, that his Excellency would authorize some person to receive it: in consequence of which, the Count gave a power to Mr. Harman for that purpose, who having made repeated applications for the money in vain, receiving always for answer that it could not be spared, the Count at length withdrew the power from Mr. Harman, requesting at the same time that he would blot out of his books all the correspondence on the subject, that no trace might remain of a transaction so discreditable to the British Government, as their not being able, or their unwillingness, to pay such a sum as 10,000*l.* for which the King had signed a warrant. The money was about *eighteen months* afterwards remitted to Sir John Warren, our Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

From the whole of the conversation I had with the

Count, I am inclined to hope his Court is well disposed toward this country. His own opinion is most decidedly in favour of the two nations preserving a perfectly good correspondence, as essential to the true interests of both. He thinks that while Russia acts upon that principle, Denmark and Sweden will not venture to take any part hostile to us, whatever the politics of either of those countries may be. The former governed by a miserably weak Administrator (the Prince Regent) not likely to be disposed to stir. In the latter the whole decidedly French, except the King, who is a determined Antigallican.

With the present Ministers in the English Cabinet, however, the Count utterly desponds of anything being effected. He assured me, most solemnly, that Lord Hawkesbury is absolutely incapable of transacting common business. That in the communication of despatches of the most serious importance from his Court to him, they are frequently not noticed at all for two or three weeks; and then in a manner and in a style which he finds it impossible to transmit to St. Petersburg, and have often compelled a necessity of his suggesting alterations which have been adopted. On the whole, that there is an actual imbecility in his Lordship, as a man of business, which no man can have a comprehension of who has heard him speak in Parliament, or who has read his speeches. The Count lamented to me deeply, that with this knowledge of the character of his Lordship for want of talent, as well as for protraction or wilful delay in matters of the last importance, he could have no confidence in him; that

he regretted this the more, as the King had condescended to request it of him strongly. He told me that on the King's birth-day (the 4th of June, 1801), just after the change of ministers, his Majesty sent for him to the Queen's House, not going that day to St. James's, where he found Lord Hawkesbury with the King; when his Majesty pressed him in the most earnest manner to give his entire confidence to his Lordship, as he knew he had done to Lord Grenville: to which his Excellency replied, that he would do all that could depend upon him to transact the business between the two Courts in the most friendly and practicable manner; but that confidence could not be *at once* given as he would take a pinch of snuff.

The Count told me that in the Duke of Portland's late dangerous illness, he wrote a letter to the King, when he supposed himself at the point of death (having been absolutely given over by his physicians), in which he implored his Majesty in the most affecting manner to recall Mr. Pitt to his service, as a matter of indispensable necessity; stating that he had never had strong or personal attachments to him, but that he had a clear and perfect conviction he was, beyond all comparison, the fittest man to be at the head of the Government in times of difficulty or peril; that he gave that advice under an impression he was almost immediately to answer for it at the judgment-seat of God; and that its not being followed, would be attended with the most serious and imminent danger to the country.

Referring to some former occurrences between

Great Britain and Russia, the Count gave me an account of his conduct respecting the ground of our armaments against Russia in 1789. He said, when he found from the Duke of Leeds, then Secretary of State, that the British Ministers had determined to go to war rather than allow Russia to have Oczacow, he gave his Grace notice, that, finding all other means fail him, he would try what he could do with the Opposition to prevent it; soon after which he met Mr. Fox at Sir Ralph Payne's, where he was invited at his request by Lady Payne, now Lady Lewington. The history of what followed is well known. It is beyond all doubt that the public opinion, worked up by the Opposition, compelled the British Cabinet to accommodate matters with Russia against their clear convictions. I am perfectly sure against that of Mr. Pitt.

I could not talk with the Count about the personal character of the Emperor or Empress; but I learned from his daughter,¹ one of the most amiable young women I ever met with, and very intelligent and observant, as well as from Miss Jardine, a daughter of the late Colonel Jardine in our artillery, who has long lived with the young Countess, that the Emperor is an extremely worthy and honourable man, and remarkably shy and reserved, to a degree painful to himself and distressing to those about him; modest and unassuming, kind in his manner, certainly well-intentioned, but his understanding moderate, though not approaching to imbecility. The Empress affable

¹ Afterwards Countess of Pembroke.

and kind, not meddling with public matters. The Empress Dowager also kind and good, but mixing herself much more than she ought to do in the conduct of affairs ; her influence in the politics of the Court certainly greater than that of the reigning Empress, but no trace of her using it at all mischievously. The young Countess and Miss Jardine were with the Count in Russia several months in the last year, and during a considerable part of that time lived with the two Empresses, very frequently dining with the Emperor, and seeing him at his leisure hours, which gave them abundant opportunities for observation. The condescension of the Emperor will hardly permit him to comply with the established forms of the Court. He could hardly be prevailed with, at a ball there, to give his hat, according to usual custom, to a young page in waiting ;—which was contrasted with the conduct of Prince William of Gloucester, who, at the same ball, called upon or permitted Major Dawson, one of the gentlemen travelling with him, to kneel down and buckle his shoe, which became loose while his Highness was dancing. On mentioning the name of the latter, the Countess was led to express her deep regret that his whole conduct while in Russia tended to offend and disgust the royal family and all the principal people who showed him attention.

Count Woronzow having had information, on which he could most confidently rely, of a Frenchman, of an infamous character, and an agent of M. Talleyrand's, unquestionably employed by him as a spy, he gave intelligence of the circumstance himself to Lord Hawkesbury ; and, after having repeatedly urged him

on the subject, his Lordship at length told him the suspected person was found to be a very dangerous man, and that his papers were therefore seized, and he sent out of the country : on which the Count expressed some curiosity to know what was discovered from his papers, or if anything important respecting his employment here had been brought to light by the seizure of them. To which Lord Hawkesbury replied, he really did not know, as that was in the department of the Alien Office !!! A Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had no desire to be informed of the contents of the papers of a spy, but left the examination of them to a clerk in the Alien Office, who was himself a foreigner (M. Lullis) ; and had not even the curiosity to inquire what they were !!!

Another anecdote the Count told me, of a somewhat similar nature. His *aumônier* (a respectable Russian priest) mentioned to him his having dined in the City with Mr. Barlow (a notorious American Jacobin, who was one of the legation from the Corresponding Society to the National Convention in France) ; who, it was perfectly well known, had resided at Paris during the whole of the peace, and returned here on the breaking out of the war, evidently for mischievous purposes, which his Excellency communicated also to Lord Hawkesbury, who said Barlow should be sent out of the kingdom under the provisions of the Alien Act. Some time after, on inquiry from Mr. Hammond whether he was actually gone, the answer was that the American consul ¹ had made such earnest entreaties in his favour, and given such assurances

¹ A known Jacobin.

that he would do nothing offensive, that Lord Hawkesbury had consented to his remaining in this country!!! The Count added, it would be endless to attempt to enumerate all the instances which had come to his knowledge of the imbecility and gross neglect of his Lordship. He mentioned, however, many others in the course of various conversations.

[The libellous pamphlet published in the August of this year, and not disavowed or contradicted by Mr. Addington or any of his colleagues, so exasperated Mr. Pitt that he was only prevented from immediately joining the Opposition by his fidelity to the King. Nevertheless it was, no doubt, his indignation at this treatment, together with the blunders in finance, to which he could not open Addington's eyes, and his utter incapacity to provide either for offensive or defensive war, which excited him in the following year to give the King notice that he would support that Minister no longer. He declared that he never should have a place in any administration formed by him. But his anger was of brief duration; for the year after, they were reconciled. Considering, however, how sore Mr. Pitt was upon that subject, and how severely he felt it at the time, we have a proof of his magnanimity and unsailable integrity, in the answer which he gave to the Prince of Wales, who wanted his aid in the House of Commons, to obtain the command of the army, and therefore sent a messenger to inform him, that if he

came to the throne, it was his intention to employ him. The Prince's sincerity may well be doubted; but he quite mistook his man. Mr. Pitt replied, that it was a contingency he could not contemplate, and in the meantime the best thing he (the Prince) could do was to support his Majesty's ministers. [These are the main subjects of this Diary.]

Old Palace Yard, Sunday, October 2d, 1803.— I arrived in town to meet Mr. Pitt by appointment, who came also this morning, having slept at Lord Darnley's, in his way from Walmer.

We talked fully on the subject of the pamphlet published about two months ago, entitled "A few cursory Remarks upon the State of Parties during the Administration of Mr. Addington;" by "A Near Observer." I told him it had been mentioned to me that he thought the publication a harmless one; which he said was so far from being the case, that it struck him to be one of the most malignant, false, and artful statements he ever saw, and calculated to do much mischief; that he was so much impressed with that opinion, that on a late application from Lord Castle-reagh to him for advice on a matter in discussion with the East India Company, he assured his Lordship, *that having read the pamphlet alluded to, he found himself under an impossibility of holding the remotest intercourse with any individual in the present administration as a member of the Government, whatever sentiment of private regard he might entertain for him,*

*unless the publication should be disowned by Mr. Addington, in the most unqualified and satisfactory manner, as publicly as the falsehoods had been circulated;—to which he had no reply from his Lordship.*¹

We then discussed the several points most immediately calling for an answer or observations. Mr. Pitt agreed with me, that it is now become of the most serious importance that some explanation should be given on the causes of his retiring from office; and that the necessity he is reduced to in that respect would justify fully his making public the circumstances which led to his retiring, observing all the caution possible, and with the utmost delicacy towards the King; in particular, that it should be known to the public that he had offered his Majesty to remain in office till the country should be completely clear of all its difficulties, if his Majesty would forbear to allow his name being used on the Catholic question.² And that he did not at last retire till he found it impossible

¹ This alone is a strong instance of the Government sanctioning the publication; but a much more unequivocal one appeared in the *Sun* of Friday, September 30th, in which it is stated, as from authority (under the signature of "A Country Gentleman"), that the Secretaries of the Treasury circulated it *only* amongst their private friends; that Mr. Addington, honest soul! knew nothing about it, for that it was his brother-in-law, Bragge, in his most intimate confidence, furnished the facts, or supposed facts, to Mr. Bentley; who, in addition to the incitement of pecuniary reward most liberally bestowed upon him, was actuated by strong personal and implacable hatred to Mr. Pitt, on account of a disappointment he had met with from him. The Government knew that, because Mr. Sargent told me in the summer, Mr. Bentley had offered himself to them then, at the same time abusing Mr. Pitt in the grossest terms.

² The King had agreed to do so, as far as respected himself; but said he would put no restraint on others in stating his opinions.

to have any satisfactory assurance from his Majesty on the subject.

Secondly, we agreed that a proper explanation should be given of the grounds on which he withdrew his support. On discussing this point, he reminded me that the first occasion on which he had reason to be dissatisfied was the King's speech at the close of the session last year; that from that time he had held no intercourse with Mr. Addington till October, when nothing confidential passed, and that he was utterly ignorant *of all that took place in the negotiation*, many parts of which, as detailed in a separate paper, he could not, in his conscience, approve of or sanction. Connected with this, we agreed also to show at the same time the impudence of the charge against Mr. Pitt, of obstructing measures of finance, and throwing difficulties in the way of Mr. A. on the subject, by calling to the attention of the public Mr. Pitt's forbearance in not exposing the gross and numerous blunders, to an enormous extent, in Mr. Addington's statement of finance before last Christmas, which it would be proper to refer to in the answer to the pamphlet, to account for his withdrawing his support; it being evident that no assurance of that could be supposed as intending to bind him to sanction proceedings of which he entirely disapproved.

Thirdly.—That the most positive contradiction should be given to the impudent falsehoods of Mr. Pitt's having determined to force himself again into the Administration, in opposition to the King's wish, and

that he had peremptorily insisted upon Lord Grenville coming into office with him, as a *sine quâ non*.

In addition to what may be said on these two points in the pamphlet, Mr. Pitt thought it might be advisable (certainly justifiable) to publish the letters which passed between him and Mr. Addington at the close of the negotiation, which would remove every possible doubt on the two points above referred to; which may be done by giving copies of them to different persons without any injunctions against their publication.

Fourthly.—To show that the early opposition of Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Canning, was absolutely and entirely out of all control of Mr. Pitt; and that he can by no possibility have any thing to answer for on that head.¹

Other matters of inferior moment were discussed, and it was agreed how they should be treated.

After which, we came to consider *who* should undertake to write the answer to the pamphlet. Mr.

¹ I had a long conversation with Mr. Canning on this part of the subject, on my way to town (at his own house at South Hill), but could not prevail with him to admit the indispensable necessity of not making common cause between Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, in the answer; he persisted that it should be so, and evidently wished to answer the pamphlet; but I had a clear conviction that his doing so would be destructive to Mr. Pitt as far as regarded what appeared to him and me the injudicious (to call it no worse) opposition of his Lordship, Mr. Windham, &c. In my way down I saw Mr. Canning again, and told him an answer was intended by a person not connected immediately with Mr. Pitt, at which he seemed much mortified. I explained to him that the distinction between the parties above alluded to need in my opinion be only retrospective; that prospectively they might *be one*.

Pitt was most decidedly against any one immediately connected with him doing it; thinking the assertions and contradictions might be so put by an indifferent person, as to fix the truth of them on the public mind by calling upon Ministers to contradict any one of them if they could venture to do so. We were both at a loss to think of a fit person for the work. At length we decided to talk with Mr. Thomas Peregrine Courtney about undertaking it, who has just published a sensible pamphlet in answer to Mr. Morgan's financial statements, and animadverting very well, and with good effect, on the one in question. I engaged also to see the person who has commented on it repeatedly in the *Sun*, under the signature of "Fitz Albion," and who wrote to me for information, to enable him to do that usefully, two or three weeks ago, without my taking any notice of his application, at the time, not having a guess of who he was. My letter to the author was not called for during the day I remained in town, consequently I remain in ignorance of who he is.

We next talked of the conduct of Government respecting the defence of the country, which appears daily to be more and more incomprehensible. Mr. Pitt told me that very early after his arrival in the country, he had an offer from the people of Deal of fifty gun-boats, which he immediately communicated to Government, and it was accepted. Convinced of the great utility of such a defence, he obtained from some other places an offer of fifty more; but before he was regularly authorized to communicate that to the

Administration, he received a private letter from Lord Hobart, requesting him to get more boats if he could. Of course he replied to his Lordship that he had anticipated his wish to the extent above mentioned, and at the same time wrote to the Admiralty to beg they would order the second set to be fitted; to which he received for answer from their Lordships, that Lord Hobart was taking other measures for obtaining gun-boats, to be equipped as well as found by the ports; besides which the Admiralty had no 4-pound carronades to spare.

The last observation is the more extraordinary, as only four or five of the boats required carronades so small as this, and there are plenty of larger ones in store. After which, a correspondence took place between Mr. Pitt, Captain Essington, commanding the Sea Fencibles at Dover, the Navy Board, and the Admiralty Board; the latter having reprimanded Captain Essington for encouraging the application about fitting the gun-boats, though he had been called upon by the Navy Board to state how many were required to be fitted; and at this moment no orders have been given by the Admiralty for the purpose, but they are now daily expected. Mr. Pitt has in the whole 150 gun-boats.

Other measures of defence, thought by Sir David Dundas and General Moore¹ to be of great importance, were equally neglected. Colonel Twiss, and other distinguished officers, had approved of a species

¹ Sir John Moore, who then had a command in Kent, and lived in intimacy with Mr. Pitt, though a Whig.

of towers or castles,¹ capable of containing twenty-five men each, with a heavy carronade or gun at the top, not assailable, except with ladders of a great height, or with heavy cannon brought against them; in consequence of which it was long ago agreed that a number of them should be erected on the most exposed parts of the coast; but not a stroke struck yet to make a beginning of any one of them.

Mr. Pitt told me that after I left London in the beginning of the summer, he had a most extraordinary communication from the Prince of Wales, in an extremely circuitous manner, ultimately through Lord Mulgrave, stating that he wished Mr. Pitt to understand clearly that his Royal Highness had not the slightest disinclination towards him; that he *had* entertained thoughts, whenever power and authority should devolve upon him, of giving his confidence to Lord Moira; and that, indeed, he had at one time intended, in such an event, to call upon Mr. Fox; but he was now satisfied, from those parties themselves, that he could not do so wisely as to determine to employ him (Mr. Pitt), adding many expressions of civility. To all which Mr. Pitt replied, through the same channel, that he entertained a due respect and proper sense of duty to his Royal Highness. He trusted, however (as he was certain his Royal Highness hoped), it would be long before he would have to decide anything on that subject, and that in the mean time he humbly thought his Royal Highness

¹ Martello towers.

could not do better, as far as he might think it right to interfere in political matters, than to give his support to such ministers as the King his father should give his confidence to. The communication having been made to Mr. Pitt just before the discussion took place in the House of Commons about the refusal of his Royal Highness's offer to serve, Mr. Pitt is inclined to think the application to him was in the hope of getting him to take a part in that debate friendly to the views of his Royal Highness.

Nothing finally settled respecting a provision for Lord Pelham, who holds off taking the Duchy of Lancaster, insisting upon it that if he accept it, it shall be considered as a reward for *past* services, and not as giving the Administration any claims upon him prospectively. He will likewise have it *for life*, or not at all.

Provision is to be made for Mr. Sheridan's son, as a reward for the father's services; but to avoid wounding the delicate feelings *of both*, there is an intention of giving Sir John Morshead an employment, that the Prince of Wales may appoint Mr. Thomas Sheridan to the situation Sir John now has under him.

Mr. Pitt says the arrangements made by Lord Keith in his command, on the Downs station, are remarkably able, and very zealously executed.

I saw a confidential letter to-day from Captain Wright, employed off Boulogne in a situation of great trust, who says he is sure there are at the least one hundred gun-boats in Boulogne only; and he is of

opinion they may be extremely troublesome.¹ It has long occurred to me they may be so even to our large ships, if they come out in great numbers. Every shot almost from those will tell; whereas they, being remarkably low in the water, will seldom be hit by shot from our largest men-of-war.

Lord Chatham was with Mr. Pitt at Walmer after the publication of the pamphlet before alluded to, but he never mentioned it, nor Mr. Pitt to his Lordship.

Mr. Pitt mentioned to me, with deep regret, the unaccountable neglect of the Government respecting the late attempt at insurrection in Ireland. The Lord-Lieutenant had information of dangerous practices in the spring, and advised Mr. Addington of them by a letter to himself; after which his Lordship made earnest application for parliamentary interposition, to enable him to take necessary measures to repel the attempt of the insurgents. Lord Pelham, Secretary of State for the Home Department, objected that there was not ground to go to Parliament upon, when Mr. Addington produced Lord Hardwicke's letter, *which he owned he had had in his pocket something more than a fortnight*, without having made any communication of it, or about it, to any of the Cabinet.

¹ These boats must, of necessity, be infinitely superior to those we have at Deal. The latter, belonging to individuals, are calculated only for the purposes of their occupations, and frequently employed in them at some distance; too slight also to bear more than one carronade; whereas the French are built expressly for the purpose, strong, probably carrying heavy and *long* guns, with a great number of men; formidable therefore (when boarding shall be practicable), as suggested in the text, to our men-of-war.

From a private letter from Mr. Beresford,¹ to me, it does not seem that the Lord-Lieutenant and Council had taken the measures of precaution they should have done ; and there can be no better authority than his, as he is himself an active and efficient member of the Council.

It appears as if Ministers were afraid to act up to the principle which it was understood had been established as the law of nations, respecting contraband, in time of war ; as several neutral ships, laden with *naval stores*, for Havre and other French ports, which had been detained by our cruisers, were liberated, and allowed to go to their destination ; which Mr. Pitt assured me he knew to be true, and that he had good reason to believe the gun-boats at Havre were built and equipped with those so liberated. What then did we contend for so zealously and successfully at the latter end of the last war ?

Monday, October 3d.—Mr. Pitt came down to me in Palace Yard, and Mr. Long met him there by appointment. We went over the whole subject of the Pamphlet again, in every part of which Mr. Long agreed with Mr. P. and me ; but he doubted very much whether an effectual answer could be given without revealing several matters highly confidential that had passed in the intercourse with Mr. Addington, about Mr. Pitt's return to government ; but that objection was over-ruled, by the necessity for it having been created by Mr. A. having encouraged the circulation of

¹ Brother of the first Marquis of Waterford. He was First Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland.

the libel.¹ And after a long discussion as to who should answer it, it was agreed upon the whole to be desirable that it should be done by some person not immediately connected with Mr. Pitt; as the assertion of the falsehoods in the libel may be made confidently, and truths asserted as boldly, calling on the friends of Mr. A. to contradict the one or the other, with an observation, that if they venture to do so, it cannot fail to *compel the production of proofs*. I had prepared very full notes and observations for the purpose, which are to be given to the person to be employed, with some further remarks of Mr. Pitt's. Mr. William Gifford and Mr. John Gifford were both thought of: the first has an employment during pleasure (double Commissioner of the Lottery), and is more connected in opinion and habits with Canning; may have some feelings too towards Lord Grosvenor,² who is a warm supporter of Government;—the other Gifford rather a dull man, and very unmanageable.³ I then mentioned Mr. Courtney, a

¹ Mr. Long said he had positively ascertained its having been sent to several persons *by Mr. Fawcett*. He had no doubt of Mr. Bentley being the author. The latter had offered to Stockdale a pamphlet to publish, provided he would do so without reading it, which S. naturally refused. He then offered it to Hatchard, who agreed to publish on many passages being expunged, chiefly against Mr. Canning.

² He had travelled with Lord Grosvenor when Lord Belgrave, and is said to have been a well-informed and clever man. [Author of the *Bariad* and *Maxiad*, translator of *Jerenal*, and editor of the *Quarterly Review*.—ED.]

³ [No relation to William Gifford. His real name was Green. Editor of the *True Briton* and *Anti-Jacobin Review*; and author of the *Life of Pitt*.—ED.]

son of the late Bishop of Exeter, who was appointed a clerk in the Treasury, but changed that situation for one in the Stationery Office; having just seen a pamphlet published by him in answer to one of Mr. Morgan's, in which he animadverts very freely on Mr. Addington's financial statements, and with still greater freedom on his conduct, in countenancing so malignant and scandalous a publication as the one so frequently alluded to in these notes. Mr. Pitt had read Mr. Courtney's recent publication, and thought of it as I did—so did Mr. Long; and as the latter knows him very well, it was settled that he should talk with him, to learn whether, *circumstanced as he is*, he will undertake to be the ostensible writer of the answer; not with an intention of exposing his name, but for the purpose of putting matter together which shall be given to him. Mr. Pitt engaging to superintend the work, to throw in fresh materials, and to suggest new arguments where he shall find it necessary; and so the business was left. It was thought quite clear, for the reasons already mentioned, that Mr. Canning could not be allowed to write the answer, as far as Mr. Pitt and his friends were concerned. Nothing can be more certain than that, *retrospectively*, Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville have different cases.

I dined at the London Tavern, on Mr. Pitt's invitation, at the swearing in of the officers of the Trinity House Volunteers, who were all the elder brethren, except Sir Andrew Hammond (who had previously accepted the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the

Somerset Horse Volunteers, under Mr. Tierney), and many of the younger brethren, including several Captains of East Indiamen. The sight was really an extremely affecting one. A number of gallant and exceedingly good old men, who had during the best part of their lives been beating the waves, now coming forward with the zeal and spirit of lads, swearing allegiance to the King, with a determined purpose to act manfully in his defence, and for the protection of the capital on the river.

In the evening I went home with Mr. Pitt, and went over again much that we had before discussed; both having given the whole subject mature consideration. What had been agreed upon about the pamphlet was confirmed; and Mr. Pitt gave me strong assurances that he would follow that up unremittingly; which I persuade myself he will do, as he feels warmly the baseness, ingratitude, and wickedness of the attack upon him. We then talked of what it would be right to do on the meeting of Parliament. Mr. Pitt recurred to what he had so repeatedly insisted upon, and acted upon before: the impropriety and even danger of his directly opposing Ministers, as it may affect the King's mind, and be considered contrary to the principle he has so constantly maintained, *that his Majesty should not be forced into a change of the administration*. I admitted that consistently with that principle, it would not be justifiable in him to enter on a *systematic* opposition, to which I was as little inclined as he could possibly be; having been at all times averse to that; but that

I knew no possible way of effectually opening the eyes of the King or the public, to the utter and absolute incapacity of the Ministers, in any way, but by their blunders, neglect, and timidity, being exposed in Parliament. That hitherto there was every reason to suppose the King was perfectly satisfied with the sufficiency of his servants; little objection having been taken to their conduct in Parliament, and they having carried everything there most triumphantly. The country indeed seems awakened thoroughly on the point for a time; but if the exposure is not made in Parliament, every one will suppose they have judged wrong of the conduct of Government, and a different tone will be taken. I urged, that beyond all that, there was an irresistible claim on Mr. Pitt, on the part of the country, that he should not pass over in silence the disgraceful misconduct of ministers, which he felt on various points at least as strongly as myself, and that his silence would naturally be construed into approbation. I added, I had no wish for him (as far as I could judge at present) to make any motion, or propose any censure respecting that misconduct, but was desirous only of his stating it in as strong a way, and in as lively colours as he could, in order to draw the public attention to the scandalous and blameable neglect of the men, as well as to their decided incapacity. In the end, he promised positively to attend at the opening of the session, and almost engaged to take that line precisely.

Mr. Pitt again expressed warmly his indignation at the conduct of Mr. Addington in sanctioning

decidedly the malignant and virulent attack upon him, and his determination to counteract the mischief that would infallibly arise from it unless some pains are taken to prevent it. He gave me the correspondence between Lord Melville, Mr. Addington, and himself, relative to the attempt to bring him into the Administration, which puts his conduct in the most honourable point of view possible, and establishes, beyond all possibility of controversy, the facts stated in these as well as in former notes on the subject:—that the proposal originated with Mr. Addington; that Mr. Pitt refused peremptorily to accede to any terms, or to propose any *definite* ones, till he knew whether his Majesty was really desirous of his return to office; and that it never entered his mind for one moment to make the admission of any individual whatever into the cabinet a *sine quâ non*. Mr. Addington's first letter evidently intended to fix upon Mr. Pitt what he never said in the conversation at Bromley Hill, on Monday the 10th April, and which is counteracted in Mr. Pitt's reply. A similar attempt in a more marked way was made in the subsequent letter, and repelled still more strongly in Mr. Pitt's answer from Wycombe. On giving me the letters, he desired I would not allow any of my family to copy them, and he left me at liberty to make any use of them I should see proper.

[The next series of letters is a further illustration of Mr. Pitt's anxiety to see and consult with his

friend, when any difficulties occurred to him, and also exhibits the new direction, in which the activity of his mind found useful occupation during his retirement at Wahner Castle. As Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, he had been placed on the same footing as Lords Lieutenant of counties, with respect to the raising an additional force of militia, by a recent Act of Parliament; and to this task he addressed himself with his usual energy. No longer able to control the councils of the nation, he set himself in earnest to study the means of its defence, within the jurisdiction which belonged to him, and, if we may judge from the evidence of his letters, with great success. His military ardour was ridiculed by the whigs; and in the course of the following year, Lord Grenville, who had allied himself with Mr. Fox, showed neither reason nor common sense, in thus venting his ill humour against his former colleague:—"Can anything equal the ridicule of Pitt riding about from Downing Street to Wimbledon, and from Wimbledon to Coxheath, to inspect military carriages, impregnable batteries, and Lord Chatham's reviews? Can he be possibly serious in expecting Buonaparte now? Fifty more such questions one might ask, if any part of his conduct admitted of any discussion on the ordinary principles of reason and common sense." As it is now well known that Buonaparte at that time did seriously intend to make the attempt, it is as well for the credit of Lord Grenville, that the other fifty similar questions

were not proposed. A more impartial and sagacious writer has formed a very different estimate, both of the emergency and of Mr. Pitt's talents for meeting it. Mr. Wilberforce declared, that he had "discovered great military genius;" and again, "Pitt is about to take the command of 3000 volunteers as Lord Warden. I am uneasy at it; he does not engage on equal or common terms; and his spirit will lead him to be foremost in the battle; yet as it is his proper post, we can say nothing against it."¹

In the months of March and April Mr. Pitt had been very urgent for an interview with Mr. Rose, and spoke of the particular satisfaction which it would give him. In the autumn we find him again soliciting an interview, which however seems from the Diary not to have taken place till the 2d of October, when they discussed the offensive pamphlet.—ED.]

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

"Walmer Castle, Sept. 8th, 1803.

"DEAR ROSE,

"I have deferred answering your letter in hopes of being able to tell you something more certain, as to the time when we might have a chance of meeting. I am not, however, yet able to name precisely the day when I shall be at liberty; but I rather think I shall be able to go to town or its neighbourhood in about ten or twelve days, and I believe it will be rather less

¹ Life of Wilberforce, vol. iii. p. 113.

distance for you to meet me there than in any western point of my district; besides which I think my visit to that part of the coast will be at rather a later period, and I am anxious to see you as soon as possible. I wish very much I could pass a few days with you at Cuffnells, but I do not like at present to go so far from my post, though we have certainly no immediate indication of any intention from the other side of the water to give us employment. Before the long nights we hope to be very well prepared to receive them, both afloat and ashore. Your son's zeal and alacrity do not surprise me; but in his particular situation the sacrifice he has made is indeed a great one.

"I hope you have found no material inconvenience from your accident except the confinement, which, however, is no small grievance in this enjoyable weather. I say nothing of the pamphlet till we meet, but I shall be very glad to talk it over with you, and to consider what is fit to be done upon it.

"Ever yours sincerely,
"W. P."

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

"Margate, Oct. 18th, 1803.

"DEAR ROSE,

"I received your letter just as I left home this morning. I had not forgot your wish to have a description of our gun-boats; but as many of my friends here are more expert in fitting a boat, or fighting it, than in writing or drawing, I could not at

once obtain one which would explain to you the last improved mode of fitting as accurately as I wished. But Mr. Whitby, the Assistant of Sheerness Yard, who has been appointed to superintend the work, and whom I saw yesterday, has promised me to send immediately to your house, in Palace Yard, a small model of the frame and slide, which will, I trust, completely answer the purpose. I should hope it will reach your house in a day or two, and you will, I take for granted, send orders for its being immediately forwarded to you by coach. We have now fitted, or are fitting, I believe, about 170 boats between Margate and Hastings, which, I think, will contribute not a little to giving the enemy a good reception whenever they think proper to visit us. By the intelligence I collect, and by the orders for extraordinary preparation which are received from London by this post, I am much more inclined than I have ever been hitherto to believe that some attempt will be made soon. In this situation I am likely to have my time very completely occupied by the various concerns of my regiment and my district. I hope, however, to find some interval for attending a little to the cursory remarks, when I hear from Long, which I am expecting to do every day. Our Volunteers are, I think, likely to be called upon to undertake permanent duty, which, I hope, they will readily consent to. I suppose the same measure will be recommended in your part of the coast. I wish the arrangements for defence were as forward everywhere else as they are in Hythe Bay, under General Moore. We begin now to have no

other fear in that quarter than that the enemy will not give us an opportunity of putting our preparations to the proof, and will select some other point which we should not be in reach of in the first instance. I write here to save the post, as I shall not get back to Walmer till a late hour.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. PITT.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Walmer Castle, Nov. 10th, 1803.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ It would have given me great pleasure if I could have seen you here, but I am not surprised that your occupations have been too constant to allow of so distant an excursion, especially when the defence of your district seems to rest almost entirely on individual zeal and example. As far as they can go, fortunately you have been able to supply them in abundance from the circle of your own family ; but these alone cannot be sufficient if Government persists in such unaccountable negligence and inactivity. Our state of defence is certainly (comparatively speaking) very complete, though still, in many respects, very far short of what it ought to have been, and what it easily might have been. On the whole, I think there is good ground to expect that we shall be able to give a very good account of any force that seems likely to reach any part of this coast, and shall be able to prevent its penetrating into the interior. But if, by any accident, we were to be overpowered in the first

instance, I am by no means satisfied that any adequate force could be collected in time to stop the enemy's further progress till they had arrived much nearer the capital than one should like. I have been turning my thoughts a good deal to the object of rendering the volunteer force throughout the country permanently more efficient than it seems likely to be (except in a few instances) under the present arrangements; and I will endeavour before long to send you a note of what occurs to me, on which I shall be very glad to have your opinion.

"Till within these two days I had persevered in the intention of going to town for the 22d, but the state of the preparations on the opposite side, and the uncertainty from day to day whether the attempt may not be made immediately, makes me unwilling to leave the coast at present. I have, therefore, nearly determined to give up attending the first day; but I am still inclined to think that it may be right (if I can find an interval of two or three days) to take some opportunity before the recess to notice the principal omissions on the part of Government in providing for our defence, and to suggest the measures which seem still necessary towards completing it. I shall, of course, wish to have it understood by my friends that I shall probably attend in the course of the session, before Christmas, and that my absence on the first day proceeds entirely from my unwillingness to leave my duties here. Lord Camden (who left me this morning) and Lord Carrington are the only persons with whom I have had the opportunity of talking on this

subject, and they both agree with me in thinking this the best plan.

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ W. P.”

MR. PITT TO MR. ROSE.

“ Walmer Castle, Dec. 2d, 1803.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ I shall be so constantly occupied all next week in going round to my different battalions, that it will be impossible for me to think of going to town till the week after; but I hope to be at liberty on Monday se’nnight, and to reach town by dinner-time that day. I agree very much in all you say of the pamphlet, and I think particularly that a note, adding a much more ample statement on the finance, will be very useful in a new edition. We may talk more of this when we meet, which I hope will now be very soon.

“ Ever yours,

“ W. P.”

CHAPTER III.

1804.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. PITT, MR. ROSE, LORD ELDON, AND THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN—THE PROPOSED COALITION MINISTRY BETWEEN MR. PITT AND THE OPPOSITION.

[THE next letter is remarkable, because the postscript sufficiently accounts for Mr. Pitt's reserve in his correspondence on important points. It appears that his letters, when directed by himself, were opened at the Post-office, and a note by Miss Rose relates the singular way in which that discovery was made, though it had been suspected long before, as one of Mr. Rose's letters shows. She also indicates the person to whom it was imputed.—ED.]

“Rochester, Saturday night, Jan. 7th, 1804.

“DEAR ROSE,

“I write, having got thus far on my way to town. The weather seemed to allow me an interval in which I could leave the coast for a few days, and letters which I have had from some of my friends in town, made me think it material not to delay coming up, in order to ascertain what is likely to be the state of parties when the House next meets.

Much will depend on the line now to be adopted; and as I find I must give up going to Bath, and shall lose that chance of seeing you, I should be very glad if you could without inconvenience meet me in town. I mean at present to stay over Thursday, and perhaps Friday, but that must depend a little upon wind and intelligence. The sooner therefore you can come the better.

“ Ever yours sincerely,

“ W. P.”

“ I send this under Hammond’s cover to the Postmaster at Southampton, to be forwarded from thence.”¹

[After the resignation of Mr. Addington, when the King had recourse again to Mr. Pitt, Mr. Rose convinced himself, by a close examination of the parties in the House of Commons, that the latter could not obtain a working majority in that house in opposition

¹ *Note by Miss Rose.*—The precaution of sending the letter under cover, was in consequence of letters of Mr. Pitt to my father, and others, having been intercepted. After he ascertained that, they were directed by others, and not sealed by his seal.

Some time after, when we were in London, the floor-cloth in the entrance-hall was taken up, and under it, near the door, one of the intercepted letters was found by the housemaid; indeed there had been a heavy mat on the floor-cloth, and the sill of the door was worn hollow by *many* feet. It seemed to have been pushed under the door by a stick, and accidentally *slipped* under the floor-cloth.

Who had intercepted and opened the letter, there could not be a doubt; and more, very little doubt who found it (where, as it was of no consequence it was probably left), and put it under the door.

The then Postmaster-General lived in Palace Yard, *very near*.

to the three divisions of it, the leaders of which were Addington, Fox, and Lord Grenville; two of them having been his supporters in his last administration. He became, therefore, a strenuous advocate for a union with the leaders of the Opposition, except the first; and conceiving that Lord Eldon might have great influence with Mr. Pitt, he stated the case to him, with a view to secure his concurrence; but the Chancellor was as firm as a rock. He scorned any compromise with the enemy. It was the only thing on which he never entertained a doubt, and in great wrath he rejected the proposal.—ED.]

MR. ROSE TO LORD CHANCELLOR ELDON.

“ May 4th, 1804.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ At the present moment I cannot entertain a thought of breaking in upon you by desiring any personal intercourse, and I must reluctantly interrupt you very shortly in this manner. It would be the height of presumption and folly in me if I could conceive the remotest possibility of my being able to add anything to what Mr. Pitt said in his letter to you of Wednesday (respecting the advantages that would be derived to the King and to the nation by the formation of an administration on such a basis as he therein suggested), to convince you of the certainty of what he has so forcibly stated. But mixing more with them at present, and necessarily knowing more of their sentiments, than your Lordship, I am

anxious to say to you, that although there is on the part of some of our friends a disinclination to anything like a union of the sort alluded to by Mr. Pitt, I have a firm persuasion that he would not be able, if an absolute negative should be put on that, to submit to the consideration of his Majesty names to form an administration which would have a reasonable chance of maintaining itself for eighteen months. Every feeling of my mind, and every wish of my heart, are adverse, my dear Lord, to an unnecessary co-operation with the persons in question; to one set of these I have, from my first thinking on political subjects had a strong dislike, and to this instant, have never had the slightest intercourse with any one of them, either directly or indirectly; and by the leader of the other part of them, I have been treated with the most supercilious neglect and marked inattention. I mention these circumstances merely to convince you that I am at least disinterested in the opinion I am expressing.

“My affectionate and devoted attachment to the King (in which I protest to God, I believe I am not exceeded by any man in his dominions), is not, nor has it at any time been, diminished by any change of situation. I wish his happiness, tranquillity, and comfort, as much as I do the prosperity of the country: a stronger expression of my devotion to him I could not devise. Forgive, my dear Lord, the freedom I am using; my motive cannot, I trust, be mistaken by you: I write under the strongest conviction that my opinion is well founded. As soon as you have read this I

entreat you will put it into the fire: it requires no answer, nor could one be given to it. I have only further to beg you will never let any human being know that I have made this or any communication to you, as Mr. Pitt is entirely ignorant of my intention. I except, however, Sir William Scott, in the event of your thinking it right to say anything of it to him. I mean to breakfast with him to-morrow (if he will let me), because I have no reluctance whatever in opening my mind fully to him, and by doing so, can attract no observation; nor would it, indeed, if I should look in upon you in your room near the House, if you should wish to see me for ten minutes, as I have often done so on House of Lords business; but at the same time I must repeat, that I have not the remotest wish to obtrude further on you, being indeed aware that I could not usefully add a syllable to what I have herein said."

LORD ELDON TO MR. ROSE.

Written and received,

"May 4th, 1804.

"DEAR SIR,

"No man can be more convinced than I am of the difficult circumstances we stand in, and I thank God I am not accessory to the causes which have produced them. The forbearance of a fortnight or three weeks would have saved the King, and I think might have saved Mr. Pitt the cruel consequences, as I am apprehensive they will turn out, of having felt a necessity of making a proposition, the making of which

will, in my judgment, most seriously injure him, and the execution of which I believe to be utterly impossible, whilst the personage who must decide upon it retains his understanding. I see no medium between Mr. Pitt's trying what you think not lasting, and the King's being destroyed. God forgive all those who have brought either of them into this situation. For my own part, my mind is so decided, that if the King's health was firm, and I could so far forget my duty to Mr. Pitt as to give him what I thought the worst advice I could offer him, I should forward the purpose of his forming an administration upon those broad-bottomed principles, an attention to which, on his part, would, after all that has passed, deliver up his character, in the minds of thinking, honest men, to a silent, melancholy, painful disapprobation; and in the minds of those who act upon honest prejudice, having the semblance and face of just reasoning, to something that will fall little short of execration. I have no objection to seeing you anywhere—my brother I would rather not see upon this subject, for many reasons; principally because my mind is unalterably fixed as to what is to be my conduct, and in whatever befalls me I will never have it left in the power of my mind, when it reflects, to attribute anything to the suggestions of a brother whom I love, if I thought him more impartial upon this subject than I think the goodness of his heart allows him to be.

“ I am, yours truly,

“ ELDON.”

MR. ROSE TO MR. PITT.

"Monday morning, 7 o'clock,

"May 7th, 1804.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I cannot resist (after a night of much more reflection than sleep) calling your attention again for a few minutes to the important point on which we had so much discussion yesterday. I will, in the first place, fairly own that my opinion about the letter to you is unaltered. I will say nothing of my feeling on the subject; but, putting that entirely out of consideration at present, which perhaps we ought not to do altogether, I think the statement made up by Long to me, must be decisive against the remotest probability of the Government going on for the remainder of this session without acquiring some part of the strength contained in it. The most moderate view of the different interests makes the total numbers 240, and that leaves 70 Irish unaccounted for, many of whom are actually arrived, or are on the road. You recollect Beresford said most of them are for Mr. A.; and Lord De Blaquiere, who is no incompetent judge of such matters, said at Lord Camden's, on Saturday, that two-thirds of them are hostile to you; besides which there are many English about whom neither Long nor myself could form any probable guess. On the whole, it is surely being sanguine to suppose that we should only have 260 or 270 against us, almost every one of whom are on the spot, and 205 remain Mr. A.'s. It seems to me that a plain representation of this to the King would have nearly the same effect

towards convincing his Majesty of the utter impossibility of your forming a Government usefully without some other aid, as it would for you to put yourself at the head of an Administration which must fall almost as soon as formed. And I continue to think that such an event would be not only unpleasant as affecting yourself (leaving you in a very different situation, in many respects, from the one you are now in), but would be extremely mischievous to the public interest both at home and abroad.

“It would naturally be said, here is a country so distracted that, upon one Administration being removed by the voice of Parliament, it has been found impossible even for Mr. Pitt, to whom Europe, as well as England, has looked up, to form another that can carry on the government of the country for a month. The encouragement this would give to our enemies, and the distrust it would create amongst our friends, would not easily be removed by subsequent arrangements.”

“P.S.—I am not sure that the letter should be kept entirely out of view in the present consideration, because it raises a doubt, at least, whether the support of those who are friendly to the writer would be steady, uniform, and active. If the Prince should separate from Mr. Fox, I am by no means certain that we could reckon on all those in his list. I do not believe there would be any chance of the Duke of Norfolk’s members.”

[Dr. Moore, the Archbishop of Canterbury, being dangerously ill, the Bishop of Lincoln, relying upon the close intimacy which had subsisted between Mr. Pitt and himself, ever since the latter was at Cambridge, aspired to the primacy as soon as it should be vacant. And if it had depended on Mr. Pitt alone, no doubt his ambition would have been gratified. But the King sometimes insisted upon sharing the patronage of the Church with his Minister, even though that Minister was as great a favourite and as powerful as Mr. Pitt; and in this instance he insisted upon giving Canterbury to Dr. Manners Sutton, the Bishop of Norwich, who was also Dean of Windsor. But the vacancy did not occur till the 5th of February, in the following year. In these letters Dr. Tomline describes the grounds of his hopes and fears to his friend, Mr. Rose.—ED.]

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Upon looking over my inclosed letter I do not perceive in it anything which I should be unwilling that Mr. Pitt should see; and, therefore, as you say that you intend to have some conversation with him upon the subject, you will consider yourself at liberty to show it to him, if you see a fair opportunity; perhaps it might be useful. In haste; but be assured,

my dear friend, that *we* feel all your kindness upon this occasion, and that I have in the most perfect confidence opened my whole heart to you.

“Yours ever, most affectionately,

“G. LINCOLN.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“Be assured, my dear Sir, that I feel as strongly as you can wish that your hesitation proceeds from a delicacy of mind and warmth of friendship, as highly honourable to you as gratifying to me. I have considered what you say, but I own I am still inclined to wish you may find a proper opportunity of showing my letter (as you see no objection except the one you mention), and this for the following reasons:—If the case really stands as it has been represented, and the expected vacancy should take place before I see Mr. Pitt, it may be immediately made so public a matter as to prevent the possibility of avoiding the mortification I have deprecated in my letter. But if Mr. Pitt be previously in possession of my sentiments and feelings on this account, I am confident he would most readily and affectionately wish to consult them as far as he could consistently with what had passed with the King. The more I reflect, the more firmly am I persuaded that, *if* he has committed himself upon the subject, it has been under the impression of my not wishing for the situation; the agreement, therefore, may be considered by him as only conditional. Another reason—and this you will fully enter into—

is the reluctance I feel to introduce the circumstances which make it necessary for me to have an explanation upon the subject, considering the terms upon which we have always spoken upon whatever was interesting to either of us.

“ Mrs. T. desired to take a copy of my last letter to you, and, upon looking it over again, I see nothing I would wish not to meet Mr. Pitt’s eyes ; but I regret that I did not express my very strong sense of the awful responsibility attached to such a station in the present times being as much the cause of my doubt whether I should or should not accept it (for such it truly is), as the happiness I enjoy in my present situation. I knew that it was quite unnecessary to add that, if you found from Mr. Pitt that he had not formed the positive opinion and determination stated to you, you would not show my letter to him. But as from your letter received this morning, there is a possibility that you have already had some conversation upon the subject, and had not taken that opportunity of showing him my letter, the propriety of renewing that conversation must depend upon what has already passed, and which I leave entirely to your judgment. In any case I must entreat that you will not stay an hour in town on this account. I am truly sensible of all your kindness.

“ Coupling what I heard from Mr. Pitt with some paragraphs which appeared in the *Sun* newspaper yesterday and to-day, it seems to me very probable (notwithstanding what you told me upon this subject) that Lord Moira will soon be appointed Lord-Lieu-

tenant of Ireland, and Mr. Tierney his secretary. It appears to me—and I wish you may agree with me—that the objection to the employment of Mr. Tierney would be a good deal weakened by the appointment of Lord Moira at the same time, and by the reconciliation of the King and Prince. All these matters will seem to be connected, and Mr. Pitt may even be commended by some people for giving up his own private feelings and personal objections. I am very glad that Gibbs is coming into Parliament, as he may be useful as a speaker, which you much want. I wish the Master of the Rolls could be prevailed upon to come forward upon common occasions; on great days he will assist you. I do not doubt but you want constant every-day debaters.

“ Mrs. Tomline desires her kindest compliments. We are both grieved beyond measure that you should think you perceive a diminution of kindness and confidence where, we are satisfied, you have a right to expect an increase, if possible. We are persuaded that no one is more attached, and few, very few, more useful. Adieu.

“ Yours ever, most cordially,

“ G. LINCOLN.”

“ Buckden Palace, Nov. 15th, 1804.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“ I feel, my dear Sir, all your kindness; but at the same time I have so much confidence in your judgment that I cannot persevere in desiring you to

show my letter to Mr. Pitt ; and more especially as it would be not only contrary to your judgment, but repugnant to your feelings, and attended with some apprehensions lest you should displease Mr. Pitt. I therefore, without any hesitation, give up the point in the manner I before wished. I will only beg you to take the letter in your pocket when you go to Putney, and if Mr. Pitt should of his own accord renew the conversation, and in the course of it say anything to alter your opinion, and give you a fair opportunity of showing the letter, then show it, but not otherwise by any means ; and in particular let not the conversation be renewed on your part ; for I cannot bear the thought of ever being instrumental in the remotest degree to the consequences which you hear might result from it. I trust I need not say, I never could have wished you to make the communication if such consequences had appeared to me possible.

“ Adieu ! my dear friend,—and in any case let me hear from you again before you leave town, with any news you can pick up.

“ Mrs. Tomline desires to be most kindly remembered.

“ Yours ever, most cordially,

“ G. LINCOLN.

“ Buckden Palace, Nov. 18th, 1804.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Deanery, St. Paul's, Dec. 3d, 1804.

“ I went to dine and sleep at Putney on Saturday, and Mr. Pitt, as soon as he saw me, told me that

he was to be at Windsor the next day or two, and would certainly speak upon the subject, about which you have so kindly interested yourself. He desired to see me this morning at breakfast at Putney; but he came down late, and I could not see him alone, although he said before a third person, "Bishop, I want to speak to you, and must get into your carriage with you." He did so, and told me what had passed. It is by no means decisive; but as far as it goes it is rather favourable, inasmuch as no fixed determination or promise was mentioned, although a very strong wish and opinion, of course against me, or rather in favour of the other person, were expressed. The Lord Chancellor was present at Windsor. Mr. Pitt means to write fully upon the subject, which he thinks better than conversation in the present state of the King. I am confident that he will do everything in his power short of absolute force. Nothing can be more kind than his manner and expressions, and my mind is perfectly at ease; indeed, much more than at ease.

"I have but a moment to say that I rather think we shall remain in town and at Fulham till Saturday, when we shall go to Wycombe to meet Mr. Pitt at Lord Carrington's. Adieu, my dear Sir. Kindest remembrances to all our good friends at Cuffinells.

"Yours ever, most cordially,

"G. LINCOLN.

"Things are getting worse than ever with the Prince."

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“ Wycombe, Dec. 11th, 1804.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I received your letter on Saturday, just as we were setting out for this place to meet Mr. Pitt. Mr. Pitt came hither to dinner on Saturday, and went away yesterday morning; he seems remarkably well and in high spirits: he thinks that additional strength in the House of Commons is very desirable, though not absolutely necessary. It will be derived from a quarter, if from any, which will not give much satisfaction to you and me. While he was here he wrote the rough copy of a letter to his Majesty, relative to the expected vacancy, as strong and as kind as I could wish; but still we all of us consider the event as uncertain. I have already said everything in my power to the Bishop of Bristol respecting Mr. Clapham. I think he should make a point of seeing the Bishop, unless he writes explicitly to him, that he may know what he has to expect. I am still inclined to think that the opinion of a common lawyer may be useful. A *caveat* or a *quare impedit* may be advised.

“ But as the *right* is clearly not in Mr. Clapham, he will of course conduct himself with caution and civility towards the Bishop. He has not written to me, and I fear that his intentions are not friendly. I do not know where he is. I shall carry this to town, and if I hear anything there I will let you know. We propose to set out for Buckden to-morrow, and I shall be in town some time next week again. Adieu,

my dear Sir. With kindest remembrances to all your circle,

“ Yours ever, most affectionately,

“ G. LINCOLN.

“ Mr. Pitt talks of going to Bath for a fortnight about the 20th ; but I do not think he will be able to leave town so soon.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“ Buckden Palace, Dec. 18th, 1804.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ By a letter which I received from Mr. Pitt, I learn that the political arrangement to which I alluded in my last letter is likely to take place. I expect to be in town on Thursday, but probably not in time to see Mr. Pitt on that day. I shall, of course, write whenever I hear anything worth communicating. Mr. Pitt had received no answer to his letter on my business. I have agreed to purchase the manor of Lymington, Woodside Farm, reversion of Lady Delaware's cottage, &c. I shall direct this letter to Palace Yard, for the chance of your being called to town. Adieu.

“ Yours ever, most truly and affectionately,

“ G. LINCOLN.”

[When the vacancy in the see of Canterbury actually occurred, the King insisted upon its being given to Dr. Manners Sutton, Bishop of Norwich and Dean

of Windsor. Mr. Pitt acquiesced, and the King mistook his acquiescence for approbation, as appears from Mr. Rose's Diary at the end of 1805.—Ed.]

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“ Buckden Palace, Feb. 4th, 1805.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ A thousand thanks for your letter which I received yesterday. The kind expressions and feelings of yourself and family respecting Lambeth, are highly gratifying to *us*. I am particularly alive to Miss Rose's consoling reflection. I really think that I am much happier where I am, and therefore, as far as I am concerned, I shall remain content at Buckden, as I have most abundant reason to be. Mr. Pitt's assurances and exertions upon the occasion, though not successful, have given me the most heartfelt satisfaction. I had a most kind letter from him the beginning of last week, which implied that he had acquiesced. The triumphs and exultations will give me personally no pain. I rather mean on my own private account—but I entirely agree with you that this defeat may be of serious mischief upon public grounds. And, indeed, I know persons of great consequence who will consider Mr. Pitt's acquiescence as very uncreditable to him—and who are represented to me as waiting for the result of this struggle. I am confident that Mr. Pitt has not the slightest idea of resigning or being forced out, and that he looks forward to a long continuance in office. I regret, from the bottom of my heart, that you have had no private conversation with

him, but still I contend that this inattention does not proceed from want of regard for you. It is a part of his natural character, increased by incessant pressing business, and long habits of office ; I might add, long possession of power. You will perhaps smile when I mention a further cause, which may appear trifling—but, I am myself persuaded that his lying so late in bed in a morning prevents his seeing and talking with many persons to whom he might otherwise be able to show attention. He is too late for anything. Business presses which *must* be done. Whatever can be put off is put off, and by this procrastination, many things, which, though they belong to no particular day, ought to be done soon, are never done at all. I lament this disposition in Mr. Pitt more than I can express. I know that it is mischievous to himself and painful to his best friends—to those for whom he has a real regard. I am far from justifying Mr. Pitt's silence and reserve towards you, but I am very anxious that you should understand its real cause, and see it in its true light. Do not impute it, notwithstanding appearances, to any diminution of regard towards you, or to any want of confidence. Perhaps he may not feel all the energy which he did twenty years ago ; and even conversation upon matters of business and explanation of conduct may grow in some degree fatiguing to him. I really believe it does, and that he finds solitude and entire rest sometimes necessary to him. Look at his colleagues, and you will be satisfied that he must have many things to do, even of detail, in their departments. All this must be felt by a constitution certainly

not in its full vigour. I am sure you are the last man not to make allowances for considerations of this kind; and you will also be convinced that the critical situation of the country, both as to domestic and foreign affairs, may at times affect Mr. Pitt's mind in its present state, and that his spirits may, now and then at least, suffer a depression which may give a colour to his external behaviour and manner.

“Yours ever, most truly and affectionately,
“G. LINCOLN.”

[Mr. Pitt communicated the progress of his negotiations with Mr. Addington to the Bishop of Lincoln only, knowing that the other friend was so adverse to the whole of that policy that it was useless to look to him for any sympathy. It may be thought that the Bishop had shown quite as much bitterness against that party as Mr. Rose; but the Bishop, though bold in his letters, was more timid in the presence of Mr. Pitt. He was not so plain spoken and persevering as Mr. Rose in the assertion of his own opinion. The different phases of the negotiation therefore are exhibited only in these letters.—ED.]

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“Deanery, St. Paul's, Dec. 22d, 1804.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I dined yesterday with Mr. Pitt, and had a long conversation with him after the company went away. He and Mr. A. are to meet to-morrow, and I

am inclined to think that the arrangement will take place almost immediately, but I am not entirely without hope that it may stand over for a short time, and that Mr. A. will support. This would, I think, be better. There is some difficulty about Lord Buckinghamshire, for whom Mr. A. thinks it right to stipulate. I do not apprehend that Mr. Tierney will have office or give support; he will remain probably with the Prince. Mr. Pitt thinks that by this junction he shall gain great strength, as it will unite all persons who do not wish the King to be forced to take Fox. Mr. Pitt has fixed to set out for Bath on Wednesday. My own opinion is that he will not go at all; certainly not unless Mr. B. Frere comes very soon.

“I shall see Mr. Pitt on Monday, on his way from Lord Hawkesbury’s to Long’s. If I learn anything you may depend upon hearing from me. Adieu. Every good wish to you and yours.

“Yours ever, most cordially,

“G. LINCOLN.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“Fulham Palace, Dec. 27th, 1804.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Mr. Pitt was not in town from Saturday till yesterday, and it was so late when I saw him that I had not time to write to you, being engaged to dine here, and now I shall have leisure only to state a few facts and circumstances without any comment.

“Mr. Pitt was preparing to go and dine at Richmond with Mr. Addington. He expressed himself

perfectly satisfied with the interview on Sunday, and related to me the principal things which passed. It was not settled what particular office Mr. A. is to have. Two offices are to be opened for two of Mr. A.'s friends, of whom brother Hiley will probably not be one, in which Mr. P. thought Mr. A. judged rightly. Lord Charles Spencer will probably resign the Post-Office, some moderate pension being to be given to himself and a provision made for his son. This will make an opening for Lord Buckinghamshire, who is to be in the cabinet. I stated to Mr. Pitt how much better it would be that all this should be deferred for some months, and that in the mean time Mr. A. and his friends should *support*. Mr. Pitt thought that this could not be accomplished, and assigned some reasons. The whole was to be talked over yesterday after dinner. Mr. Pitt saw Lord Harrowby last Saturday for an hour and a-half. He is pretty well recovered from his fall, but his general health is such as to make it impossible he should attend to the duties of his office for many months. He is anxious to resign; and Lady Harrowby, whom Mr. Pitt saw, is convinced that it is necessary, although she was originally very eager for his taking office. Indeed, continuance in office without being able to do anything would, with his anxious mind, probably be very injurious to him. He is therefore to give up the seals, and I am inclined to think that Lord Mulgrave will succeed him. Perhaps the Duke of Portland may remain in his present situation; but this is doubtful.

“ Mr. Pitt was in high spirits. He talked of going to Bath on Saturday or Sunday, if the wind continues east, and sending to Plymouth and Falmouth, and desiring that Mr. B. Frere, if he should arrive, would go to Bath, instead of going directly to town. Mr. Pitt would return to town about the 9th ; but I am of opinion, upon the whole, that he will not go, and more especially as there is some important Russian business which must be settled before he can leave town, exclusive of this political arrangement ; and he must also go to Windsor, which, indeed, he might perhaps do on his way to Bath. On the other hand, he may perhaps want to return to town after he has seen his Majesty.

“ I shall remain quietly here to-day, and intend to be in Downing Street to-morrow morning, before Mr. Pitt’s breakfast hour, for the chance of getting some conversation with him. I shall not leave town till after morning service at St. Paul’s, on Monday, and perhaps not even then, though I am very anxious to pass New Year’s Day with Mrs. Tomline and our three boys. W. G. is to come from Cambridge for three or four days only ; but, if Mr. Pitt goes to Bath, there will certainly be nothing to detain me in town.

“ I saw Mr. Clapham yesterday, and I conclude that he has communicated to you the particulars of his interview with the Bishop of Bristol. His business seems in a fair way.

“ I do not wonder, my good friend, at your feelings expressed in your last letter. Of the degree of strength

which Mr. Pitt will gain from this junction, or whether sufficient strength might have been gained without it, I can myself form no judgment. That strength was wanted, is agreed on all hands. Union with Mr. Fox in the present reign is absolutely impossible. To gain the Grenvilles without Fox was hopeless, and their numbers would not have been considerable separately taken. Fox and Addington would then have joined, if not at first, in time; and, though this might have hurt the character of both, they would have soon acted together in opposition. But any speculation upon this point is worth nothing, as I am satisfied from what I lately heard that you cannot have the Grenvilles without Fox. I will not, however (and, indeed, there is not time), reason upon this very unpleasant subject. We shall soon meet, and talk it over; and, in the meantime, I trust you will not form any resolution of the kind to which you allude in your last letter. Had I been at Buckden, Lord and Lady Grenville would have dined and slept there yesterday, the very day Mr. P. dined with Mr. A. What a paragraph for the newspapers!

“I expect to see Lord G. at Buckden, on his way to Lord Carysfort’s. He has promised. Adieu.

“Always most affectionately and truly yours,

“G. LINCOLN.”

[Mr. Rose was perhaps a little too sensitive ; but great attachment is apt to be jealous, and, it appears, he entertained some misgiving that Mr. Pitt's affection for him had cooled ; and, if there was any foundation for it, it may have arisen from the opposite views which they entertained about the alliance with Mr. Addington ; for Mr. Pitt, never implacable, had resumed his habits of friendship with his former friends, of which Mr. Wilberforce gives this account. " I am sure," Mr. Pitt said, " you are glad to hear that Addington and I are one again ;" and then he added, with a sweetness of manner which I shall never forget—" I think they are a little hard upon us in finding fault with us for making it up again, when we have been friends from our childhood." But all the complaint that appears is of inattention ; and there seems to have been a suspension of correspondence about this time, between Mr. Rose and Mr. Pitt, the only grievance may have been that his letters were not answered ; and, if so, the testimony of Lord Grenville, who knew Mr. Pitt well, should be remembered, that he had contracted a bad habit of not answering letters. That there was no real diminution of regard, is evident from the following letter, for it seems to have been the uppermost thing in his thoughts to inquire of a better correspondent what Rose thought of his plans ; and the kindness with which he spoke of him proved that his feelings towards him were unchanged.—ED.]

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“Deanery, St. Paul’s, Dec. 29th, 1804.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I read your letter, which I found upon my coming from St. Paul’s this morning, on my way to Downing Street. I went to Mr. Pitt, in his dressing-room, which he was just leaving; and he was scarcely seated at his breakfast table, when he said, ‘Have you heard from Rose lately? Does he know what is going on?’ I told him that I had given you a general idea of the business, as I concluded he (Mr. Pitt) would have no objection. ‘Quite otherwise, for I have intended to write to him myself, but could never find leisure. I am glad he knows it from you. What does he say?’ This would in any case have been rather a puzzling question, and especially after reading your letter. My answer was to this effect:—That you were convinced of the necessity of additional strength, but you were inclined to think that sufficient strength might perhaps have been gained without a junction with Addington; that you certainly had no reason to be partial to Addington, but that you as certainly felt no resentment towards him; that your attachment to Mr. Pitt would lead you to think favourably of any measure which he might think necessary; and that you were desirous of hearing from Mr. Pitt himself the reasons which had induced him to take this step, before you delivered any positive opinion, and especially as you hoped so soon to have an opportunity of conversing with him.

“ Have I done or said more than I ought? Mr. Pitt then talked about you in the kindest manner, said that you had taken the greatest pains with your present office, and were bringing it into most excellent order. He said that he would write to you to-day, if possible; if not, upon his road to Bath. He still talks of setting out to-morrow.

“ Indeed, my good friend, be assured Mr. Pitt has a sincere regard for you, and a high opinion of your merit. That he has sometimes treated you with inattention, is not to be denied; but this is a part of Mr. Pitt’s character, and I could—in my long and intimate acquaintance with him, and after watching him so many years—relate such instances as you would scarcely believe. Banish all idea of an opposite kind from your mind, if you have any reliance upon my veracity and judgment. I am confident of what I say.

“ Your warm and affectionate heart has led you now and then to draw conclusions which were as unjust to Mr. Pitt as they were painful to yourself; indeed, they were unjust to yourself also. I have been sadly interrupted, or I would have written at more length upon this subject, which I earnestly wished, because I know that it concerns the happiness of you and yours;—but I must conclude. I am going to an early and short dinner with Mr. Pitt, that he may prepare for his Bath journey, of which I have still some doubts. I shall leave town on Monday. Let me hear from you. Kindest compliments.

“ Yours, ever cordially,

“ G. LINCOLN.

“ Recollect that there was no *difference of principle* between Mr. A. and Mr. P., and that Mr. P. ridiculed him as *First Minister*. The King approves of Lord Mulgrave. Nothing new about the arrangement. Mr. Pitt agreed to meet Mr. A. yesterday, at Hat-sells. Mr. A. came to town on purpose, and, after waiting an hour and a half, he sent to Downing Street to inquire after Mr. Pitt. The answer was that he was gone to Windsor, and was not expected back for several hours! Mr. Pitt forgot the appointment that they were to meet to-day.

[The next portion of Mr. Rose's diary, from April to June 1804, is valuable because it furnishes another useful lesson to historians, warning them to beware how they adopt the impressions, or belief, or misrepresentations of contemporary writers who are not eye-witnesses of what they relate; and who, to use the language of Lord Brougham, have “a proneness to prejudice in favour of opinions resembling their own, a blindness to the defects of those who hold them, and a prepossession against those who hold them not.” But especially is this the case with those who are rivals in political warfare. Party zeal, exasperated by disappointed ambition, produces an obliquity of mental vision which leads them astray far from the straight line of fact. They embrace falsehood for truth, in order to impute ill motives to those whom they dislike. Thus the Diary shows incontrovertibly

that the writers of the party opposed to Mr. Pitt were utterly wrong in their representations of what occurred on his return to power in this year. The Marquis of Buckingham was wrong in stating that he was not particularly solicitous for the combination of talent that Lord Grenville considered was demanded by the position of the country; and that he took advantage of the consistency of more *disinterested* politicians, to exclude them from any share in the government.¹

Mr. Thomas Grenville was wrong in stating that Mr. Pitt had a reluctance to the organization of a strong government; and that when an opportunity came for reunion (with the Grenvillites), he hesitated, dallied, and then strove to go on in the old course.² Lord Grenville was wrong in stating that his hope of uniting the leading parties, and using all the talents and exertions of public men to heal the distractions of the country was "now desperate; firstly, by the great misconduct of Pitt, who might have realized it, but refused to do so; and secondly, by the violence of my own friends, some of whom never wished the thing to succeed." The only truth here is contained in the second clause, and concurs with what Lord Grenville's brother had previously stated, that most of Fox's friends wished to drive the opposition to a union with Addington, to the exclusion of Mr. Pitt.³ Lord Holland, less bitter, because less personally interested

¹ Letters, vol. iii. p. 356.

² *Ibid.* p. 432.

³ Vol. iv. p. 9.

than the others, is still very wrong in asserting that Mr. Pitt's endeavour to prevail on the King to admit all parties into his cabinet, was a *faint* endeavour, and that he found the prejudice against *men* and measures insurmountable.

There was but one man against whom his prejudice was insurmountable, and it was for the sake of that one man that all the rest were excluded—not by Mr. Pitt, nor by the King, but by themselves.¹

Brougham, whose monomania against George III. breaks out on every occasion, is wrong in another way when he says that “it was discreditable to Mr. Pitt, that after pressing Mr. Fox upon the King, as an accession of strength necessary for well carrying on the war, he agreed to take office without any such accession, rather than thwart the personal antipathy—the capricious, the despicable antipathy of that narrow-minded and vindictive Prince against the most illustrious of his subjects.” The epithets in either case might better have been omitted. The character of that “most illustrious” man has been already exposed, and it has been shown how justly obnoxious he was to the King. But when we add to this, “his disrepute with the public,” spoken of by Walpole, and his evidence that “the character of Fox would be an inexhaustible fund of objections” to a coalition;² that “the bad character of Fox and his friends would give

¹ Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. i. p. 192.

² Lord John Russell's Memoirs of Fox, vol. i. pp. 44 and 53.

infinite offence ;” and that “his private life alarmed public morality ;” and in addition to all this, Lord John Russell’s admission that the intimacy between the Prince of Wales and Mr. Fox greatly exasperated the King, who ascribed his excesses and imprudence to the advice, influence, and manœuvres of one whose own dissipation afforded plausible grounds for such a suspicion ;—it must be granted that the King’s objection to that most illustrious of his subjects was a very respectable antipathy.

However, this is matter of opinion ;—not so what follows. After relating an anecdote of Mr. Long having diverted Mr. Pitt from his intention of going into Brookes’s to sup, in 1804, Lord Brougham adds, “When we reflect on the high favour Mr. Pitt was then in with the whigs, and consider the nature of Mr. Fox as well as his own, we can have little doubt of the cordial friendship which such a night would have cemented, and that the union of the two parties would have been complete.”¹ It is singular that Mr. Rose himself fell into the same mistake, and anticipated great results from the two leaders combining both parties ; and therefore it was rather hard upon him, that in the year 1807, when, after the death of Fox, the Grenvillites were intent upon remodelling the administration, Lord Temple objected to treating with the adherents of Mr. Pitt, because Mr. Rose was one

¹ Historical Sketches of Statesmen in the time of George III. vol. i. p. 201.

of them ; supposing, no doubt, that he shared in the imputed exclusiveness of Mr. Pitt. This was a very great mistake, pardonable enough in the actors of that time, by whom the private sentiments of the leaders might indeed be conjectured, but were not certainly known ; but unpardonable in those who now know exactly how matters really stood, and the flame that burned so inextinguishably in the breasts of both.

It would not have been less ridiculous to propose to Napoleon I. and Louis XVIII. to rule over France together, and to unite their followers in one concordant administration. The flattery of Virgil could suggest to Augustus that he divided the Roman empire with Jupiter ; but Jupiter, if there had been such a person, would have fulminated his thunders loud enough to prove the contrary. The lofty spirit of Mr. Pitt, who for seventeen years had held undisputed sway over these realms, was not likely to bow tamely beneath the yoke of Mr. Fox, even though he were “the most illustrious” of Britons ; and so little did the possibility of such an expectation occur to him, that, in order to satisfy both his sovereign and his rival, he proposed, in his character of Premier, to send Mr. Fox as an ambassador to some foreign court ; and if he could have been contented with being the representative of his sovereign, the King would have ratified the appointment.

If such a proposal had been communicated to Fox, it would have thrown him into fits ; for see how he

raved at the mere thought of subjection to Pitt in any way. Having heard that his Majesty had consented to an extended administration without any exclusion, and that six of his party were to be admitted into the cabinet, he proceeds to say,—“I should conceive that either this plan is abandoned, or that such is the impudence of the man, that he conceives it not incompatible with this plan, to insist on his own remaining where he is. I can hardly think him audacious enough to make such an overture; any proposal ought to be, and would be rejected, in which he was to be head.”¹

There is a passage, however, in a letter from Mr. Adair to Mr. Fox, which so completely vindicates the conduct of Mr. Pitt, that it must be here reproduced. Mr. Pitt strongly represented to the King the impossibility of going on without the assistance of the Opposition; that the experiments the King had wished for had both been made, and both completely failed (alluding to the attempt to detach the Grenvillites from the Foxites, and then to admit the Foxites with the exception of Fox himself). That something else must be resorted to; for that he would go on no longer. The King mentioned Mr. Fox's speech (a speech which he had made in the House of Commons, declaring that he would not stand in the way of forming a new administration). Pitt replied it was a most noble one, and that the man who could make

¹ Memoirs of Fox, vol. iv. p. 96.

it was the fittest to be applied to for advice. On the King's asking whether some proposal could not be made to the Opposition without Mr. Fox, Pitt replied, "They ought not to listen to such a proposal; and, in my opinion, their acceptance would be of very little use without him." He then argued the point for some time.

The King could not deny that there was great good sense in what Mr. Pitt observed, and that the argument stood on very different grounds from what it did last year. He said to another person, that his chief objection was that he thought Mr. Fox had a personal dislike to him. The person answered, "Then your Majesty has given a complete refusal to Mr. Pitt?" The King said, "No, not that; he had only taken time to consider, and had told Pitt to patch up as well as he could for the present."¹

After such progress had been made, it may now be asked why did the negotiation utterly fail, or rather, why was it carried no further? Because this "noble speech" was thus meanly explained away to gratify his friends, by that "most illustrious" speaker. To Mr. O'Brien he wrote thus: "I never meant to admit, nor do the words at all convey such a meaning, that such a ministry could be made without my having a principal, or perhaps the principal share in forming it, or that it could be formed at all without Pitt's coming down from his situation at the Treasury, and

¹ Memoirs of Fox, vol. iv. p. 74.

in fact considering the present ministry as annihilated ; in which case all such persons as I alluded to (*i. e.* his own followers), might be consulted on the formation of a new one."

Nor were these sentiments expressed once only, or to one person confidentially. They were indeed intended to be made known to his friends, who had taken offence at his nobleness. But to Lord Lauderdale he wrote to the same purpose ; that he had all along held a junction with Mr. Pitt to be not improbable but impossible ; that he wanted to ascertain whether there was any possibility of their coming in on other terms than submission to Pitt. "If such a possibility exists," said he, "I am as eager for seizing and improving it, as I am, and I believe always shall be, totally averse from acting under him."

And again : "The taking anything short of complete power would be worse than anything that has yet occurred."¹ And then, if he had been possessed of that power, how did he propose to use it ? He tells us in a letter to Mr. Grey : "our efforts probably would not lead to forming a party acting decidedly and honestly against the Court, which, after all, is the main object."²

Now, the conclusions to be drawn from all this evidence are these : First, that the King's dislike of Mr. Fox was not capricious and vindictive, but natural and reasonable ; and that he had abundant cause to

¹ Memoirs, vol. iv. pp. 290 and 130.

² Vol. iii. p. 429.

dread his admission into the cabinet. It is true that when no option was left to him after Mr. Pitt's death, and he was obliged to take him into his councils, the Whig minister became very amiable, and, like the panther in Dryden's fable,—

“He civilly withdrew his sharpen'd paws,
And pacified his tail, and lick'd his frothy jaws.”

But the King was not sufficiently versed in the science of physiology to know how much the enjoyment of high office can tame the ferocity of a Jacobin. Secondly, that if Mr. Pitt took office without Mr. Fox, it was not his fault, nor yet the King's, who seems to have been in a relenting mood at last, and only asked for time to reconcile himself to the idea; but it was solely and entirely the fault of Mr. Fox, who would be contented with nothing less than absolute supremacy. It is true that in his fear lest it should altogether elude his grasp, he once suggested that a third person might be placed at the head of the Treasury; the effect of which may be better understood by comparing it with the somewhat parallel case of Addington and Pitt. They had both been Premiers, and therefore Addington thought they should both be on an equality apparently in the cabinet; but he proposed virtually to convey all the power to Pitt by placing his brother at the Treasury. In like manner, Fox would submit to no other alternative than that of securing all the power to himself, by

placing there some Whig friend, who would do all his bidding.¹

If, then, it be true that Pitt “committed a flagrant political crime,” by refusing to share power with a man whose life, it is admitted, was a “life of gambling, intrigue, and faction,”² much more flagrant was the crime of Mr. Fox, in refusing to share power with a man “of spotless reputation.” Lastly, then, it is quite obvious that the union of the two parties, to be brought about by the union of their leaders, was an utter impossibility; and it is wonderful that this conclusion should have escaped the sagacity of Lord Brougham. But there is another charge preferred against Mr. Pitt, which calls for some notice. He is accused of resuming office, which he had resigned, because the King would not consent to the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, without making any stipulation for them “on the utterly unconstitutional ground of the King’s personal prejudices.”³ Whether it was unconstitutional or not, it has been clearly shown that Mr. Pitt was at least consistent. The same view which he took of that question at the first, he persevered in to the end. But the great Whig leader, Mr. Fox, plainly did not consider it unconstitutional, for he told Lord Grenville, what he and Lord Grey had often agreed upon, that if there was a ministry cordially united on giving the Catholics substantial relief, and

¹ *Memoirs of Fox*, vol. iv. p. 114. ² *Historical Sketches*, vol. i. p. 89.

³ *Historical Sketches*, vol. i. p. 201.

their full share, as far as the law will allow, in the government of the country, he thought some consideration, as far at least as delay went, might be had of the King's prejudices, especially in his present state." ¹

One would have scarcely thought it possible that the same person who penned this considerate and reasonable opinion, should have been so inconsistent as to vent his animosity at another time in such terms as these: "Some add that Pitt's refusal is owing to madness; it seeming, I suppose, incredible, that if he were in his right senses, he should refuse to do what certainly would be the greatest act of meanness hitherto exhibited, by coming in without arrangement of the Catholic business. My opinion of Pitt is not high, but I own I do not think him capable of this. That he takes the proposal as any other than an insult, is more wonderful to me than anything else."² And yet Fox came in himself without any arrangement; and when Count Stahienburgh said to him, "Have you no difficulty respecting the Roman Catholic question?" he replied, "None at all; I am determined not to annoy my sovereign by bringing it forward." Lord Holland says there was less personal enmity between them than so long a period of political conflict could be supposed to engender; but Fox was frequently abusive in speaking of Pitt, but Pitt never so, when naming his rival.

The first part of Mr. Rose's Diary for 1804 is not

¹ Memoirs of Fox, vol. iv. p. 45.

² *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 383.

sufficiently interesting to be given at full length, but from this sentence there are two passages which must be excepted; one connected with the character of Lord Thurlow, and the other with the conduct of the press. When it was certain that the Addington administration would be broken up, either by its own weakness or by a demise of the Crown, which then seemed very probable,—various rumours were afloat as to who their successors would be. Mr. Rose thought it very improbable that the Prince of Wales would call upon Mr. Pitt to form an Administration; and he proceeds to say, “I am confirmed in this observation by a *certain account*, that Lord Thurlow was with the Prince more than two hours this morning. What advice a man can give who has entirely secluded himself from all parties, and every description of gentlemen almost (except an occasional visit to Bright-helmston), living only with low Jacobins, it is difficult to guess.” The other passage relates to a visit which Mr. Rose received from the Editor of a paper. “Mr. Herriot,” he says, “the Editor of the *True Briton* and the *Sun*, with whom I have had no intercourse of any sort for seven or eight years, and whom I never saw more than two or three times in my life, came to me to say, that on the first coming in of the present Administration he took a decided line with them, knowing that Mr. Pitt supported them; that as long as he did so, Mr. Hiley Addington rode him hard with fulsome eulogiums on his brother, but assisted most materially in circulating his paper; that since

he took a contrary line, and attacked their measures, his paper had fallen off, so much as to render it a losing concern. He added, that he knew the esteem and respect of the country for Mr. Pitt was higher than ever; but that as he would not manifest to the world his opinion of the incapacity of Ministers, a paper that professed to support him and expose them could not stand." Now this is important, because it is a direct contradiction to Mr. Fox's statement, when he complained to O'Brien of an incivility to him in an anonymous letter, which he thought Mr. Pitt would not have sanctioned. "But," he adds, "perhaps I am too candid. Rose and his creatures are the set of Pitt's friends, who have, I believe, most to say to the *True Briton*."¹

Now this was written just about the time, when Mr. Rose declares in his diary, that he had not seen the Editor for seven or eight years before; and in the next place, it appears that the person who had most to do with the *True Briton*, up to the time, or at least as long as Mr. Pitt extended his ægis over that Administration, was Mr. Hiley Addington, who so long continued to give it that essential assistance which a Minister can render to a newspaper, without paying for its services. But the complaint is a sufficient proof that the Editor derived no benefit from Mr. Pitt, or his friends; that he was a steadfast partisan of that statesman, and owned allegiance to him as his political leader.

¹ Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 21.

CHAPTER IV.

1804.

MR. ROSE'S DIARY FROM APRIL 22D TO 15TH JUNE, 1804—NEGOTIATIONS AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR A NEW ADMINISTRATION.

Old Palace Yard, April 22d.—Mr. Pitt wrote a long letter to the King, stating that the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, particularly of the one who was at the head of the Administration, rendered it impossible for him, consistently with the sense of duty he felt to his Majesty and the country, to forbear any longer a direct opposition to their measures. That he took the determination reluctantly; and that he made this communication to his Majesty, previously, from motives of the sincerest respect and consideration for his Majesty. From the 22d of April, to May the 2d, there were frequent communications *verbally* between the King and Mr. Pitt through the Chancellor, which led to Mr. Pitt writing a letter to his Lordship to be communicated to his Majesty; having, during that intercourse, been encouraged to submit his thoughts to the King respecting a new Administration, at the head of which he should be.

May 2d.—Mr. Pitt wrote accordingly to the Chancellor, desiring him to submit to his Majesty, how

desirable it would be, in the present circumstances of this country and of Europe, that an Administration should be formed on a broad basis, combining the best talents and the great weight of property of the country; and, with that view, earnestly recommended including Lord Grenville and his friends, and Mr. Fox and his friends. Mr. Pitt urged earnestly that in carrying on such a war as we are engaged in, it would probably be necessary to adopt measures of finance which would from their pressure unavoidably be unpopular; and that other measures of government might also be found necessary, which would in like manner be rendered unpopular by persons of great talents and active dispositions. That those considerations alone would have induced Mr. Pitt to think that the best interests of the country required a strong Government. On looking abroad, however, with regard to the opinions of foreign courts, nothing would be so likely to give them confidence in this country, as the formation of such a Government as he suggested. And in addition to these reasons, Mr. Pitt stated his firm determination never to agitate the question of Catholic Emancipation again during the King's life; and that he thought the most certain way of ensuring Mr. Fox never stirring it again would be the including him in the new arrangement; as Mr. Pitt would make the stipulation that he should not move it, nor support it, a *sine quâ non* of such an arrangement. The letter was in a style of the utmost respect towards the King; but the arguments for including Mr. Fox were pressed with great eagerness

and anxiety, proportioned, indeed, to the importance Mr. Pitt attached to the success of them,—which he felt most forcibly. Mr. Pitt concluded by entreating the King would not positively decide against the proposal he had submitted to his Majesty without hearing from him *in person* his reasons in support of it ; assuring his Majesty at the same time that he had formed no engagement which would subject his Majesty to the slightest inconvenience or embarrassment whatever.

May 3d.—The letter was sent to the Chancellor in the afternoon, who carried it to his Majesty the next morning.

May 4th.—Feeling the same anxiety Mr. Pitt did for the formation of an Administration on a broad basis, and conceiving that the Chancellor might be able very much to influence the King's determination on the subject, I wrote to his Lordship a confidential letter, stating that it would be the height of presumption in me if I could suppose I could add anything to the arguments in Mr. Pitt's letter before referred to ; but mixing more with men, and necessarily knowing more of their sentiments, than his Lordship, I was desirous of impressing on his mind the importance of forming such an Administration as Mr. Pitt proposed ; persuaded, as I was, that no other could possibly have a chance of maintaining itself for eighteen months. I urged to his Lordship reasons to prove, incontrovertibly, that I could have no possible personal motive for the union so anxiously desired ; and expressed a disinclination to trouble his Lordship

personally at such a moment ; but said I would breakfast with his brother, Sir William Scott, in the morning, in order to talk with him. I concluded with telling him that my letter required no answer, nor indeed could any be given to it.

The servant, however, brought back a letter from his Lordship, evidently written in a state of much agitation, or rather of irritation, at the instant of his reading mine ; admitting the difficulty of the circumstances we are in, and thanking God that he was not accessory to the causes which had produced them. His Lordship said the forbearance of two or three weeks would have saved the King, and might have saved Mr. Pitt the cruel consequences of making a proposition, in his Lordship's opinion, most seriously injurious to his Majesty. He conceived there was no medium between Mr. Pitt's trying what I thought not lasting, and the King being destroyed. That he thought the advice to form an Administration on the basis alluded to, would be the very worst that could be given ; adding terms of the highest reprobation, and in a style of acrimony.

I, therefore, declined going to Sir William Scott, as utterly hopeless of producing any effect :—the Chancellor indeed having said, at the conclusion of his letter, that he would not mix his brother in the business.

May 5th.—The King wrote to Mr. Pitt, in answer to the proposals made to his Majesty in Mr. Pitt's letter of the 2d to the Chancellor. From the style of the letter, his Majesty must have been in a state of some

irritation at the time of writing it.¹ He expressed deep regret at the opinion entertained by Mr. Pitt of Mr. Addington, whose conduct in the chair of the House of Commons for twelve years, and afterwards in so handsomely taking the administration in the hour of distress, when Mr. Pitt and his colleagues abandoned it, for the sake of a measure which would have been most highly dangerous both to the constitution and religion of the kingdom; and in which his Majesty could not have acquiesced without a violation of his coronation oath. That before he could consent to Mr. Pitt forming an Administration he should expect he would agree to make an explicit declaration that he would *never*, at any time, agitate or support the question of Catholic Emancipation or the repeal of the Test Act. That his Majesty highly disapproved of the conduct of the two Secretaries of State² who went out of office on the occasion alluded to, one of whom he said had been in a correspondence with a former Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland;³ and that the other⁴ was governed by obstinacy, his usual disorder. His Majesty added, that he hoped Mr. Pitt, in forming a new Administration, would include as many of his present

¹ It is perfectly certain that Mr. Addington had been with the King a considerable time before his Majesty wrote this letter; and there cannot be the shadow of a doubt but that, either by representing his own merits, or complaining of the conduct of others, he contributed to, if not entirely occasioned, the irritation under which this letter was written.

² Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas.

³ Alluding to Lord Melville's correspondence with Lord Cornwallis.

⁴ Lord Grenville.

servants as possible. To the admission of Mr. Fox in it the King expressed an absolute negative; saying, that he had been expelled from the Privy Council for his conduct, and that no consideration should prevail with him to accept him now as one of his ministers.¹

To that letter from the King Mr. Pitt wrote a very temperate and respectful answer; proposing to attend his Majesty whenever he would permit him; vindicating the conduct of himself, Lord Grenville, and Lord Melville; and reminding his Majesty of the request he before made to him of being heard personally in support of the measure of an Administration being formed on a broad basis.

I thought it essential before Mr. Pitt should see the King, to put him in possession of the state of parties as far as respected those who would be likely to be in opposition to a Government formed by him to the exclusion of Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville, &c. &c. in the event of his not being able to carry his point for them; in order to which Mr. Long and myself made up lists of persons, in each party, with the greatest possible attention and care. The result was, as under:—

¹ The contents of this letter were soon known to the Prince of Wales, and others; which arose from copies of it having been made by the King's order, by Mr. Simmons, the son of the Physician from St. Luke's, who attended his Majesty; one of which was read before one or two of the royal dukes. But the circumstance gave occasion to a malevolent report that the letter was shown to Dr. Simmons himself before it was sent to Mr. Pitt.

	ENGLISH.	IRISH.	TOTAL.
The Prince	29	12	41
Mr. Fox	70	9	79
Lord Grenville	22	1	23
Mr. Addington, including persons who would oppose from former disappoint- ment, &c.	60	8	68
Doubtful persons, of whom we have some knowledge, 58; suppose only half of these against			29
			<hr/> 240

leaving 70 Irish members, and many English ones, quite uncertain. From hence it followed, that adding only 30 more as against us from the uncertain members (a sanguine estimate), there would be in the whole a strength of 270 opposed to us at the first onset. That statement Mr. Long undertook to convey to Mr. Pitt in the evening.

In the course of the day I had much conversation with Mr. Pitt about the formation of his new Government, under the discouragement in the King's letter respecting Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville, &c. He expressed a hope of being allowed to include the latter, which at once struck me to be quite a vain one; because, if the King should give way, there could not be a chance, after what we had recently seen of the intercourse or understanding between the Grenvilles and Mr. Fox, that the former could entertain *a thought* of taking office without the latter. In that event, Mr. Pitt said he thought he could form a good and permanent administration without them. I expressed *great doubts* on three points. 1st. As to members in the House of Commons; 2d. as to speakers there; and 3d. as to filling the great

offices. The first was left for consideration ; the second he thought he should arrange very well ;—reckoning Lord Castlereagh, the Attorney-General, Canning, Sturges Bourne, with one or two more of that class ; and getting Adam to be Solicitor-General, with a probability of having Mr. Tierney,¹ to which he was encouraged by Mr. Long. Mr. Adam appearing to me to be unlikely to take office, as well from his connexion with Mr. Fox as from his dislike to entering again into politics so late in life, and giving up great gains in the House of Commons business,—I asked Mr. Pitt who he would think of if Adam should decline ? and he mentioned Romilly in preference to Mr. Dallas, now in the House, or Mr. Gibbs. On the third point, Mr. Pitt mentioned Lord Melville for the Admiralty ; Lord Castlereagh, Lord Harrowby, Lord Hawkesbury, &c. for other great offices. The health of Lord Harrowby occurred to me immediately as likely to prevent his taking any situation of much labour, or requiring

¹ Respecting the suggestion about Mr. Tierney, I could say nothing to Mr. Pitt more than desiring him to consider that attentively in his *own mind*, before he should allow any proposal to be made to Mr. Tierney, because the effect of it on the public opinion could be judged of by Mr. Pitt as well as by any one. He too could estimate what sacrifice was worth making to get rid of *the trouble* Mr. Tierney is capable of giving,—*his support* not being likely to be valuable. It occurred to me too, that any objections raised by me might possibly be attributed to self-interest. In my mind, however, I was most earnestly against it, under a conviction that in the present state of the King's health, by the line the Prince of Wales is taking, Mr. Tierney would refuse ; knowing he could in no way so effectually make his court to his Royal Highness, and secure future benefits from him. I should have been equally against the proposal if I had thought he would accept it,—from the discredit of taking him after all that had passed.

constant attendance. The Chief Justiceship of Chester not having been given away, Mr. Pitt thought of Lord Thomas Manners having that on retiring from the Solicitor-General's situation.

May 7th.—The state of parties made up by Mr. Long and myself yesterday, appearing to me to be so important in the consideration of forming a new administration, I wrote to Mr. Pitt early in the morning (that he might be sure of having my letter before he went to the King), re-stating the numbers, with observations, under an impression that showing that to the King, would convince him of the extreme doubtfulness of a Government being usefully formed without some other aid; suggesting to Mr. Pitt, in the strongest terms I could express myself in, the mischievous effect that would be produced by a Government being formed *by him* that could not stand after the overthrow of the former one by the voice of Parliament; that this country must *despond*, and foreigners *despair of us*.

Mr. Pitt went to the King about eleven o'clock. He first saw the physicians in attendance on his Majesty, who assured him the King was in a state of health and mind that rendered it most perfectly and entirely safe for him to see his Majesty, and to converse with him on any business, even of the most arduous and interesting kind; which opinion they stated in writing, and signed it.

Mr. Pitt then went in to his Majesty, who received him with the utmost possible kindness and cordiality. He congratulated his Majesty on his looking better than on his recovery from his last illness; to which his

Majesty replied, "that was not to be wondered at, as he was then on the point of *parting* with an old friend, and he was now about to *regain* one." Mr. Pitt then entered on the subject of forming an administration. In the course of the conversation his Majesty digressed a good deal when he came to suggestions of Mr. Pitt's which he did not like, but always most perfectly rational, and returned to the suggestions exactly at the parts from which he went off. With the appointment of Lord Melville to any office in which he might be useful he acquiesced. He objected a good deal to Lord Grenville, but gave way completely about him ;—to Lord Spencer he made no objection at all, only said he thought a better First Lord of the Admiralty might be found ;—to Mr. Windham, in like manner, he did not object ; but said he thought he had better not be placed in any situation of business, "though if he had been in the House of Commons, he should have voted with him on some of his questions." On Mr. Fox's name being suggested, the King digressed a good deal, but returning to the matter, he said he could not possibly take him into his Cabinet. Mr. Pitt urged the importance of it with all the reasons he could find, and with the utmost earnestness ; but the King was quite immovable respecting him. Mr. Pitt then asked his Majesty whether he would object to Mr. Fox being employed abroad, if by any possibility he should offer himself for a foreign mission, on any occasion that might appear to him to be worthy of his being engaged in it ; to which his Majesty replied, "Not at all." He confined his objections solely to the bringing Mr. Fox

into the Cabinet. On the whole, the impression was strong in Mr. Pitt's mind, that he could have easily prevailed with the King to admit several of Mr. Fox's friends into offices, some into the Cabinet; and that no difficulty would have occurred in taking care of those about whom he was most anxious, by employments of different sorts. Respecting Lord Moira, the getting whom (with a view of conciliating the Prince) appeared to be of importance, Mr. Pitt did not, in the first interview, venture to propose anything, though he was anxious on the subject. The King said Mr. Addington had forced him upon the Duke of York for the chief command in Scotland.

The King told Mr. Pitt there were two or three persons,¹ naming them, whom he could not forgive, for voting *with* Mr. Pitt *against* him; and that he never would forget it: which Mr. Pitt observed was unfortunate, as they were amongst those whom he meant to

¹ One of these was unquestionably Lord Melville. The Duke of Cumberland told me soon after I came to town (two or three weeks ago, when dining with him at his own house) that Lord Melville had given the King the most positive and unequivocal assurances that he would *never* oppose his Majesty's Government. That assurance was given at his Lordship's house at Wimbledon, when the King was there at a grand review, in the summer of 1802; and was repeated in most distinct terms when his Lordship took leave that year to go to Scotland. This information the Duke of Cumberland had from the King at the review, and more than once since. It explains the reluctance, and indeed refusal, of his Lordship to come up lately on Mr. Pitt's summons, till it was evident the Government could not stand. It is confirmed too by the account Lord Melville gave to Lord Meadowbank (one of the Lords of Session), on his return to Scotland in 1802—that the King, on his taking leave of his Majesty, was so pleased with him, that he told him he must keep the government of Scotland in his hands.

propose to his Majesty for offices. The King replied, if they came in *as friends of Mr. Pitt's*, he should not object at all to them; and that Mr. Pitt need be under no uneasiness on that subject.

The readiness with which his Majesty gave way relative to Lord Grenville, Lord Melville, Lord Spencer, Mr. Windham, &c., the disposition he showed to acquiesce with regard to Mr. Fox's friends; the fair opening there appeared to be for Mr. Fox having a Cabinet office soon, by taking the Russian mission, or, by waiting a very few months, or perhaps weeks, at home, till Mr. Pitt could gradually reconcile the King's mind to the measure, afforded to Mr. Pitt and others, as well as to myself, the fairest prospect of an arrangement being made, such as we all most anxiously and cordially wished.

Mr. Pitt stated all these circumstances, first, to Lord Granville Leveson and Mr. Canning, on his return to York Place from the King; and then more in detail to the Bishop of Lincoln and me together. After which he went to Lord Grenville, to mention to his Lordship everything that related to him or to Mr. Fox.¹

In the evening, Mr. Fox's friends and Lord Grenville's met both at Camelford House (the residence of the latter) and at Carlton House. At both meetings it was unanimously agreed, and positively decided, that no one of the friends of either of the parties, and at

¹ Mr. Pitt told me he had determined not to show the King's letter to Lord Grenville, or Mr. Fox, nor to Lord Granville Leveson, nor indeed to any friend of Lord Grenville or Mr. Fox.

Carlton House meeting that no friend of the Prince's, should on any account take any office whatever, unless Mr. Fox should be admitted into the Cabinet directly.

May 8th.—Found the Bishop of Lincoln with Mr. Pitt, and in talking over occurrences and probable events, Mr. Pitt seemed in the highest spirits possible; neither he, the Bishop, or myself knowing anything then of the resolutions or proceedings of the meetings at Camelford House or Carlton House; but an impression on the minds of each of us that so fair an opening presented itself for Fox, as to afford a reasonable certainty that he would not allow it to escape him; which we had the stronger confidence in, as Mr. Pitt had resolved to meet Mr. Fox at Lord Strafford's, as soon as the Liskeard Committee should break up, on which Mr. Fox was nominee, and to discuss all matters with him in the most cordially open manner possible, waiting only to know when he could see him. All our hopes and expectations were, however, soon destroyed by Mr. Canning coming in to announce to him the resolutions of the preceding evening, and to say, that in consequence of these Mr. Fox declined a meeting with Mr. Pitt as useless.¹ I have no hesitation in owning that in the whole course of my political life no one event ever gave me so sensible a shock; no one

¹ This was conveyed by a letter from Mr. Fox to Lord Granville Leveson, stating that it could answer no possible good end for him and Mr. Pitt to meet, after the *positive determination* of his friends not to make part of any Government from which he should be peremptorily excluded; declining therefore the meeting with Mr. Pitt in a most unqualified manner.

that I believe I shall feel the effects of *so long or so severely*. I looked to the union of talents and property projected, as the most probable means of extricating the country, giving vigour to our exertions at home, and procuring us respect abroad ; of enabling strong measures to be taken when necessary, either of finance or police, and of keeping down, in the most effectual manner, all dangerous or factious attempts, and all stirring of delicate questions. On this subject a thousand things crowd into my mind to make me deeply, *very deeply* indeed lament the disappointment. It is, I am sure, most strongly to be regretted that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox did not meet, as I am firmly persuaded that if they had, there would have been at least a probability of matters being set right.

Lord Grenville wrote to Mr. Pitt, to announce to him what was decided at the meeting at his house ; and to put an end to all possibility of any further expectation of his Lordship, or any of the friends of Mr. Fox or his Lordship's, making a part of the new Administration.

Mr. Pitt came to me in Palace Yard at four in the afternoon, and afforded me an opportunity to state fully and at leisure everything with which my mind was full, against his attempting to form an Administration with such persons as he could alone hope would engage with him. He then reminded me of what I should have noticed earlier in these Notes, that he had engaged positively to the King, that if, in a personal conversation with him, he should fail to persuade him to take Mr. Fox into his councils, he

would then endeavour to form an Administration without that gentleman ; which he now found himself bound in honour to do, if possible. To this I replied, that if he could show to his Majesty the strength he would have to contend with, by merely exhibiting to him the lists of parties before stated, with the names of all the persons in each, it must satisfy him that any Government he could form would have no chance of standing, exclusive of the difficulty in filling the offices creditably. I thought his Majesty must, in such case, release him from his engagement ; being, however, fully persuaded that he could not redeem his pledge given on any other terms, or in any other way, than by determining not to oppose any Government he could form, not even *the last*, if the King should choose to restore them. Finding Mr. Pitt incensed against the friends of Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville for their preventing the arrangement he had hoped to form, I suggested to him that his withdrawing himself entirely from the scene at present would be the most mortifying thing that could be conceived *for them*, as it would leave *them* a weak and ineffectual Opposition, acting by themselves, and put *him* in a high point of view. I thought this argument affected him a little at first,¹ but he soon roused himself, said he was committed, and would go on, certain that all would do well ; that he should go through the remainder of the

¹ Mr. Pitt is human, and of course not free from human frailties. I think (as observed in the text), he is at present somewhat influenced in making a Government by a desire to satisfy his resentment against Mr. Fox's friends ; and I will fairly own I thought the line I here recommended would most effectually have attained that end.

session (with a danger of being in a minority possibly on one of the Defence Bills) without great embarrassment; and that in the summer he should undoubtedly be able to strengthen the Administration in some way or another. He said *that* with so much firmness as to render any further attempt to dissuade him *utterly hopeless*, and I gave up the point reluctantly enough, Heaven knows! under a strong conviction, that, although Mr. Pitt can lose no *character* in endeavouring to secure the King against such a force upon him as is in the highest degree unjustifiable to be attempted, yet it is impossible not to see that he risks loss of *consequence* to a very great extent. If the Opposition shall prevail against him, and he is removed by such means, the country will not, in any emergency, look up to him as they have done; and if, on such an occurrence, another attempt should be made on the King to receive Mr. Fox, and that that, from the dire necessity of the case, should succeed, and a Government should be formed by a junction of parties, Mr. Fox would then naturally have the more weight in the new Government, as he would come in by conquest, and Mr. Pitt would remain in *by sufferance*. The part the Prince of Wales so decidedly takes in the matter, renders the forming an Administration with little more than some of the late Ministers (whom we have been holding up to ridicule for a long time) a desperate undertaking; not only on account of the number of his Royal Highness's friends in either house, but that a regular standard being set up at Carlton House will have the effect of a rallying-

place for all discontented men to go to; and it will become a rival Court to that at St. James's. In the event of the King's death or permanent disability, the Government would certainly be put into Mr. Fox's hands, and the recent transaction and intercourse with him will have a considerable effect in lessening the prejudices in the public mind against him.

After, however, Mr. Pitt had patiently listened to all I said, and expressed the firm determination before alluded to, I promised I would not pain him by any revival of the question hereafter.

May 9th.—I saw Mr. Pitt in the morning, who received a short letter from the King while I was with him, written remarkably well, and with great kindness of expression, though merely to say he would see him at half-past three, to talk further of arrangements; but the King concluded with saying that he had read in the *Times*, not without astonishment, "that the Opposition meeting was held at Carlton House."

Mr. Pitt told me he meant to propose to Mr. Sturges Bourne to be Secretary to the Treasury.

May 10th.—Was with Mr. Pitt in the morning; nothing, however, passed that could tend to throw any light on what was passing. Mr. Long moved Mr. Pitt's writ on his acceptance of the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury. Mr. Sturges Bourne told me he had at once agreed to accept the office of Secretary to the Treasury on Mr. Pitt offering it to him, though very much against his liking, and solely from attachment to Mr. Pitt; on

condition however, expressly, that he should not have the department of Finance.

Matters being thus so far settled as to be absolutely decisive respecting Mr. Pitt putting himself at the head of the new Administration, it is impossible to avoid some reflections on the subject. It is perfectly clear to me that in taking the determination, Mr. Pitt has not acted on his own cool and temperate judgment, nor entirely on the advice of others, though he has been much influenced by the latter. He has in this, as in former instances, been a little led by resentment against political opponents. He certainly felt somewhat indignant at the conduct of those who drove him, and through him the King, so hard, on the admission of Mr. Fox *immediately* into the Cabinet; considering it as overbearing, inexcusable, and intolerable to him to be so dictated to. He was desirous, therefore, to show Lord Grenville and that set (whom he blamed by much the most), that he could form a Government that would stand without them. At the same time, I am persuaded, he had strong opinions urged upon him as to the expediency of forming an administration on the basis of such an arrangement as is now making; and I have not the slightest doubt but that Lord Melville is the principal adviser of that measure. His eager impatience for office was manifested beyond all dispute in the earlier negotiations, and he knew that, by the exclusion of Lord Grenville's and Mr. Fox's parties, he should be sure of obtaining his favourite object of being First Lord of the Admiralty, in which situation he will have full scope for all he is desirous

of. I have good reason for believing too, that the state of numbers, in the parties of Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville, and of persons influenced by the Prince, as made up by Mr. Long and me on the 6th, has been invalidated where it ought not to have been,¹ because Mr. Pitt expressed a strong opinion that *that list* had been made up with more despondency than the case required. On the other hand, some of Mr. Pitt's most valuable and disinterested friends think he does right in the present course he is pursuing; Lord Bathurst personally told me so, and said at the same time that Lord Harrowby entirely approves it; that the latter is too unwell, and the future prospect of his health too unpromising for him to take any situation of constant labour and attendance, but that he agrees to be of the Cabinet, and will probably preside in the Committee of Trade. The country *may*, and I hope *will*, be with Mr. Pitt, under a just impression that he is making a manly and well-principled struggle. If it should take that line, I shall myself not despond of a very tolerable parliamentary support. Our greatest weakness will be in what I before observed,—filling the offices usefully and creditably; and particularly with persons who will be able to assist essentially in debate; being now convinced that the King will be as anxious for the cause of the new Government as he ever was for any; seeing clearly that their continuance must be his best protection against what he must dread, and that in consequence thereof

¹ Subsequent information, perfectly to be relied on, confirms this conjecture.—May 17th, 1804.

all those who consider themselves as his friends will be *heartly, uniform, and steady* in their support, which will make a most essential difference in any computation of strength.

May 11th.—Mr. Huskisson fixed to be joint Secretary of the Treasury with Mr. Sturges Bourne; the office having been refused to Mr. John King, when applied for in his favour by the Duke of Portland.

The Secretaryship at War reserved for Mr. Canning, who had left town on the negotiation with Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville breaking off.

Lord Stafford will support Mr. Pitt, and also Lord Granville Leveson; but neither will take office.

Sir Henry Mildmay eagerly approves of the line Mr. Pitt is pursuing.

Sir Robert Lawley declares he will retire into the country, and leave political matters altogether, for the present.

May 12th.—Mr. Pitt expressed to me a very anxious wish that I would accept the Vice-Presidentship of the Board of Trade, with a Privy-Councillor's office; telling me at the same time that he meant to propose to the Duke of Montrose to be President, and to offer his Grace the Post-Office.

Meaning these notes as memoranda of what passed from day to day on public matters, I forbear to say anything about myself more particularly than about others, and because those into whose hands they will fall will know everything that respects me.

Mr. Pitt told me at the same time that he meant the Chancellor should remain; that Lord Harrowby had

agreed to accept the seals as Secretary of State, and that he hoped to prevail on Lord Hawkesbury to give up to him the foreign department; that Lord Camden will be Secretary of State for the War Department; Lord Hawkesbury going to the Home, as Mr. Pitt hoped at least; Lord Mulgrave to be Chancellor of the Duchy and in the Cabinet [surely if his Lordship is to be a Cabinet Minister, it would be more fit for him to be Secretary of State for the War Department; the Duchy might suit Lord Camden]; the Earl of Westmoreland to remain Privy Seal; and the Earl of Chatham at the Head of the Ordnance. Lord Salisbury to be removed from the Chamberlainship, but no successor thought of.

May 13th.—Mr. Pitt told me the Attorney and Solicitor General would remain in their offices; the latter preferring his present situation to the Chief Justiceship of Chester, vacant by the promotion of Mr. Mansfield to the Common Pleas. Lord Pembroke declines the offer of succeeding Lord Salisbury; Lord Dartmouth is therefore to have the office, and the Earl of Aylesford to succeed him as Lord Steward, which opens the Band of Pensioners, of whom his Lordship is Captain. And his Majesty having expressed an earnest wish to Mr. Pitt that something might be found for Lord Hobart, Mr. Pitt proposed to his Majesty to give his Lordship the Captainship of the Band of Pensioners.

On talking of Lord Auckland's probable distress on being removed from the Post-Office to make room for the Duke of Montrose, it occurred that he would not

lose more than 700*l.* a year by it, as his pension will revert to him ; and Mr. Pitt said he should be glad to indemnify him for that, by perhaps some provision for his son, who is a promising young man. Doubt entertained whether Lord Charles Spencer should be allowed to remain in the other joint Postmastership, to secure the Duke of Marlborough's support ; one nephew of the Duke's having a seat at the Board of Stamps, and another either appointed Receiver-General of Oxfordshire, or the office held for him.

May 14th.—This morning Mr. Pitt mentioned to me his intention of proposing to the King my being joint Paymaster of the Army, to which communication I answered, that without affecting absolute indifference about myself, I could not resist saying that I was beyond all comparison more anxious for my son, whose education and qualifications most peculiarly fitted him for the foreign line. More I will not here take notice of with respect to either of us for the reason previously assigned. Mr. Steele to be removed from the Pay-Office, and Mr. Hiley Addington, of course ; Mr. John Smyth from the Mint ; and Mr. Wallace from the Board of Control. The Cabinet settled as follows :—

Lord Eldon, Chancellor.

Mr. Pitt, First Lord of Treasury.

Lord Melville, First Lord of Admiralty.

Lord Hawkesbury, Home

Lord Camden, War

Lord Harrowby, Foreign

Lord Westmoreland, Privy Seal.

Lord Chatham, Master of Ordnance.

} Secretaries of State.

Lord Castlereagh, Board of Control.

Duke of Montrose, President of Trade, and Postmaster.

Lord Mulgrave, Chancellor of the Duchy.

Duke of Portland, President of the Council.

The Marquis of Hertford to be Master of the Horse, in the room of the Earl of Chesterfield.

The Earl of Chesterfield to have the vacant Garter.

Lord Hobart refuses the Band of Pensioners ; his Lordship is therefore afloat, and the office is to be disposed of. I think it is 2,000*l.* or 2,500*l.* a-year.

Mr. Pitt told me he had not thought of any one to be Secretary at War.

Mr. Canning to be Treasurer of the Navy.

Mr. Tierney had also the offer of remaining as Treasurer of the Navy : he certainly thought Carlton House the better speculation.

May 15th.—I had received the King's commands to kiss hands on my appointments to the Pay-Office and Committee of Trade, but was prevented from obeying them by being confined in a committee on the Liskeard returns.

May 16th.—I was occupied till three o'clock this day in the committee above-mentioned, which prevented my seeing Mr. Pitt in the course of it ; and nothing interesting occurred.

The Duke of Cumberland (whom I met at dinner) inquisitive to know whether the Opposition meeting was actually held at Carlton House ; to which I replied I really knew nothing certain about it. His Royal Highness expressed his surprise that his brother of Clarence should have decided on hostility against the

Government. I wrote to Lord Harrowby on my son's views respecting a foreign mission.

May 17th.—Mr. Wallace to remain at the Board of Control! On my exclaiming against that, Mr. Pitt said he could not refuse it to Lord Hawkesbury, who had behaved so handsomely in giving up the Foreign department to Lord Harrowby.

I learned from Mr. Pugett, one of the Bank Directors, that Mr. Livingstone was arrived from Paris, with powers (as generally believed) to treat of peace; the report adding, that he came in the expectation of finding Mr. Fox Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with whom he hoped he could successfully negotiate. The Funds rose 1 per cent. on the news.

May 18th.—I found Mr. Pitt alone, and, after mentioning to him what I had heard respecting Mr. Livingstone, he told me the arrival of that gentleman had been notified to him by a memorandum in the foreign box the evening before, but without any comment or observation. I suggested that the circumstance might be turned to account by Mr. Fox's friends, who would not fail to endeavour to impress the country with a belief that, if he was in office, there would be the fairest prospect of peace; to which Mr. Pitt answered that the character of Mr. Livingstone (as a violent Republican, hating this country) would induce all right-judging people to rejoice that we should escape the dangerous consequences of a negotiation between two such men as Mr. Livingstone and Mr. Fox. I entreated him, however, to listen to any proposition Mr. Livingstone may have to make, if it

shall turn out he has any authority from Buonaparte to treat at all, and to consider them coolly and dispassionately ; conceiving it to be possible that the First Consul, in order to facilitate his way to the imperial dignity he is evidently aiming at, or to secure himself in the possession of it, may think it advisable to try at least to make peace with us, as the most popular thing to his own subjects he could do ; taking into his view also the possible, if not very probable, interposition of the Northern Powers, particularly Russia. If he sees a storm likely to burst there, and has anything to apprehend in his own country from those who are real enemies to a monarchical government, he may possibly wish to conciliate us. In any event, it appears to me of the last importance that, if the overtures (supposing, as before, any to be intended) are inadmissible, the public should be satisfied that they are so, and that they are not rejected from intemperance, precipitation, or dislike to the Powers from whence they come ; all which seemed to make some impression on Mr. Pitt.

On such a subject (utterly uninformed whether Mr. Livingstone has any authority to suggest even the possibility of an opening for a treaty with France), it seems to me to be of great consequence to receive him well, if he shall desire to see the Minister for Foreign Affairs ; because a cold reception to a person who is supposed to bring overtures of a pacific nature would, to the public, have an unpromising appearance. His conduct as American Minister, at Paris, on the late occasion of the publication of Mr. Drake's corre-

spondence there, certainly indicated, in a marked manner, an indisposition to this country; but Mr. Cooke (under-secretary to Lord Camden) assured me, that he knew from a near relation of his that Mr. Livingstone's true sentiments are not hostile to the British interest.

If peace could now be made on reasonable terms, the advantages are too apparent and clear to leave a doubt in the mind of a human being of its being beyond all manner of expression desirable that the opportunity should not be lost. The interests of this nation would be (or might be) better secured and consolidated than those of any other people in Europe, from the stand we have made, although the war might, by a proper firmness, have been avoided: the British name and character would be respected all over the world, and we should be as secure against a new attempt from France as any country can be whilst France retains the immense advantages she at present possesses of territory and resources; the diminution of which, hopeless as it may appear, is more likely to happen by intestine commotions in peace than by hostile attacks in war. At present we are engaged in a war without a view or a hope of being able to make either impression on the enemy, or to distress them in any quarter; with the exception of some of the half-settled Dutch colonies in the West Indies. The policy of taking any such step has always been, in my mind, very doubtful, as large sums of British capital are invariably laid out in improving them, and increasing the cultivation, after which they are invariably restored

on a peace. Our best expectations in this state of hostility are, that we may be able successfully to repel an invasion of Great Britain or Ireland, if it should be attempted; in order to which we are at a most enormous expense for defence by sea and land.

These reflections I had an opportunity of re-stating more fully at my house, after the House of Commons rose (Mr. Pitt having taken his seat to-day on his re-election), than I had in the morning; and I immediately got into my chaise to go down to Cuffnells, and slept at Harford Bridge, from whence I wrote to Mr. Pitt about my son.

My writ was moved for this day, on my acceptance of the office of Joint Paymaster-General of his Majesty's Forces; but my patent was not put in motion, as the person is not yet decided on who is to be joined with me in the office.

May 23d.—Received a letter from Mr. Sturges Bourne, saying he could not yet learn from Mr. Pitt who my colleague in the Pay-Office is to be; and that he cannot answer for the delay, unless a difficulty is created by Lord Amherst having been deprived of office for not supporting the late Administration.

I take it for granted, therefore, that his Lordship is removed from the Bedchamber on that account, which naturally leads to reflections of a most serious nature; involving, in truth, the dearest interests of this country, and of the world; because, after such an occurrence, I know not how Mr. Pitt can carry on the government, or who can undertake it. If he submits to the dismissal of a person of Lord Amherst's rank

for having acted on his advice (his Lordship not having in the *late discussions* voted against Mr. Addington's measures, but merely observed a neutrality), he will be degraded, and cannot hope to have that respect indispensably necessary for the First Minister to preserve. If he should provide Lord A. with an employment in his own gift, and so indemnify him for the loss of his office in the King's family, it would subject both his Majesty and Mr. Pitt to ridicule; and if Mr. Pitt should oblige his Majesty to take Lord Amherst back, it would then be urged strongly against him that, in a case of no moment to the country whatever, he could use force most offensively and painfully on the King; but, in a matter of State, on which depended perhaps the lasting prosperity, happiness, and security of the country, he would use no such force, nor even offer to withdraw on just and reasonable ground. This appears to be a dilemma very difficult to escape from.

Mr. Sturges Bourne mentions that the Emperor of Russia has published a strong protest against the violation of the law of nations by the arrest of the Duke D'Enghien in a neutral territory.

Lord Malmesbury, in a long conversation I had with him the day before I left town, read some letters to me from well-informed persons at St. Petersburg, expressing a clear conviction that the disposition of that Court was become extremely favourable to any plan that may be formed for abridging the monstrous and enormous powers of France.

Mr. Pitt told me some days ago that it was decided

to recall Sir John Borlase Warren from St. Petersburg, for which mission he never was fit, least of all at such a conjuncture as this.

Sir Edward Pellew is to be continued in the naval command in the East Indies, through the intercession of Lord Chatham; to which he was named by Lord St. Vincent.

May 26th.—No information from London till this day, and now not any at all conclusive or full on any subject. In a letter from Mr. Sturges Bourne, he alludes to a visit the King made to Mr. Addington in Richmond Park, and to the appointment of Lord St. Helens to the Bedchamber as an act of the King's without communication. Mr. Sturges also states the probability of Lord Amherst being appointed to a higher office in the household than the Bedchamber, from which he was dismissed to give it the appearance of promotion.

William mentions a conversation he had had with Lord Westmeath, who complained bitterly to him that he was extremely ill-treated; that some time before the King's illness, Lord Hobart, by a letter under his own hand, acquainted him that he was appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber, and desired him to thank Mr. Addington for it, to whom he was obliged for the nomination, which he accordingly did; but that his appointment could not be *formally* notified to him, as the Duke of Roxburgh, the Groom of the Stole, was ill, through whom only the notification could come; and now the King will not acknowledge him as one of his Bedchamber.

My election took place to-day without my appointment having been made out, or my knowing who my colleague is to be.

May 28th.—I arrived in town, and met Mr. Pitt at dinner, with the Trinity Brethren, at the London Tavern (his birthday, as well as Trinity Monday), where, of course, I could have little conversation with him. I had, however, an opportunity of talking a little with Lord Harrowby in the room where we drank coffee, which we agreed to renew the next morning at his office.

I learned that the account of the dismissal of Lord Amherst was true; the manner of it was, by Lord Winchilsea (Groom of the Stole, lately appointed on the vacancy made by the death of the Duke of Roxburgh, during the King's illness) writing to his Lordship that his Majesty had been employed in making a new arrangement of his household, and that his Lordship's name was not found in the list. The appointment of Lord St. Helens, too, has actually taken place in the Bedchamber, which could not be acceptable to Mr. Pitt. It was also told me, with confidence, that Lord Uxbridge was to be Master of the Horse, but of that I entertain very great doubt,—because his Lordship had threatened to turn his eldest son, Lord Paget, out of Parliament if he voted with Mr. Pitt in his late opposition to Mr. Addington. The King certainly wrote to Lord Salisbury on his removal from the Chamberlainship, to say that his Majesty was sure his Lordship would be glad to hear he had appointed a most amiable, worthy, and respect-

able nobleman, the Earl of Dartmouth, to succeed him ; and another nobleman of the same description, the Earl of Aylesford, to the office of Lord Steward, in the room of the Earl of Dartmouth. The letter was directed to the Earl of Salisbury, though the King mentioned in it his having created him a Marquis.

May 29th.—I stated fully to Lord Harrowby everything that occurred to me respecting the difficulties which appeared to me we should have to encounter of every kind, principally dwelling on what depended on the King ; conceiving that from all I had heard, there is too much reason to believe, his Majesty is either not in such possession of his faculties as to make it fit for him to carry on the executive power much longer, or that he is not disposed to support heartily his present servants ; which under other disadvantages, of uncertain strength and defect of speakers in Parliament, would render our situation not only unpleasant, but extremely dangerous.

His Lordship on the whole agreed with me, but thought I overstated the difficulties ; being persuaded that the King is well, and steady in his favourable disposition towards Mr. Pitt.

May 30th.—Was with Mr. Pitt early ; who told me there was no foundation for the story of Lord Uxbridge, and that the Marquis of Hertford is to be Master of the Horse. He could not yet tell me who is to be my colleague, being under difficulties in completing his arrangements ; chiefly from a desire to open another Peer's-office, which he thought of doing by

removing Lord Charles Spencer from the Post-Office to the Pay-Office with me ; thinking, however, that the Post-Office is too good a thing for Lord Amherst, and equally so the Band of Pensioners, vacant by the promotion of Lord Aylesford. That reserved therefore for further consideration.

We then discussed the subject of the measure to be proposed by him for the defence of the country ; in which, after considering it in every point of view, I was decidedly of opinion that it would be better not to press the plan he had before opened to the House, for recruiting the army of reserve, and through it the regiments for general service, as far as respects the repeated ballots ; under a persuasion that these ballots, to the extent of four in each case, unless the first, second, or third man balloted should agree to serve, would produce *very, very* few men, as each would pay the fine of 4*l.* rather than go as a soldier ; that the effect would therefore almost generally be to raise 16*l.* towards a recruiting fund by fines on poor men ; on the other hand, by imposing a fine to that, or to a greater amount, on the parish, where they did not find a man on a *limited* bounty, the charge would fall on those who could better afford it, and the vexation of repeated ballots would be avoided. That by this course some other objections would be obviated, prejudices would not be encountered, which are very prevalent against balloting, and the opposition to be expected would lose much advantageous ground. On the whole, Mr. Pitt's mind seemed to give way considerably on the point, but I did not think it advisable

to press him to a decision.—With that matter is essentially connected another point which has been often and earnestly discussed,—the recruiting the army FOR A LIMITED TIME. The reasons for and against that measure have been so frequently stated in and out of Parliament that I will not attempt to repeat them here; confining myself now merely to the objections suggested by the Duke of York (who has always been steadily against the proposed innovation), as arising from his own reflections or experience. His Royal Highness told Mr. Pitt, he is persuaded that if after a recruit has gone through all the drudgery and discipline of learning his business you should offer him his discharge he would not take it, as he is generally much pleased with his new situation; but that if you should offer him his freedom at the end of five or six years, during which period he would probably have gone through some disagreeable service, he would avail himself of the offer, and return to his home. Carry him on, however, for fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen years, and then make him the same offer and he would probably refuse it, because at the end of such a period he would probably be too old to return to his early occupation, and he would go on in the service with the expectation of the comfortable provision of Chelsea, to which he would be entitled at the end of fifteen years from his enlisting.

His Royal Highness observed, that the difference between enlisting for life, and for a few years, is so trifling in the estimation of recruits, that a man offering himself for the latter will extend his offer

to the former for an addition of one guinea. [If this has often been proved from actual experience there is no reasoning against it, but it seems extraordinary, and hardly to be reconciled to the common feelings of men.] The Duke added, that in one of the regiments of guards, I think the Coldstream, three hundred of the men who enlisted into it from the militia in the last war, insisted on their discharge at the end of the time for which they engaged. With respect to the inconvenience that would be experienced from the terms of service expiring on distant stations (no inconsiderable one certainly), I recommended an inquiry how the system affected the army of the East India Company, which is recruited for a limited time. The whole was reserved for further consideration, and Mr. Pitt felt it of so much importance to propose the measure, if it shall be finally thought to be a right one, at the same time that he proposes the measure for defence of the country, that he is inclined to defer the latter from Friday the 1st of June, to Tuesday the 5th, to give opportunity for fuller inquiry.

The King went to Windsor on the 26th, and returned the 29th; but I did not learn with absolute certainty what passed while he was there till this day. I learn however, now, most positive information from a source the most entirely unquestionable, that his Majesty while there was not so tranquil as he had been for some time before. On passing through Eton, on his way down, the boys of the school cheered as he passed, and followed the carriages to the Castle,

cheering again when they got there, which had such an effect on his Majesty that the next day he said to some of the boys, "he had always been partial to their school; that he had now the additional motive of gratitude for being so; and that in future he should be an Anti-Westminster." On Sunday the 27th, on walking across from the Queen's Lodge to the private chapel in the Castle, his Majesty stopped for an hour, in the whole, talking with the officers of the Staffordshire militia, who were drawn up as his Majesty passed, the Queen leaning on his arm; and with his hat off all the time, which Dr. Simmonds could not prevail with him to put on; the style of his Majesty's conversation more familiar too, even than usual: and during the two days he remained at Windsor, the exercise he took was more violent than he had ever taken when in perfect health, except in hunting. All these, and some other trifling circumstances combined, lead to a serious apprehension that his Majesty's recovery is not entirely complete. The reflections on which cannot but be painful in an extreme degree, as the embarrassments arising therefrom are likely to be of the most serious nature. If his Majesty shall be subject to returns, such as are just alluded to, it can hardly be creditable or proper for Mr. Pitt to carry on the government. On the other hand, if the King shall be as well as he ordinarily has been lately, and as fit to do business as he has been found to be, it will be a strong measure to have a regency; for he is certainly not ill enough to be confined. It would be quite a new occurrence to have the government taken

from a Prince on the throne, without the desire proceeding from him, while he is well enough to go about everywhere, and to talk on grave subjects perfectly rationally. But it seems hardly possible that the complaint (if anything of it really remains) should be stationary.

May 31st.—Sir Harry Neale called on me this morning. He told me he was at the Queen's House in waiting, as Groom of the Bedchamber on Tuesday last, when the King returned from Windsor; and that soon after his Majesty's arrival he walked completely round the Queen's garden with him, during which time, and for a short while afterwards in the house, while he was with the King, he was as rational as possible, conversing on different subjects in a manner perfectly collected. I was induced to mention to Sir Harry (in whom I have the most entire confidence) what I had heard of the King's unsteadiness at Windsor; at which he expressed no sort of surprise, because he said he had frequently had occasion to observe of late that in talking of serious matters and on business, his Majesty would converse with as much possession of himself as at any moment of his life, when at the same time, if any matters of a lighter nature occurred, he would indulge himself with levities. Sir Harry said there is somebody about the King who tells him things very unfit to be mentioned to him, but that it has not been possible to trace who it is. Amongst other matters his Majesty was informed that Dr. Willis was in the house while he was ill, at which he was very much inflamed.

June 1st, 1804.—With Mr. Pitt in the morning, who has not seen the King since his return from Windsor. But in consequence of having heard what passed there, he went to a meeting of the physicians fixed by him at Sir Lucas Pepys's last night, to avoid the observation and public attention that would necessarily have taken place if the physicians had come to Downing Street. And in consequence of what passed at the meeting, Mr. Pitt wrote to the King to-day strongly, though respectfully, recommending it to his Majesty to put himself under medical direction; a measure, I have no doubt, perfectly right and called for by the actual state of his Majesty; but, unfortunately, one very likely to displease him to a great extent, as he had shown a strong dislike to medical people ever since his recovery in 1801. He expressed that to me at that time, at Cuffnells, in the most unqualified terms, which he several times repeated to me during his stay in my house.

I this day heard that his Majesty had dismissed Mr. Braun; certainly one of the most attached, faithful, and honest servants he has; a particular favourite too to this week even. How Mr. Pitt can carry on the government creditably, if the King is to be in the hands of his physicians I cannot discover; nor how he can well resist an inquiry and examination of the physicians, if that shall be pressed in the House of Commons.

June 2d.—The King yesterday, on receiving the letter from Mr. Pitt, and one on the same subject from the Chancellor, told the Duke of Cambridge he

had received two very foolish letters ; but said that in good humour. When Mr. Pitt went to him he received him with perfect kindness, promising he would acquiesce in the advice given him in the two letters alluded to; but that he would not have done so to gratify any man on earth except Mr. Pitt. His Majesty also agreed to the Queen having a Drawing-room on his birth-day, about which he had been reluctant unless he could be allowed to be there also. And on the whole Mr. Pitt thought him remarkably well, talking on all subjects in as collected a manner as he had ever known him to do. His Majesty, amongst other subjects, talked of Lord Grenville and his friends, in terms of great moderation. He referred to a subject on which there had been some difference of opinion between himself and Mr. Pitt before the latter went out of office, and said, it had turned out that Mr. Pitt was right ; and he produced a letter of his respecting the matter.

June 4th.—Not having kissed his Majesty's hand, on my nomination to the office of Joint Paymaster-General, I could not with propriety attend the Drawing-room, which was held on the King's birth-day ; as I could not appear there without being presented to her Majesty—of which there is no instance without the same ceremony having been previously gone through with the King ;—but, at Mr. Pitt's particular request, I dined with him in Downing Street.

June 5th.—Mr. Fox and Mr. Grey called on Mr. Pitt, to communicate to him that Mr. Livingstone, the American Minister at Paris, had been with them to say he had reason to believe the Government of

France was at this time well disposed to make peace with this country; that he had no authority whatever to make any overture for that purpose, but he was persuaded if we would consent to secure the neutrality of Malta, by putting it in the hands of some power equally independent of France and of Great Britain (evidently pointing at Russia), France would consent to evacuate Holland and Switzerland, and to give a guarantee of the independence of those countries in future; and that, as a preliminary, France would consent to the release of the British subjects detained there on the breaking out of hostilities, the detention of whom it was admitted was extremely unpopular in France.

This opening appeared to be very captivating,—and the taking no notice of it would give Mr. Fox a great advantage; who insinuated, in the course of his conversation, that Mr. Livingstone had expressed a hope of finding him in the Administration, from expectations that were formed of that event in consequence of recent occurrences, and from a hope arising from his known pacific disposition; especially as Mr. Fox would have opportunities of alluding to the circumstances much to his own advantage. Mr. Pitt, however, thought no good consequences could result from the communication; conceiving, that if France had really any serious intention of putting an end to the war, the new Emperor would have found some less exceptionable channel of communication than through a man whose hostile inclination to this country had been so strongly and lately manifested; his public

character at that Court too making him an unfit instrument for the purpose. Mr. Pitt committed the conversation with Messrs. Fox and Grey to writing as soon as they left him, which he gave me to read; and said he should state it correctly to the Cabinet.

A Council was this day held at the Queen's House; previously to which there was a sort of a private levée there, at which I kissed his Majesty's hand as Joint Paymaster-General. This was the first time I had seen the King since his recovery. He spoke to me for about ten minutes, and I never saw him more entirely well; perfectly composed and collected; if anything, less hurried in his manner than usual. He talked to me chiefly about my family, for all of whom he inquired with great kindness; but there was no appearance of any unbecoming familiarity. When the levée was over, the Privy Counsellors were called into the Council room, where we were all seated at a table, at the head of which the King sat. The first proceeding was the nomination of the Duke of Montrose to be President of the Council for the Affairs of Trade, and myself to be Vice-President of that Council, on which we both rose and kissed the King's hand; his Majesty continuing in his chair at the head of the table. The Earl of Dartmouth then took the oaths as Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Winchelsea as Groom of the Stole, and the Earl of Powis as Lord Lieutenant of Montgomeryshire, kneeling, as Privy Counsellors do, and then kissed the King's hand. Lord Pelham resigned the Seals of the Duchy of Lancaster, and came out from his Majesty with the Gold Stick, as Captain of

the Band of Yeoman of the Guards, of which he had no previous intimation. The Seals were given to Lord Mulgrave as Chancellor of the Duchy.

June 8th.—The first debate on Mr. Pitt's bill for the defence of the realm, by establishing a mode for recruiting the army in future, on a new system, and for making a great immediate addition to it. The question for the second reading was carried by 221 to 181 : majority, 40. In the minority were all the friends of Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Addington: amongst the latter were included a considerable number of persons who had received some favours from Mr. Addington, and others who having voted for his Defence Bill, felt it difficult to avoid opposing the present one. Mr. Long and myself were both shut out of the division by an accident that happened to him near the House, which was however attended with no serious consequences.

June 16th.—Mr. Pitt went to the King this morning, with an intention of stating to his Majesty what had passed in the late discussions, particularly respecting Mr. Addington's conduct, and that of some persons who might be supposed to be influenced by his Majesty; and on his return from the Queen's House, he told me he thought three or four persons would be induced to support the Defence Bill who had not yet taken any part upon it. I confess it would, in my opinion, have been more wise as well as much more dignified, if Mr. Pitt, when he went to the King, instead of struggling for a few votes, had said to his Majesty (consistently with my former opinion expressed above): "I humbly

suggested to you before I took the government, that I despaired of being able to carry it on without a greater strength than I could hope to have. I now find it to be so from experience, and must, therefore, earnestly entreat your Majesty will condescend to take such measures as you shall think best, to add force, and give permanency to the Administration." By not having done so, he subjects himself to a continued struggle, in which he may fail in the end; and by which he risks the forming a junction between Mr. Fox and Mr. Addington, supported by the influence and authority of the Prince of Wales; and certainly of yielding to Mr. Fox such a preponderance as will give him a considerable chance of having the greatest weight in an Administration formed by them both, if that should be found practicable.

CHAPTER V.

1804.

MR. ROSE'S DIARIES FROM SEPTEMBER 30TH TO NOVEMBER 6TH, 1804—VISIT OF KING GEORGE THE THIRD, AND THE ROYAL FAMILY, TO MR. ROSE'S SEAT AT CUFFNELLS, IN HAMPSHIRE, FROM THE 28th OF OCTOBER TO THE 2D OF NOVEMBER, 1804.

[The diaries for September and October of this year, 1804, contain some very interesting conversations with the King, at Weymouth and at Cuffnells, which need no remark or explanation.—ED.]

Weymouth, Sunday, September 30th, 1804.—After *general expressions* of regard to myself, and of disappointment at not having seen me at the council that was held ten days ago for the prorogation of Parliament, his Majesty gave me *strong assurances* of his favourable opinion of me, and of his real desire to talk with me. He then entered on what had passed on the change of Government in the spring; could not, he said, even at this distance of time, avoid stating to me his surprise at Mr. Pitt having *entertained a thought* of suggesting Mr. Fox forming a part of the Administration, and still more that he should have urged it with the earnestness he did; especially as Mr. Pitt himself was the person who had proposed expunging Mr. Fox's

name from the list of privy counsellors. I answered that the point was an extremely delicate one for me to make even the slightest observation upon, and that the consideration of it having been long finally closed, I felt a still greater reluctance to say a syllable about it ; but that I thought it due to Mr. Pitt to observe, that I had certain ground for my conviction that in making the proposition to his Majesty, Mr. Pitt was influenced solely by a fixed opinion that the taking Mr. Fox into the Administration was likely to be attended with the best possible consequences to the country. His Majesty went on to say, that notwithstanding the determined objection he made to Mr. Fox, he was pressed by Mr. Pitt to allow him to repeat the proposition before he left the closet ; to which the King assented, though he assured Mr. Pitt it would be useless. His Majesty added, that he had taken a positive determination not to admit Mr. Fox into his councils, *even at the hazard of a civil war.*

With respect to Mr. Pitt, his Majesty expressed himself satisfied in the highest degree, and spoke of him in the warmest terms of praise. He said, that finding from experience Mr. Addington was not equal to the government of the country, he was extremely desirous of having Mr. Pitt again ; that he had thought very favourably of Mr. Addington, but was much displeased at his having said (while the intercourse was going on with Mr. Pitt about the change of administration) that he knew his Majesty did not wish Mr. Pitt to come in ; and that in consequence thereof, he had resolved, in the event of the negotia-

tion with Mr. Pitt breaking off, not to keep him (Mr. Addington) at the head of the Government. His Majesty said his mind was now entirely relieved from all apprehension about the Catholic question ; because—in addition to the assurances he had received from Mr. Pitt himself, and from him through me—Mr. Pitt had lately told him he might be perfectly at ease on the subject, as he had *now private reasons* for not reviving the subject ! On which I ventured to say, I thought his Majesty must have misconceived Mr. Pitt in giving greater weight to *private reasons* than to the *public ground* which he had originally taken and acted upon, on the most interesting and trying occasion : but he said he was sure he had not mistaken Mr. Pitt !

His Majesty said he was entirely content with the manner in which his Government was composed ; said the exchange of Lord Harrowby for Lord Hawkesbury in the foreign department was a most useful one ; rating the talents of the former very high, and speaking of the latter as utterly unfit for the situation ; adding, that however the foreign ministers might differ on other points, their dislike to, and contempt for Lord Hawkesbury was decidedly unanimous ; that his Lordship always approached him with a vacant kind of grin, and had hardly ever anything business-like to say to him ; that on observing *that* once to Mr. Addington, the latter said to his Majesty, his Lordship came to him in the same manner, interrupting him uselessly, sometimes three or four times in the course of a day.

His Majesty took some merit to himself for not

opposing the removal of Lord Auckland;¹ adding, that in the arrangement of the political offices he had not interfered with Mr. Pitt at all; but that he had insisted on having in his household such persons as he could, with comfort to himself, associate with occasionally.

Alluding to the line he had taken, of giving his firmest support to the Administration, he mentioned the case of Lord Powis, to whom he had applied, at the request of Mr. Pitt. His Majesty found his Lordship out of humour at the succession to the Governor-Generalship of Bengal not having been secured to him on the return of Lord Wellesley, as had been engaged for by Lord Melville, previously to his going to Madras; which engagement his Majesty thought had been made without the power of fulfilling it; and that having suggested that to Lord Powis, his Lordship, in the conclusion, had given assurances of the support of his friends in the next session, who in the meantime would absent themselves. His Majesty spoke in unqualified terms of his deep regret on the appointment of Mr. Huskisson to the Secretaryship of the Treasury, on account of his former situation as secretary to a revolutionary club at Paris, adding that his temper was not good; and, on the whole, thought him not qualified for the situation. Not an allusion even was made to the story respecting which Mr. H.

¹ When his Majesty was at Cuffnells, in 1801, he spoke of his Lordship with great contempt, as an eternal intriguer. He had probably since recommended himself by being busy in the Catholic question.

was attacked in Mr. Cobbett's paper. Of Mr. Sturges Bourne, the other Secretary of the Treasury, the King spoke in a very favourable manner, and alluded in a flattering way to his connexion with me.

His Majesty then went on to say that Mr. Pitt, in the early part of the summer, had suggested to him that Mr. Vansittart, the late Secretary to the Treasury, would be a very proper person for the Irish Secretaryship, and that he should, before making him an offer, like to know whether he would accept it; on which the King told him he fortunately had the means of learning that without committing Mr. Pitt at all; and immediately employed the Duke of Cumberland, who was in habits of intercourse with Mr. Vansittart, to sound him, as from himself solely, whether, if an employment should be offered him, he would accept it; his Majesty giving Mr. Pitt to understand that if Mr. V. should be disinclined to take office, the matter should drop altogether, and that no other person living should know the overture was made at Mr. Pitt's instance, and that his Majesty's silence on the subject must be considered as decisive of a negative from Mr. V. That, however, on the Duke of Cumberland sounding him, he found no disinclination towards Mr. Pitt in his mind at all. He said his first connexion was with Mr. Pitt, and that he took office with Mr. Addington because his Government was to be supported by Mr. Pitt; that he should therefore be ready cheerfully to accept the Irish Secretaryship, provided he could have Mr. Pitt's confidence; but that he would not enter on such a duty if he was to be

merely tolerated by Mr. Pitt. This disposition of Mr. Vansittart's mind the King lost no time in communicating to Mr. Pitt; since which, however, his Majesty had not heard one word from him on the subject; but had been informed that Mr. Pitt had been in a negotiation with Mr. Tierney to accept the office, of which his Majesty did not conceal his disapprobation, for reasons he stated, taking up the conduct of Mr. Tierney from his first attempt to come into Parliament, in the year 1784, under the protection of the Clarendon family, to the present time.

His Majesty afterwards adverted to the office of Judge Advocate, the duties of which Sir Charles Morgan felt himself incapable longer to discharge. He spoke of them as important, said that a deputy should be appointed, and that the situation of the principal should be very respectably filled. Alluded to the case of the court martial sitting on some officers of the Bedfordshire militia, where the court, from the ignorance of their judge advocate, had got into a most awkward scrape. He then mentioned the candidates for the employment. Mr. Reeves, the law clerk to the Privy Council, supported by the Chancellor; but unfit for the situation from his impracticability, his temper, and his idleness: Mr. Lewis, late Under-Secretary at War, supported by a set about the Duke of York, his only recommendation being his having the honour to be brother-in-law to General Brownrigge; not educated to the profession of the law: and Mr. Watson, a person altogether unknown, and so little esteemed in the volunteer corps to which

he belongs, that the officers of it would not allow him to succeed to the Majority, on a vacancy.

His Majesty then returned to the importance of the office, and added that he felt, personally, a strong anxiety that it should be well and respectably filled, as, in truth, he frequently decided matters of a very nice and delicate nature on the opinion of the Judge Advocate in discussions with him; putting, therefore, his conscience, to a certain extent, into his hands. That viewing the matter in that light, it could not be wondered at if he felt a good deal of solicitude about the person who should succeed Sir Charles. After which, he mentioned Mr. Nat. Bond's name with approbation, and asked me what my sentiments were about him, which led me to speak in the manner I have always thought of him since I first knew him,—as a man of excellent understanding, of considerable abilities in his profession, of great worth, and as likely to fill the situation both usefully and respectably; and that I considered his being already a privy counsellor was an additional recommendation. This seemed to give his Majesty great pleasure, and he said, *in such an appointment* he ought to have a choice; but he had no means of knowing whether Mr. Bond would accept, though he believed he would, as Mr. Addington had expressed a positive resolution not to oppose Government further. The strongest ground of resentment in the mind of the latter gentleman, the King told me, was Mr. Pitt having made him ridiculous in the House of Commons; and that Mrs. Addington was infinitely more inveterate on that

account, and more irreconcilable than her husband,—having declaimed against Mr. A. receiving any favour from Mr. Pitt, or through him, till he had made some reparation for that offence. This led his Majesty to speak of an intended provision and reward for Mr. A. but declined by him,—*as to the manner*, however, only,—describing him as nibbling at it at the moment he was refusing it. That a message was proposed to Parliament respecting it by his Majesty, but that difficulties and delays occurred till the session drew to an end; from whence I inferred that a pension was to make a part of the reward, for nothing explicit was said as to particulars. The King put it, in a great degree, on Mr. Addington's claim for his services as Speaker. And his Majesty said he would, at a proper season, reconcile Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington; but that matters were not yet ripe; to which I made no answer, thinking if I had said anything against peace-making (generally plausible), I must have followed it up by a train of reasoning which the opportunity would not afford time for.

Lord Melville was next mentioned. In the observations respecting Mr. Huskisson, the King said he did not believe Lord Melville recommended him to Mr. Pitt, as he had reason to think his Lordship did not now live as much with Mr. Pitt as he used to do, nor possessed the same influence over him he formerly had. He now mentioned, as a proof of it, that Lord Melville, on his first seeing him, after it was agreed he should be at the head of the Admiralty, told his Majesty he should like to know the particulars of

what had passed with Mr. Pitt, as he had seen very little of him. This, his Majesty said, surprised him somewhat, but that he had thereupon produced to him the only copy of any of his letters to Mr. Pitt that he had taken, telling him also what passed in different conversations, and, in short, the whole that occurred ; observing, that he had not taken copies of other letters to Mr. Pitt, from the thorough knowledge and experience he had had of his honour and fairness. Lord Melville, in the course of the conversation, asked his Majesty if he had not felt some surprise at his opposition to the late Administration, in the close of it, after the promise he had given to his Majesty, on receiving his peerage, that he would *never* oppose his Government ; and that he feared his having obtained such a number of proxies on the occasion was particularly displeasing to his Majesty ; to which the King answered that the occurrences did not greatly surprise him ; and that, as to *the effect* of them, it gave him no concern, because, finding from experience that Mr. A. could not go on with the conduct of the Administration, he was glad of any proceeding that had a tendency to bring Mr. Pitt in. That he felt the less pained on the occasion, as he had never had any confidence in his Lordship, nor any friendship for him, receiving him now only as belonging to Mr. Pitt ; but that, as he is placed at the head of the Naval Department, he had given him all the papers that could be useful to him in the situation, which his Majesty had received from his predecessors,—Lord Egmont, Lord Sandwich, Lord Howe, Lord Spencer, and Lord St.

Vincent ;—valuing those of Lord Sandwich the most, who, barring his Huntingdonshire jobs, his Majesty thought had been a good First Lord of the Admiralty.

This conversation and conduct of the King, Lord Melville bore vastly well, and has been, his Majesty said, remarkably attentive to him about everything respecting which he had expressed a wish. In addition to other and earlier grounds of dissatisfaction with Lord Melville, I am persuaded his Majesty felt uncomfortably on the subject of the letters his Lordship wrote to Lord Westmoreland relative to the question of Catholic Emancipation, while the latter was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ; which letters, his Majesty told me, Lord Westmoreland had shown to him, keeping them,—with all the others he had received on the same point,—bound together in a volume. Such a proceeding on the part of Lord Westmoreland (communicating the letters to the King) appears to me the more extraordinary, as they could not, I think, have been written to him *officially* ; Lord Melville not having been in the Department (the Home Office) that corresponds with the Irish Government.

About Lord Castlereagh there seemed to be, in his Majesty's mind, a considerable degree of indifference. He said, however, he was glad it was not proposed to him to make his Lordship Secretary of State, as it might have led (from his Lordship having had much intercourse with, and influence over, the Irish members, as Irish Secretary) to his putting himself at the head of an Irish party, as Lord Melville had done at the head of a Scotch one.

Lord Wellesley was spoken of by his Majesty as having *considerable* merit in the conduct of affairs in India, but as inflated with pride, and with his own consequence ; assuming to himself the *exclusive* merit of all that had been done in the East, and demanding ceremonious respect much beyond what was due to his station. That when he had more than once been reminded that he was exacting from those about him more than the King did, his Lordship replied, “ Then the King is wrong ; but that is no reason why I should improperly relax also.” His Majesty added, “ when he returns, his head will be quite turned, and there will be no enduring him.”

His Majesty spoke of Mr. Yorke and Mr. Bragge as the best Secretaries at War he had ever had ; especially the former, who, he lamented, had accepted the Secretaryship of State. Mentioning him (on an allusion to his declining the peerage which had been actually granted to his father, with a reversion to him), the King was led to recur once more¹ to the circumstance of the father’s acceptance of the Great Seal and his immediate death ; and he told me, for the first time, that when Mr. Charles Yorke was hesitating about whether he should take the seals or not, on Lord Camden’s resignation, he told him that if he refused them *then*, he *never* should have them, whatever changes might take place in the Administration of the country. This accounts to me for Mr. Yorke

¹ He had talked to me a good deal about it when at Cuffnells, in the summer of 1801.

having taken them after he had come to a contrary determination, which occasioned in the end the fatal and very melancholy catastrophe of that respectable man.

After having thus talked of persons in public situations, his Majesty asked me what Lord Thurlow was now doing ; to which I answered, it could, I was sure, give him as little pleasure to hear that as me to relate it, and that I thought it better, therefore, to say nothing about his Lordship ; to which his Majesty assented, but went on, however, himself to say that Colonel and Mrs. Cunningham were then at Weymouth, or had lately been there ; that Colonel Cunningham had complained to him of his rank in the army not being allowed to go on, he having retired on half-pay in a manner that precluded his having any claim thereto, to which his Majesty had, of course, turned completely a deaf ear. After that, the Colonel desired permission to present his wife—a natural daughter of Lord Thurlow's—to him ; to which the King answered, that whenever he should happen to see Mrs. Cunningham, he should be disposed to show her due attention, or some such words. When he did meet with her, he told her he retained a grateful recollection of her father's attachment to him ; and that, in particular, he should never have out of his mind his Lordship's solemn declaration, " that if ever he should forget his King, he trusted God, in such case, would forget him."¹ Mrs. Cunningham desired

¹ Two nights before he made that declaration, in the House of Lords, Mr. Sheridan, on the part of Mr. Fox, sat up with his Lordship in his house in Ormond Street till two o'clock in the morning ; and he was notoriously intriguing with others.

permission to write that to her father, and obtained it. On relating that anecdote, the King took occasion to observe, that it had, from his entrance into life, been an invariable rule with him to store in his memory carefully every right and proper act of others, and, as far as possible, to forget instances of a contrary conduct; and on that principle he should always cherish the remembrance of the natural and sudden impulse by which the Eton boys were actuated, when they received him with such affectionate and marked congratulations after his last recovery.

His Majesty reminded me of a strong opinion I had some years ago stated respecting the little dependence that ought to be put on the declarations of the emigrants against the various usurpations in France, under a conviction that every one of them would, sooner or later, make their peace with the existing Government in that country, however constituted, or by whomsoever conducted, and that at the expense of this nation, as far as might depend on them; and then said that the Duke de Mortemar (son-in-law of the Duc de Harcourt) had just returned to France, after the most solemn declarations, within this month, that he would live in England to his last hour, on his half-pay from us, rather than return to France; but that it is understood he is much despised there for his conduct.

The last interesting subject on which his Majesty touched was the Prince of Wales; and it was the one, naturally enough, that seemed to affect him most deeply. He said the intended interview,

that had been so much talked of, was not desired by him, being persuaded that no good could arise from it, but that he had been prevailed with to agree to it by the Chancellor and Mr. Pitt, whose pressing instances in support of the Prince's request he had found it impossible to resist; wishing it, however, to be delayed till after his return from Weymouth. In this state of matters, he consented at length to the interview, on condition that it should take place at Kew, and in the presence of the Queen, some of the younger brothers, and some of the Princesses. On the day fixed, however, when the King was expecting his Royal Highness, the Chancellor sent a letter from the Prince to the King, by a servant of his Royal Highness, in which he excused himself from attending on his Majesty on account of illness; which excuse, he said, he most readily accepted, and wrote so to the Chancellor. The Queen urged him to write to the Prince of Wales, but he declined that, having resolved never to write again to any one who had published his letters. His Majesty certainly added, he never could forgive the conduct of the Prince of Wales, because it was impossible to forget it. His Majesty had made it a condition, if the interview had taken place, that there was to have been no allusion to anything that had passed; the Prince was to have expressed satisfaction at seeing the progress of his Majesty's recovery, and the King to have received that properly, and made a suitable return. His Majesty was sure that the Prince meant the reconciliation should be accompanied with *éclat*, and that it was intended

to make *a scene* of it. He attributed the Prince's desire of a reconciliation to Lord Moira, and thought his Lordship was counteracted by some one, probably by Mr. Sheridan; thought the plan of making Lord Moira Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was a bad one, and that he was best in Scotland, in a military capacity, though he did not think him an officer. The King thought the Chancellor should have gone to him at Kew, instead of sending the Prince of Wales's letter in the manner he did.

On mentioning the Chancellor's name, he spoke of him without using any terms of affection or warm approbation; said he did not understand why he took such short periods for prorogations, till the last long one, which appeared to be intended to avoid the necessity for Ministers going again to Weymouth to hold another Council. He said he expected his Lordship at the last Council, and had, therefore, provided lodging for him *gratis* at Mrs. Steward's, being aware that he sets some value on his money, which, he observed, is frequently the case with persons who acquire their fortunes themselves.

The King, after inquiring whether his being at Cuffnells at the end of the month would be inconvenient, told me that himself and the Queen, with all the Princesses, would be there on the 29th of next month for a few days.

I heard, while at Weymouth, with great concern, from an authority I respect quite as much as if I had been myself present at the conversation, that the Princess of Wales said to Mrs. George Villiers, "I cannot say

I positively hate the Prince of Wales, but I certainly have a positive horror of him." They lived in different houses, dined at different hours, and were never alone together. The Princess said, "Nothing shall shake the determination I have taken to live in no other way than the state of separation we are now in." Little was known on the subject at the place, and not a syllable said to me about it, except in one house. The circumstances cannot, however, be kept under, I think, much longer, as there are occasional manifestations of them that must meet the eyes and ears of observers.

October 4th.—Mr. Sheridan came here to dinner with Captain and Mrs. Ogle (with whom he was staying at Lymington), as a friend of theirs, somewhat unexpectedly. I endeavoured all I could to avoid any conversation on subjects at all of a political nature, by turning it to other matters as often as he began upon public points; but it became utterly impossible to prevent his talking of the Prince of Wales, principally with a view of stating in the strongest terms the anxious disposition of his Royal Highness to reconcile himself to the King by the most unqualified submission, if his Majesty would condescend to receive it, and restore him to his good opinion.

Mr. S. professed his unalterable attachment to Mr. Fox; but spoke in terms of the highest commendation of Mr. Pitt, and declared solemnly, that his unvarying advice to the Prince of Wales had been, never to think of forming a Government without making Mr. Pitt a part of it. He gave the strongest

assurances, also, that he had nothing to do¹ with the breaking off the intended interview between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox on the late change of Government, which he attributed to Mr. Grey, of whose temper and haughtiness he spoke in unqualified terms. He professed himself a determined enemy to a Reform in Parliament, which he would oppose, he said, during the remainder of his life.

Saturday, October 13th.—Mr. Pitt came to Cuffnells. I stated to him as accurately as I could all the interesting parts of the King's conversation with me at Weymouth a fortnight ago, except what his Majesty said of Mr. Pitt having told him he had private reasons for not bringing forward again the Catholic Question, which entirely escaped my recollection. I told him also what I had heard from the most positive and unquestionable authority respecting the conduct of the Princess of Wales towards the Prince. I found he was fully and completely apprized of the latter to the utmost extent of what I had heard; and said that he and the Chancellor had made joint remonstrances in the most earnest manner to the Princess on the subject, which her Royal Highness received in the coldest manner possible, utterly unmoved for a long time; and at last, made sensible of the absolute necessity of some change in her conduct by the effect that would otherwise be produced in the public

¹ The conduct Mr. Sheridan had held in the latter part of Mr. Addington's government, prevented Mr. Fox, probably, from acting upon his advice; but it will be seen, in the notes made at the time, what the opinions expressed by Mr. S. were.

mind, she at length promised an alteration, but stated particulars in the Prince's behaviour that had created alarms in her mind of which she could not get the better. On the whole, Mr. Pitt seemed to think any hope of her acting up to the wishes of those who are most anxious for the welfare of the country was desperate. The prevalent opinion, he said, is, that she was so indulged for thirty years as to make her impatient under any untoward circumstances afterwards; and he conceived she might be acting, to a certain extent, under an impression of partiality for the Prince of Wales.

Mr. Pitt thought Mr. Bond would be a most unobjectionable man to be Judge Advocate, but conceived there were some objections (which he stated) to making him the offer; and said, that in the overture to Mr. Vansittart, his Majesty had gone further and proceeded quicker than was intended. The objection to him, his insufficiency in Parliament, Mr. Pitt applied more forcibly to Sir Evan Nepean, whose want of talents for the House of Commons made the necessity for finding a proper person to succeed him more apparent. I observed that, except as a speaker, I thought Mr. Vansittart fully equal to the situation, and that much in that line was not now requisite. Mr. Pitt told me I was mistaken in conceiving, from anything the King had said about Lord Auckland, that his Majesty had at all altered his mind about his Lordship; for, that in answer to a letter Lord A. had some time since written to him, his Majesty had reminded him of his former conduct

with respect to the coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox, the effects of which the former never got the better of. I found the account of Lady Auckland having another pension of 500*l.* a year added to her former one of 800*l.*, however, to be true.

Mr. Pitt said nothing to me of the negotiation he had had with Mr. Tierney, and I thought it could only be painful to him to mention it, without a hope of any good being derivable therefrom ; I therefore did not start the subject. He said there was no probable appearance of any material addition to our parliamentary strength ; nor could I learn that any one is seriously thought of for the Irish Secretaryship.

Cuffnells, Monday, October 29th, 1804.—His Majesty arrived at Cuffnells, from Weymouth, about four in the afternoon. The Duke of Cumberland's regiment of Light Dragoons, and my eldest son's regiment of South Hants Yeomanry Cavalry, received His Majesty on the road near Stony Cross ; and in the park, at Cuffnells, he was received by the Volunteers in the neighbourhood, amounting to about 1800. The Queen, all the Princesses, and the Duke of Cambridge, arrived at the same time, and four ladies attending the Queen and Princesses, viz.:—Lady Isabella Thynne, Lady Georgina Buckley, Lady Matilda Wynyard, and Lady Ilchester. I dined with their Majesties, and in the evening was at their card party, and afterwards supped with them. No opportunity occurred in the course of the afternoon for any private conversation.

Tuesday, October 30th.—I walked in the morning

with the King for an hour before breakfast. He talked of several individuals, mentioning Mr. Sturges Bourne again (as he had done at Weymouth), with Ryan and Mr. Huskisson, in a very different manner. He said, that after Mr. Pitt's coming to the administration in the summer, he had used every endeavour with Mr. Drax Grosvenor to support Government, who had expressed the utmost willingness to comply, but wished his brother the General would do so first, to sanction his taking such a part; in consequence of which his Majesty had application made to the General, whose answer was, that he wished his elder brother Drax to set him the example, as he was fearful of offending Lord Grosvenor. The King, added his Lordship, was strongly disinclined to Mr. Pitt, on account of the Catholic question. This impression his Majesty thought he had removed, by telling his Lordship he was perfectly satisfied with the assurances he had received from Mr. Pitt about it. The King then said, he understood and believed Mr. Pitt had been induced to make Lord Mulgrave Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, under an engagement from his Lordship to give Mr. Pitt all the patronage of the Duchy; which I happened to know was not true, and therefore ventured to state that confidently to his Majesty. I did so because Lord Mulgrave had spent two days with me, two or three weeks ago, on his way to Weymouth, and mentioned the greatest living in his gift (about 1500*l.* a year), as likely to become soon vacant, which he intended to give to a person to hold for his second son, now an infant. He also said

he should give the next considerable living that may fall to a private friend. I am sure, too, that Mr. Pitt is incapable of making such a bargain. The King regretted much Lord Mulgrave having the office, and still more his being in the Cabinet.

On speaking of the Duke of Montrose, the King said, his appointment to the Post-Office should not have been made; that having given him the Justice-Generalship of Scotland for life, on relinquishing the Mastership of the Horse, he should have taken the situation of President of the Board of Trade, without any other employment. That his Majesty thought that placing his Grace in the latter post was a good arrangement; as from his good-nature and acquiescing temper he was persuaded he would quietly permit me to do all the business.

[On this point, however, his Majesty is a little mistaken, as I have found as much presumption in his Grace as could be met with in almost any individual.]

The King spoke again in high terms of Lord Harrowby, and repeated, that he thought Lord Hawkesbury would make a good Home Secretary of State.

The King spoke of the importance of attending to the Press, and said he thought that remarkably well managed now.

The following conversation took place during our ride across the wildest part of the forest (in one of the heaviest rains I ever felt) to Cadlands, where we dined, at Mr. Drummond's, the King's banker. The ground, after long and incessant rain, for some days was wet

and spongy, which made the ride, at no time a pleasant one, extremely uncomfortable to the King, who therefore chose to come the roadway back, by Eling, though five or six miles further.

His Majesty repeated an observation he had made at Weymouth, in somewhat different words,—that his memory was a good one, and that what he did not *forget* he could not *forgive*. He said, that in his intercourse with men, it had been an invariable rule with him, not to *suppose* them bad till he found them so; that there had been instances of men becoming good, or at least considerably improving, by letting them understand they were considered as better than they were.

In speaking of the war, he said, something should be done to bring it to a point; that the sort of warfare going on would wear out the resources of the country, without leading to *any* conclusion of it. That he was aware we could have no assistance from any of the continental powers without paying them; and I observed, that *beyond all comparison* it would be cheaper to subsidize them to a great extent, rather than send British armies to the Continent; not taking into the account the loss of English blood or the expense of recruiting. After breakfast we rode to Cadlands, with the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, and the Princesses Amelia and Sophia, with their attendants, in a storm of wind and heavy rain, which came on before we got a mile from Lyndhurst. His Majesty renewed the subject of continental politics, and *surprised me beyond measure*, by telling

me that he had suggested to Mr. Pitt the propriety of getting the co-operation of Austria with Russia, and if possible Prussia; that it should then be put to the first power to declare whether she wishes to repossess Flanders or not; that she would probably say no; in which case measures should be taken for securing that country to Great Britain; not to be annexed to it as a part of the British dominions, but to be under a prince of the blood of Great Britain, with their own former constitution, or something resembling it. To have *the Joyeuse Entrée* restored to them; the army there to consist of about half Flemings and half English: under an impression that with sufficient guarantee the country might be maintained in a state of independence, at very little expense, except that of first putting the fortified places, or rather those that formerly were such, in a respectable state of defence. His Majesty said he had always considered the Barrier Treaty as a very wise and a very effectual one, for a long time, for preserving the balance of power in Europe. All this I will fairly own appeared to me to be so visionary, that I could not resist saying, "However desirable such an arrangement might be, it must, I feared, be considered a hopeless one, in the degraded state of the minds of most of the sovereigns on the continent:" in which his Majesty acquiesced, but still thought if Austria and Prussia could be roused, as well as the Court of St. Petersburg, the attempt would be worth making; and that he would for such a purpose spare Lord St. Helens, whom he had no desire to part with, believing

him to be more likely to succeed in such a negotiation than any other man.¹ It did not appear to me to be useful to pursue the discussion, as there is not the remotest probability of the matter ever becoming a subject for the exercise of diplomatic talents. I am, too, unfortunately of a different opinion from his Majesty, respecting the fitness of the man; because I know his Lordship is impressed with an opinion that Buonaparte is absolutely irresistible, and that it is a folly to contend with him: in short, that his Lordship is, *without being at all aware of it*, a Jacobin.

Much conversation, as we rode, about the Chancellor, of whom the King spoke in terms of high commendation; but quite aware of the inconvenience that arose in many instances of his want of decision, occasioned by his not having sufficient confidence in himself, particularly in protracting the determination of causes, felt not only in the Court of Chancery but in the House of Lords. This led me to express how impossible it is for any man to go through the duties of the two offices of Chancellor and Speaker of the House of Lords, so as to discharge both properly, which the King assented to; but added—what Sir William Scott said to me when the negotiation with Mr. Addington broke off—that the Chancellor would not hear of such a measure as the division of the offices, even under a complete indemnity to the Great Seal for the profits of the Speakership; as the profession (meaning the Law) would never forgive him for being the first to

¹ His Lordship is of the King's bedchamber, on his Majesty's own nomination [late].

agree to the offices being divided. This is as little intelligible to me now as when the objection was first started, because the profession would lose nothing either in profit or honour by the alteration. The Great Seal would be precisely the same in rank and income as now.

His Majesty next talked to me about my eldest son, of whom he spoke in terms of the warmest approbation and regard; observing, what I could only state in these most private notes, that what first recommended him to his warm good opinion, and maintained him to a certain degree in it, was his perfect resemblance in mind to his father. He then asked me if my son thought of returning to the diplomatic line; which I answered in the affirmative. That led to a good deal of conversation on the total neglect of the education of young men in this country for that line; his Majesty much commending the course taken for qualifying my son for it. His Majesty added, that if ever my son was but hinted at to him for a respectable mission, he would express, in the warmest manner, his cordial approbation of the appointment; and he observed, how infinitely better it would be to have him at Berlin than such a man as Mr. Jackson. The King said he thought I had done perfectly right in the meantime in appointing him Deputy Paymaster-General. His Majesty spoke of Mrs. George Rose in the handsomest manner, and said the eldest boy was as promising a one as possible. On asking the value of the Deputy Paymastership, and learning that it was 500*l.* a-year, he asked me what such a salary on the

Civil List netted, which he wished to know, because he had given George Villars 400*l.* a-year as a private bounty, in compensation for disappointing him of the Rangership of Windsor Park, or some such office.¹ I could not be sure whether I caught this correctly, as there was a perfect storm of wind as well as rain when his Majesty mentioned it in our ride.

The King said he supposed Lord Wellesley, on his return home, would be divided between Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt, in which I concurred; but am persuaded he will not oppose Mr. Pitt's government. From talking of his Lordship, his Majesty was led to speak of General Lake, which he did in terms of perfect indifference; observing, that military reputation was easily acquired in India. On our return in the evening from Cadlands, by the high road, in another deluge of rain, on horseback, the King again mentioned my eldest son in a manner even of affection, commending him warmly, and expressing an anxious wish that he might very soon be employed in the foreign line. His Majesty then mentioned Admiral Lord Gardiner as an officer of the highest merit, and spoke of Lord St. Vincent as another of equal consideration in his profession, but who had rendered himself extremely unpopular at the Admiralty Board, by adopting the measures of others; expressing surprise that he should allow Captain (now Admiral) Markham to govern him

¹ He being a groom of the bedchamber, as well as paymaster of marines, the former of which employments he had agreed to give up on his appointment to the latter; but by some management he kept both, and has now, it seems, this *private* allowance from the King, besides.

absolutely, whom, as Commander of a Ship of the Line, he had publicly discredited by sending an officer from the Flag Ship *to make her a Man-of-War*. His Majesty said that in all matters not connected with the business of the Board, Lord St. Vincent was governed by a worthless man of the name of Tucker, who had been his Secretary; and that on his Lordship retiring from the Admiralty, his Majesty had written to him plainly on some parts of his conduct, though he was perfectly satisfied of his good intentions, his zeal, &c., &c.; and that his Majesty had particularly remarked to him the impropriety of his appointing Mr. Tucker's brother to be builder at Plymouth, from a private yard.

I took occasion, in the course of this ride, on Mr. Fox's name being mentioned, to say to the King, what I verily believe to be true,—that Mr. Fox is now, and always has been, a most decided *Aristocrat*; ¹ which, considering the line of conduct he has for many years pursued, is perhaps not likely to elevate his character. But my real and sincere motive was, as far as I could, to impress the King with a persuasion that the taking Mr. Fox into his Government would not be attended with any danger; but that on the other hand, he would, in that case, find it his interest, and the safest line to gratify his ambition, to maintain the just power of the Crown. I referred to Lord Macartney for my authority about Mr. Fox as an unquestionable one, he having known him from his infancy, and maintained a constant intercourse with him ever since of private friendship, though he had not sided with him in politics.

¹ My expression was, on recollection, a determined Tory.

Wednesday, October 31st.—His Majesty, before breakfast, told me he had received a letter from Mr. Pitt, proposing to defer the meeting of Parliament till after Christmas, if he could be in town on Monday, to hold a Council to order the Proclamation, which his Majesty said he should cheerfully agree to; and then added a good deal about the advantage, in many points of view, that would result from the meeting being so deferred. His Majesty then fell into a conversation in the breakfast-room, in the presence of the equerries, about Lord Thurlow, whom he spoke of as a man of considerable feeling, and said he had seen tears in his eyes! To which opinion I could give no assent. In the next sentence, however, his Majesty mentioned his conduct to Miss Lynch, and of his having completely broken the heart of the son he had by her; which he followed up by comments on his conduct towards Captain Brown, who married his eldest daughter: of whom his Majesty spoke in terms of great praise, and stated, in proof of his merit, that General White Locke had determined to take him with him into the military department to which he was appointed. (Inspector-General of Recruits, I believe.)

After breakfast we rode to Lymington, by the high road, on our way to Southampton, to dine with Sir Harry Neale. On the road the conversation of last night about Mr. Fox was renewed, and the King repeated what he had said at Weymouth, that he had told Mr. Pitt he would rather take the risk of a civil war than receive Mr. Fox into his council. This I did not venture to come across with any pointed obser-

vations, under an impression that I should only have revolted his Majesty, without the remotest chance of effecting the object which, for the sake of the country alone, God knows, I anxiously wished to accomplish. But with great caution, I did suggest what I before hinted,—that if Mr. Fox should at any time be taken into Government, his original principles would prevail with him, and would induce him to be solicitous to maintain its powers and authority ; which at least did not produce any adverse observations, and may therefore possibly work quietly in his Majesty's mind. I put to his Majesty what Mr. Pitt had formerly said to me, about Mr. Fox going abroad ; to which the King replied, “ that would have been *a very different proposition*,” and distinctly inferred that, *to that* he should not have had a decided objection.

On our return in the evening, the King began the conversation again about the naked and dreary waste we rode over yesterday, abusing it as worse than any part of Bagshot heath ; and said, on the whole he thought Windsor Forest incomparably a more beautiful one than this. To which I replied, it was fortunate in this as well as in other matters of taste, that all did not think alike. I suggested the disadvantage at which the King saw this country, but that in fine weather, even the part of the forest he had seen had its beauties, as the ground was finely thrown about ; to which his Majesty replied, he had no taste for what was called the fine *wild* beauties of nature ; he did not like mountains and other romantic scenes, of which he sometimes heard much.

During this ride, the King asked me whether I knew, or had any fixed opinion as to who was the author of Junius. To which I answered, I believed no one living knew to a certainty who the author was, except Lord Grenville; but that I had heard him say positively he did. That I had, however, long had a strong persuasion Mr. Gerard Hamilton was the author; that I knew him well, and from a combination of a variety of circumstances, I had no doubt in my own mind of the fact. His Majesty asked me for the book; and I undertook to find it for him in the morning. After talking a good deal about Junius, the King entered into an account of the Duke of Grafton's resignation; stating that after the death of Mr. Yorke, who had accepted the Seals,¹ it was settled by his Grace that the Seals should be in commission, and that the Government was in other respects to go on as was before proposed. But that on the evening on which the commission (as usual a Judge from each Court) were to be sworn, the Duke came to the Queen's House with Lord Weymouth, the Secretary of State, or met him there by appointment, I am not sure which. That his Majesty first saw the Duke, who said he came to announce to his Majesty that he could not go on with the administration; which naturally surprised him a good deal, after the arrangements above alluded to. That his Majesty next saw Lord Weymouth, who felt equal surprise on the subject, but said he would go home with the Duke and endeavour to infuse some firmness and manliness into him; in which, however,

¹ On the resignation of Lord Camden

he then completely failed. That his Majesty, after that, sent to Lord North, who had been for some time Chancellor of the Exchequer, under the Duke as first Lord, and gave him two days to consider whether he would succeed his Grace or not. In the interval the Duke wrote to his Majesty that he was inclined to go on. When Lord North, therefore, attended his Majesty to accept the office, the King told him he would give him one day more to consider about it, which he accepted thankfully; but in the evening of that day, his Grace wrote to the King to say he had decided positively to resign. Of course, when Lord North came in the morning, it was fixed for him to be at the head of the Treasury; and the King then told him what had induced him to propose the further day for consideration.

Thursday, November 1st.—I put the “Letters of Junius” into the King’s hand; and we looked through the book for a letter which the Duke of Cumberland thought was in one of the notes, from Miss Parsons to the Duke of Grafton, without finding it, or even a note alluding to such a letter; which was very probably owing to mine being an early edition of the book.

After breakfast we rode to Southampton, and immediately after getting through the village of Lyndhurst, his Majesty began a conversation about the young Princess Charlotte, who his Majesty said the Prince of Wales had put into his hands for education, &c.; and that he was beyond measure anxious to find proper persons to place about her, and appeared to me to be desirous of continuing the conversation on the subject, about which I felt so much unaffected delicacy,

that I more than once attempted to turn it. The King, however, soon rendered this quite impossible by saying that a lady had been mentioned to him as one in all respects well qualified for, and well suited to, such a trust. To which I answered, that with all the opportunities his Majesty had for personal observation of the characters of women of rank, he had better act in so important a matter on his own judgment. This led him to say that he had felt a great anxiety to know my opinion (the first he had asked) of the person, who he said, was the widow of the late Bishop of St. David's, and who, it was probable, I knew something of; and he *commanded* me to state distinctly what I knew, or had heard from any authority on which I could rely, about her. To which I replied, that whatever scruple I might feel in suggesting anything in so very delicate a point, I could not, under such a command, withhold an acknowledgment that I knew something of Lady George Murray early in her life. That as a girl she was remarkably amiable, and very innocent; that she had been married when little more than a child, to a young man under age; that she had conducted herself most unexceptionably, to say the least, both as a wife and mother; that I had never heard a syllable to her disadvantage, but much in her commendation: with all which his Majesty seemed much pleased, and said he had determined to withhold making up his mind on the subject, till he could make inquiries of me upon it, being perfectly certain I would tell him nothing but the plainest truth. He then asked me if there was no danger of the Duke of Athol having

an influence over her—pretty plainly implying that he had no partiality for his Grace;—to which I answered it was impossible for me to be at all certain about that, but that I thought her mother was most likely to have an influence over her; who I had no reason to suspect of an intriguing disposition; but that I had seen nothing of her for a great many years, and could not venture to express a decided opinion about her. This part of a long conversation closed with an assurance from his Majesty that he felt great comfort from what I had said to him, and that it would have *great weight* with him. The last declaration he repeated twice. I then ventured to say, that encouraged by such condescension from his Majesty, I thought it of great consequence that whoever his Majesty might ultimately decide on to be the head governess for the young princess, it would be very desirable in the selection of the sub-governess to consider whether they would be likely to accord with each other. The importance of this his Majesty admitted, and mentioned in confidence that he had in a great degree decided to place in the latter situation, a Mrs. Campbell, widow of a Colonel Campbell, who went out governor to Bermuda or Bahama (I am not sure which), and died on his arrival there. Of this lady he had received a most favourable account from an authority he respected.

To prove the justice of my observation, his Majesty told me that most serious inconvenience had arisen from disagreements and intrigues amongst those who were entrusted with the care of his education; mentioning Dr. Thomas, afterwards Bishop

of Winchester, and Mr. George Scott, afterwards a Commissioner of Excise, as men of unexceptionable characters (preceptor and sub-preceptor). But he considered Dr. Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, as an intriguing, unworthy man, more fitted to be a Jesuit than an English Bishop; and as influenced in his conduct by the disappointment he met with in failing to get the archbishopric of Canterbury. His Majesty added that his Lordship was the author of the gross and wicked calumny on George Scott;¹ accusing him, a man of the purest mind, and most innocent conduct, of having attempted to poison his wife. The King then spoke of Lord Waldegrave and Lord Harcourt (both I believe his governors, they were certainly both about him), the first as a depraved worthless man, the other as well-intentioned, but wholly unfit for the situation in which he was placed.

The King then returned to the subject of Lady George Murray, and again expressed the highest satisfaction at what I had said about her; observing that her manner and appearance at Weymouth, as well as her conduct, as far as he had means of judging of it, had impressed him with a favourable opinion of her; and added that she was now living at Weymouth, where she meant to remain all the winter, in a lodging, at two guineas a week.

His Majesty afterwards proceeded to speak of his accession, and of the first measures taken after it,

¹ I knew this gentleman long and very intimately: and I can aver, with the sincerest truth, I never knew a man more *entirely blameless* in all the relations of life; amiable, honourable, temperate, and one of the sweetest dispositions I ever knew.

expressing a good deal of surprise at the accuracy with which some of them were related in a history of the time written by a Mr. Adolphus, as far at least as respected himself,¹ and particularly referred to a statement in that book of the words, "I glory in the name of Briton," having been inserted in the draft of his first speech with his own hand; adding, also, that they were his own, and suggested to him by no one. His Majesty then referred to a conversation he had held with me when at Cuffnells, in 1801, respecting Lord Bute; saying he would now tell me what he had then omitted to do, which omission he had since regretted, and was now desirous of repairing. That on the day of the late King's demise, he was going from Kew to his house in London, to give some directions about an organ he had there being fitted in a room he had prepared for it. When near Kew bridge, he met a person he did not know, who rode up to him and said he had something to say to him, and took out of his pocket a piece of very coarse white-brown paper, with the name of Schrieder wrote upon it, and nothing more, which the man said was given to him merely to obtain credence with his Royal Highness; and then went on to say that the King was taken suddenly ill, and that appearances were very alarming. He ordered him to say nothing to any one, but to ride on quietly. The determination his Majesty instantly took was to return to Kew, to colour which, he observed to his attendants that his horse

¹ His Majesty said he should, therefore, have it bound as a continuation of Rapin.

went lame ; and although his groom assured him to the contrary, he went back directly, and immediately repaired to the Princess of Wales, whose unremitting and careful attention he spoke feelingly of, to communicate to her what had occurred ; in doing which he enjoined her in the warmest manner to say nothing on the subject to Lord Bute, lest he should entertain some notion of endeavouring to be placed in a political situation ; of which, however, the Princess Dowager assured him there was no danger. The King, not satisfied with that assurance, repeated the injunction, and obtained from her Royal Highness a positive promise of a compliance with it, adding, that if she should be mistaken, it would entirely alter her opinion of his Lordship. That after leaving his mother, and before reaching his own house, he met a messenger with a letter from the Princess Amelia, directed "To his Majesty," which led to his being certain of the event that had happened. Her Royal Highness, in it, requested him to come directly to Kensington ; the impropriety of which he was so sensible of, that, after again waiting on his mother, he went straight to his own house in London, and on the road met a coach and six, which, by the liveries of white and blue, he knew must belong to Mr. Pitt, who turned about and followed him to Carlton House. In the first interview, Mr. Pitt desired he might be allowed to communicate with Lord Bute about the measures necessary to be immediately taken, to which his Majesty assented ; and they met accordingly, in the most friendly manner, for that purpose. But one

circumstance was not attended to ; for when Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, came into his Majesty's closet, at the head of the Privy Council, and made a speech to him on his succeeding to the throne, he was not aware of it, and was not prepared with any answer. It was, however, at that time that the speech was framed, and that his Majesty made the alteration in it before alluded to. Lord Bute took the office of Groom of the Stole, with which he appeared to be satisfied for several months, but it was soon manifest that he was desirous of being in some high and responsible political situation ; the attainment of which object he effected through the agency of Count Viri, the Sardinian ambassador, who prevailed with the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire to propose Lord Bute being Secretary of State ; his Excellency having a considerable influence with both, particularly with the former. Till that time, there had been a perfectly good agreement between his Lordship and Mr. Pitt, but on the appointment¹ taking place, in March, 1761, evident dissatisfaction appeared in the latter ; and in the October following, he resigned the other Secretaryship of State, as Lord Temple did the Privy Seal. Which resignations were followed in May, 1762, by that of the Duke of Newcastle of the office of First Lord of the Treasury ; and in November, 1762, of the Duke of Devonshire of the Chamberlainship. Lord Bute succeeded to the

¹ The opening was made by Lord Holderness having a pension till the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports should become vacant by the death of Lord Holderness.

first, and the Duke of Marlborough to the latter. His Majesty conceived that the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, in allowing themselves to be persuaded to propose Lord Bute being Secretary of State, were influenced by a suggestion that the appointment would afford some check on Mr. Pitt, of whose power they were a little jealous; but his Majesty was sure they repented of having done so, as he heartily did of having acquiesced in the measure. The King then spoke of Lord Bute as deficient in political firmness, which he admitted to be a most important ingredient in a minister—particularly in the one at the head of the Government. This led his Majesty to remind me of the anecdote related by him, in 1801, of his Lordship, while Minister, when surrounded in his carriage by a mob near the House of Lords, coming to him in a panic, followed by the mob, to St. James's, to dissuade his Majesty from going to the play, and of the rebuke he gave his Lordship for that proceeding. He said, however, that his Lordship did not want talents, and that Lord Mansfield had assured him he never knew any one who came so late into business take to it and do it so well.

His Majesty said little about Mr. Grenville, except that it was not his wish he should resign when he did, but Mr. Grenville's own voluntary act. He spoke of Lord Suffolk as a man of some talents, but of great ambition,—a proof of which was his desire to supplant Lord North¹ at the 'Treasury. The mention

¹ Of this, I believe neither Lord North nor the public ever entertained any suspicion.

of his Lordship led the King to some observations about Lord Auckland, whom he described as a man of deep intrigue, who had artfully got about Lord Suffolk,¹ but whose true character was well known to his Lordship before his death, which induced him to send him to America as one of the commissioners for restoring peace; previously to which, however, on Mr. Robinson's illness, Lord Suffolk had put him about Lord North, in the hope of his becoming Secretary to the Treasury in the event of Mr. Robinson dying; whose recovery defeated that project, which his Majesty thought fortunate. Of Lord North his Majesty was beginning to speak in very favourable terms, when we were interrupted by the Princess Amelia (who, with the other Princesses, was riding behind us) getting a most unfortunate fall. The horse, on cantering down an inconsiderable hill, came on his head, and threw her Royal Highness flat on her face. She rose, without any appearance of being at all hurt, but evidently a good deal shaken; and, notwithstanding an earnest wish to avoid occasioning the slightest alarm, was herself not desirous of getting on horseback again; but the King insisted that she should, if at all hurt, get into one of the carriages and return to Cuffnells to be bled, or otherwise mount another horse and ride on. She chose the latter, and rode to Southampton, where she lost some blood unknown to the King. I hazarded an advice, that no one else would do, for her Royal Highness's return, which

¹ His Lordship certainly entertained a warm friendship for Lord Auckland till the latter quitted him and his other connexions.

was certainly not well received, and provoked a quickness from his Majesty that I experienced in no other instance. He observed that he could not bear that any of his family should want courage. 'To which I replied, I hoped his Majesty would excuse me if I said I thought a proper attention to prevent the ill effects of an accident that *had* happened, was no symptom of a want of courage. He then said with some warmth :—" Perhaps it may be so ; but I thank God there is but one of my children who wants courage ;—and I will not name him, *because he is to succeed me.*" I own I was deeply pained at the observation, and dropped behind to speak to General Fitzroy, which gave a turn to the conversation.

In the Audit-house at Southampton, his Majesty said personally to my son what he had before to me, of his fitness for the diplomatic line, and of his earnest desire to be useful to him in it, if he should ever have an opportunity of being so. I there presented to his Majesty, by desire of the Mayor, Captain Prescott, a commander in the navy, ninety-five years of age, perfectly erect, capable of taking any moderate exercise, and apparently possessed of all the faculties a man of his age can have the enjoyment of.

On our ride home, the King talked of the qualities necessary for persons at the head of the Church, and expressed satisfaction that Mr. Pitt and he were agreed about Dr. Sutton, Bishop of Norwich, being a fit man to succeed the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is breaking fast ; and in that case that Legge should succeed to the Deanery of Windsor, now held by

the Bishop, as that situation should always be filled by a man of some family, which, indeed, it had usually been; for even in the instance of the appointment of Dr. Booth to that Deanery, the Duke of Newcastle had persuaded the late King that the Dr. was of the Earl of Warrington's family.

During the time their Majesties were at Cuffnells, I could not perceive anything that could lead to the remotest suspicion of what I had before heard from the most positive and unquestionable authority, and of the absolute certainty of which I am as entirely convinced as if I had been present when the occurrences happened. While in this house, there was every appearance of perfect cordiality; and I had good opportunities of watching for symptoms, as I was constantly at table with the royal family when they dined here, as well as every night at supper, and every evening at cards. It may be hoped from hence, that the advice which has been recently given to her Royal Highness may have produced some effect, for a time at least.

Memoranda, made Friday, November 2d.—This day their Majesties and the royal family left Cuffnells, after breakfast, to return to Windsor, meaning to dine with the Bishop of Winchester at Farnham, on their road.

On the road to Lyminster, last Wednesday, the King talked to me a good deal about Lord Melville. He very much blamed him for proposing Lord Kellie as one of the sixteen peers for Scotland, on account of his not being generally acceptable to the Scotch peers.

His Majesty observed, it was giving a great advantage to Lord Lauderdale, who was most indefatigable in his exertions to be elected; and went over much of the same ground about his Lordship that he had done at Weymouth.

While here, his Majesty told me he had nearly lost the sight of his right eye, and that it was with the greatest difficulty he could read a newspaper by candle-light with *any* spectacles he could get.

The King told me that Count Woronzow, the Russian ambassador, had suggested to him, in the Audit-house at Southampton, that if his Majesty would express a wish for his remaining in England another year, he would propose it to his Court, and he was sure it would be acquiesced in.

Tuesday, November 6th, 1804.—Count Woronzow, the Russian ambassador, came here. He confirmed to me what the King had said about his remaining here another year. He said it could easily be accomplished, as there had been no intention on the part of his Court to recall him, he having requested leave to return home; and that his successor was not to leave Petersburg till the Count's arrival there.

He told me that Lady Pembroke (the dowager) had been offered the government of the Princess Charlotte, but had refused it; and that Lord Pembroke had been offered the embassy to Russia, which he would have accepted if he could have been allowed to return in eighteen months. This being not assented to, he had declined.

CHAPTER VI.

1805—1806.

MR. ROSE'S DIARY FOR SEPTEMBER, 1805—CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING MR. PITT'S DEATH, AND THE PAYMENT OF HIS DEBTS, FROM JANUARY TO JUNE, 1806—FORMATION OF THE PITT CLUB.

[THE close of the year 1804 left Mr. Rose in a very uncomfortable state, not satisfied with the tone of the Bishop of Lincoln's correspondence, of which copies have been already given, and mourning over the continued silence of Mr. Pitt and his recent reconciliation with Mr. Addington (not personally, but politically), which was probably the cause of that silence. His lamentations upon that subject fill a few pages of his Diary, which it is not necessary to transcribe.

But when the Diary is resumed, in the autumn of 1805, we find Mr. Pitt again visiting his friend at Cuffnells, and discussing with him the difficulties of his situation, and the necessity of strengthening his Government by taking into it some members of the Opposition ; stating also the resistance he met with at Weymouth from the King, which he attributes to the influence of some of the Addington Cabinet.—ED.]

Tuesday, September 17th.—Mr. Pitt left me at Cuffnells to go to the King at Weymouth. On the preceding evening, I had a conversation of between two and three hours with him in my own room on the state of foreign and domestic politics. On the former he was extremely sanguine, from the treaties entered into with Russia and Prussia, and the measures taken in consequence of them;—the success of which he promised himself would tend very greatly to strengthen his Administration. But independently of that expectation (which he did not appear to overrate) there was no prospect of any addition to our friends in Parliament. I took occasion, therefore, again to urge him, with the utmost earnestness, to press on the consideration of his Majesty, when he should see him at Weymouth, the necessity of strengthening his Administration, which he gave me the strongest assurances he would do. He agreed there might be the following openings, with the entire communion and even wishes of the parties:—

<i>President of the Council</i>	. . . .	Lord Camden.
<i>Secretaries of State</i>	. . . .	{ Lord Castlereagh.
		{ Lord Mulgrave.
<i>First Lord of Admiralty</i>	. . . .	Lord Barham.
<i>Lord Lieutenant of Ireland</i>	. . . .	Lord Hardwicke.
<i>Chancellor of the Duchy</i>	. . . .	Lord Harrowby.

Besides various other offices that might be opened of the second class. I made a tender of my son if it should be found necessary; to which he would not listen. In the conclusion, I suggested to him the expediency of his talking to the King as early on the subject as he should find an opportunity of doing after his arrival at Weymouth.

Saturday, September 21st.—I arrived at Weymouth late in the evening, and supped with Mr. Pitt, who stated to me all that had passed with his Majesty, which was extremely discouraging, and told me he was to have his definitive answer the next day.

Sunday, September 22d.—I went on the esplanade early in the morning, and at a quarter past seven the King came there, accompanied by Col. Taylor, who, on the King calling me to him, left us. His Majesty then told me that Mr. Pitt had made very strong representations to him of the necessity of strengthening his Government by the accession of persons from the parties of Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, but that he was persuaded there existed no necessity whatever for such a junction; that we did very well in the last session, and he was confident we should not be worse in the ensuing one; that affairs on the Continent wore a good appearance, and that, at least, it was desirable to see how they would turn out; but that Mr. Pitt had agreed to revise the Parliamentary canvass with Mr. Long, who was also at Weymouth, and in the course of the day to state the result to him. *I observed to his Majesty that there would be an unavoidable necessity in the next session of Parliament to resort to new and extraordinary measures of taxation, which would put our force in the House of Commons to a very different test from anything that had passed in the last session; and that, considering our situation in that House, I was perfectly convinced, if Mr. Pitt should be confined by the gout, or any other complaint, for only two or three weeks, there would be an end of us;—

adding such other reasons as occurred to me to show that Mr. Pitt had not overstated the difficulties he had to encounter. I had not the good fortune, however, to make any impression whatever on his Majesty; on the contrary, I found him infinitely more impracticable on the point than last year when at Cusfiells. He then would have consented to admitting as many of the two parties before-mentioned as Mr. Pitt should desire, with the exception only of Mr. Fox, and would not object even to him if employed on a foreign mission, or in any situation that would not render his re-admission to the Privy Council necessary, as appears by my notes written at that time. But now, the King states a positive determination against taking a single individual from the Opposition into the Administration, observing, *in a manner that precluded any reply*, "he could not trust them, and they could have no confidence in him;" and added, "he was sure there was no necessity," to which I could only answer, I hoped most sincerely his Majesty would not find himself under a mistake, but that I felt it my duty to say, I saw the matter in a less promising light, and that it appeared to me to be infinitely better for his Majesty to admit of a moderate accession of the persons to whom he objected, with Mr. Pitt as the head of the Administration, who has the good fortune to possess his Majesty's confidence, than to have the whole forced upon him by a struggle in Parliament, and a complete change in his Majesty's confidential servants effected. To this he would not listen at all, considering it as a visionary apprehension.

His Majesty then changed the conversation to the

prosecution of Lord Melville, expressing himself in no very favourable terms of his Lordship, and reminding me of some observations of my own about him many years ago. He evinced resentment particularly at his Lordship having accepted the Presidency at the Admiralty, after he had been examined by the Commissioners for Naval Inquiry (or after he knew from those Commissioners that he should be called upon to explain, I am not sure which) respecting the money in his hands, as Treasurer of the Navy, not being kept at the bank, and other circumstances connected therewith; at which I expressed my surprise and doubts whether his Majesty had been rightly informed of the fact. He replied, he had it recently from two of his Cabinet Ministers (who I am nearly certain were Lord Mulgrave and Lord Hawkesbury, then at Weymouth); and that upon referring to the Chancellor, then also on the spot, he admitted the statement to be true.

On revolving in my mind all that passed in this conversation, which lasted very nearly two hours without interruption, I have a perfect conviction that the positive determination now formed by the King against admitting a single man from the Opposition into Government, so directly contrary to the sentiments he repeatedly stated to me twelve months ago, has arisen from representations that have been made to him very lately, and from a combination of occurrences not to be mistaken. I have a firm persuasion that Lord Hawkesbury effected the change in his Majesty's opinions, aided perhaps by Lord Mulgrave, and still more by the Chancellor. This may appear extraordinary, con-

sidering the language his Majesty held respecting Lord Hawkesbury when at Cuffinells last year (which then strongly marked a want of confidence in his Lordship's talents and judgment); but it is perfectly certain that the noble Lord, during his stay at Weymouth this season, gained very considerable ground with the King by constant assiduity and attention, particularly at the time of the Duke of Gloucester's death, when his Majesty's mind was deeply affected.

[A letter from Mr. Sturges Bourne, containing an account of Lord Nelson's death, of Lord Collingwood's subsequent success, and some other interesting particulars.—ED.]

“DEAR ROSE,

“The *Gazette* of to-day will give you a most satisfactory account from Lord Collingwood. Four of the prizes being saved is quite *præter spem*, and three only of them which escaped being serviceable, leaves us little to have wished but the safety of him to whom we owe all, and who seems to have devoted himself most unfortunately. Captain Hardy saw the man who shot him from the poop of the *Bucentaur*, levelling at him continually, and was near enough to distinguish his countenance; but nothing could induce him to render his person less conspicuous, or to move about on the quarter-deck.

“I hope there is no reason to be alarmed at Mr. Pitt's health; but two or three weeks at Bath would probably be of essential service to him. He wishes

to put off the meeting, if it be only for a week. With a view of giving him a week more at Bath, it would be valuable, and perhaps the state of things on the Continent may make it desirable, otherwise I should have thought it not worth while, unless it could have been postponed till after the birth-day.

“ You will be glad to hear that in consequence of Leveson having been urged to continue at Petersburg by that Court, and consenting to do so till the spring, Lord Cathcart is to take the command of our troops almost immediately, which may, I hope, postpone if not supersede some other arrangements.

“ The proportion of the proceeds of Spanish merchant ships detained before hostilities given to the captors, has varied in some instances where the amount was very considerable : Mr. Pitt would not consent to the ordinary share of two-thirds being granted. We have not, however, heard of any dissatisfaction on that account, or with regard to the reduced share of the bullion which was given to the captors.

“ We get neither foreign papers nor mails.

“ Yours, most truly,

W. STURGES BOURNE.

“ Lord Collingwood has twenty-one sail of the line fit for service, exclusive of Admiral Louis’s squadron, and the reinforcements from home.”

[The correspondence of the year 1806 begins with a very brief account of Mr. Pitt's illness and death. At first sight it may seem strange that Mr. Sturges Bourne should have to communicate to Mr. Rose the progress of his disease ; but he had been summoned from the Treasury to give an account to the dying Minister of the posture of affairs, and, therefore, his letters contain also intelligence from abroad, chiefly of a dark and sad complexion, but not unrelieved by gleams of better fortune. Then, after the announcement of Mr. Pitt's death, lamentations pour in from various quarters, and much discussion about the payment of his debts ; one party maintaining that application should be made to Parliament for a grant, which Mr. Wilberforce discouraged, on the ground that there was no prospect of success, and believed that the whole sum which was required might be raised by private subscription amongst his friends. It does not appear that any others took the same sanguine views. But then another question arose, whether those who had already subscribed should be considered creditors, as Mr. Pitt wished, or not. Mr. Rose was one of those who would not take back his money, although he was extremely mortified by the discovery that, owing to some sinister influence exercised against him, his friend had died under the persuasion that he was not one who had subscribed largely for his relief. Their next anxiety was to find some one whom they could engage to write a life of their

deceased leader. It was proposed to Mackenzie, who, without declining it, suggested his own incompetence ; and ultimately it devolved on the Bishop of Lincoln, who might have done it well, but did not. It was afterwards undertaken by Mr. Gifford ;¹ but he had no means of giving it the interest of private memorials, and his is only a political history. The formation of the Pitt Club, with the Duke of Richmond for its president, and Mr. Rose for its vice-president, closes the history of that great statesman.—ED.]

MR. STURGES BOURNE TO MR. ROSE.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ The accounts of Mr. Pitt are rather better. He leaves Bath to-day, and proposes to reach Chippenham, about twelve miles. He is anxious to prorogue Parliament another week, but the risk incurred by it would be such, that, I think, meeting it without him is the least of the two evils. I wish you were on the spot, that we might be assisted by your opinion. I calculate that Mr. Pitt will reach Putney by Monday. Do you continue in the country till the last moment ?

“ I forbear saying what I feel about his health till we meet. I wrote to you on the subject two or three days ago, but burnt my letter, thinking I might as well save you some restless nights.

“ Yours ever, most truly,

“ W. S. B.

“ 9th January, 1806.”

¹ Mr. John R. Gifford, mentioned in a former note.

MR. STURGES BOURNE TO MR. ROSE.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ Mr. Pitt arrived at Putney last night, having accomplished his journey with less fatigue than might have been expected ; and I have been with him this morning by his own desire. His appearance was not worse than I expected, though it seems to have struck Lady Hester very much. He thinks himself, however, better, particularly in the article of sleep. He is, however, very, very weak, and has a horror of all animal food. You will derive some comfort from knowing that Dr. Reynolds and Dr. Baillie were waiting to see him when I came away. When he may expect to be able to attend to business and Parliament, we must learn from them. He thinks of going to the Wilderness, which Lord Camden has offered him, and where he will be more out of the way of interruption.

“ Under these circumstances, I am very glad that you mean to come to us on Wednesday, and I think you had better dine with me on that day, without going first to Putney. I did not mean to reproach you so unjustly as you supposed, but rather marvelled at your taste for the country. As we must do without Mr. Pitt at present, I am sure we ought to have everybody else on the spot that can assist us.

“ Yours ever, most truly,

“ W. S. B.

“ Sunday, half-past five,

“ January 12th, 1805.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

"Putney Heath,

"Thursday, quarter-past 9 P.M.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I will just tell you that Mr. Pitt has continued in bed the whole day, quiet and composed upon the whole, and without any increase of unpleasant symptoms. He is going to be removed to his sofa for an hour. Sir Walter's report is *rather* more favourable. I hope we shall see you to-morrow.

"Ever yours,

"G. LINCOLN."

"Putney Heath,

"Jan. 20th, quarter past 9.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am most truly concerned to send you so unfavourable an account. The fact is, that the symptoms are all aggravated, and the apprehensions of the physicians greater than ever. They are to be here again at ten to-morrow morning.

"Yours ever,

"G. L."

"West Strand, 7 o'clock,

"January 23d.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"The last sad scene closed at half-past four. Our dear friend did not suffer in his last moments.

"I expect to be in Downing Street about one.

"Yours ever, most truly,

"G. LINCOLN."

MR. WILBERFORCE TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

" Broomfield, Jan. 23d, 1806. Thursday.

" MY DEAR ROSE,

" I feel so unsettled, that I have been near driving to town again, merely because I cannot remain in quiet here ; but I fear I should hear nothing of comfort if I were to go. I will, therefore, stay here to-day, relying on your being so kind as to let me know if you hear of any change. I own I can scarcely bring myself to conceive the case hopeless, considering our friend's time of life ; but yet physicians are never the first to acknowledge that there is no more room for hope. I ought to have told you last night that the friend whom I said I would consult (binding him, of course, to secrecy, on which, indeed, without binding, one might rely) confirms the apprehensions I had formed of the reception of such a proposition as we talked of. But when I look around to the many affluent (some extremely so) men who were connected with our friend, I cannot bring myself to think that something might not be done sufficient for paying what remains unsatisfied of fair claims. I am myself far from a rich man, with increasing expenses, and a prospect of diminishing fortune ; but I would cheerfully join, according to my means, if any effectual plan could be set on foot. It would, in my mind, be a part of such a plan that the names of contributors, and the sums furnished by each, should be kept secret.

" It will give me pleasure to hear you are yourself

pretty well, for I fear the effects of what you feel on your constitution from what I saw yesterday.

“Yours sincerely,

“W. W.

“P.S.—On reflection, another consideration regarding THE POINT we talked over yesterday struck me with great force, which I will tell you when we meet; I am sure you would feel it. I shall have a servant come out to me at a quarter before six this afternoon.”

MR. WILBERFORCE TO MR. ROSE.

“Broomfield, Friday, Jan. 24th, 1806.

“MY DEAR ROSE,

“It has occurred to me on recollection, that when you mentioned to me what our departed friend had stated to be his wish, respecting some of the Stanhopes, I rather too hastily assented to what seemed to be your own impression at the moment; and further reflection has led me to the adoption of a different opinion. With respect to Lady Hester, I am even clear, that what was mentioned was little enough for her, and I cannot think that the public would conceive it to be any departure from the delicate principles on which our friend acted in the case of his own relations,—that he endeavoured to secure for *such of them as were still unprovided for*, a decent and proper maintenance. What you stated as having been proposed by himself, was as little as any one would name. If I am not mistaken, one of the ladies’

husbands has an office of some value for life. He and she of course would not fall within the principle. I have been anxious, however, to correct what I hastily expressed to you the other day ; and as to Lady Hester, had our friend even been silent, I should think it right not to neglect her. In all our reasonings on this question, the peculiar character of Lord Stanhope, and his casting off his children, for not being as wild and strange as himself, are considerations of great force.

“ On the more material point, you will believe, my dear Rose, that it would personally be one of the greatest gratifications I could receive, to promote the plan, if I thought it really likely to do honour to his character, while also it would perhaps ease me of the share which may devolve on me, on the other plan ; and which, though small in itself, would be to me of importance. But the more I have thought on the subject, the more sure I have been, that even in the House of Commons, the reception such a proposition would have, would be very far from satisfactory, and much more that in the country, the effect on his memory might be of the most unfavourable sort. It is a point, on which one can scarcely open to any one, but I have consulted (under obligations of strict secrecy) three friends, all men of excellent understanding, and from their political connexions and principles, likely to consider the proposal, with a wish to be able to approve of it ; and yet they all have been decidedly adverse to its coming forward. I have myself lived in the world long enough to know what

stuff it is made of, yet I cannot but believe that 25, or 30, or 40,000*l.* might be collected, without any other than private and confidential applications. I have been looking around me, and I have made out a list of sixty people, most of whom I think would be willing to contribute, some of them very largely, for such a service. I perfectly concur with you in thinking, that where the debts are fair *and due to tradesmen*, every effort should be made to pay them; and it would be extremely useful, if any means could be found of distinguishing between fair and fraudulent claims. Do be so obliging to let me know where the Bishop of Lincoln is now to be found.

“ Believe me ever yours,

“ W. WILBERFORCE.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

“ Wednesday Morning.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Mr. Wilberforce came to me last night from the House of Commons, and we had a full conversation about the debts. He prefers the mode of subscription to that of payment by Parliament, but made no particular objection if the latter should be adopted, to the 12,000*l.* I told him I considered it as certain that Mr. Cartwright’s motion would be made on Monday, and he is satisfied that it will pass. He was very reasonable, and seemed desirous of acceding, or at least of not opposing. I am to see him again, and in the mean time he is to consider the subject. I am inclined to think he will stay

away. You probably know that Mr. Banks is gone into Dorsetshire. Till Mr. Wilberforce shall have made up his mind, it will be better to say as little about him as possible. I shall be in Downing Street the whole morning. If you mean to speak to Mr. Joseph Smith about his interest, you should do it soon, as I shall probably see Mr. Bootle in a day or two.

“Yours ever, most affectionately,

“G. LINCOLN.”

MR. WILBERFORCE TO Mr. ROSE.

“A thousand thanks, my dear Rose, for your letter. I will consider how I can best promote the private plan, of the success of which I have no doubt. I am only anxious measures should be taken with delicacy. I am extremely pressed, having just this moment got a file of letters.

“Yours ever,

“W. W.

“Saturday, Jan. 25th,

“Half-past 3 o'clock.

“I have this instant seen the paper, and will certainly attend; but I must say it would have been better in my colleague to consult and combine more about it. If so, perhaps all my opposition might have been prevented. But Lascelles acts from a warm and honest heart as ever man had. You should have told me how you yourself are.”

LORD GLASTONBURY TO MR. ROSE.

‘ MY DEAR SIR,

I have the satisfaction to assure you that Lord Granville concurs in approving Mr. Lascelles’s intended motion, with feelings as warm and zealous as yours or mine, and that he has in the most earnest terms requested his friends to concur in the support of it, the greater part of whom have expressed a readiness to comply with his wishes. Mr. Fox, I understand, hesitates, but it is believed that if the words of the resolution are confined to the acknowledgment of great talents and integrity, and steers clear of measures, he likewise will acquiesce. I could not forbear making this communication to you, as I knew well what pleasure you will derive from it.

“ I am, my dear Sir, with sincere esteem,

“ Ever most faithfully yours,

“ GLASTONBURY.

“Sunday Morning, 26th Jan., 1806.”

[Mr. Rose thought that the hope of raising a sufficient private subscription would be materially improved, if the King would allow it to be known how much in that way he had formerly offered to do for Mr. Pitt; and perhaps he entertained a secret hope that he would head the subscription. He wrote to him therefore to ask leave to publish the fact, but received no answer. Again he wrote to explain, that he only wanted the sanction of his Majesty’s name

with reference to the former transaction; but in his Diary he complains that he received no answer to either of those letters. At a later period, however, he wrote again, and received the following letter on behalf of the King, from Colonel Taylor, in which the nature of the royal objection is explained, and the magnitude of the offer is shown to have been misunderstood.—ED.]

MR. ROSE TO COLONEL TAYLOR,

Secretary to the King.

“ Old Palace Yard, Dec. 14th, 1800.

“ SIR,

“ When his Majesty did me the high and distinguished honour of residing for a few days at Cuffnells, in the year 1801, he graciously condescended to propose to put into my hands the sum of 30,000*l.* for the payment of Mr. Pitt’s debts, which pressed upon him very severely on his quitting office; with a command, in the event of the service appearing to be practicable, that it should be so managed, as to prevent a suspicion arising in Mr. Pitt’s mind of the quarter from whence the aid came, either by the purchase of Hollwood, or in such other manner as should be judged most likely to make the gracious and benevolent intentions of his Majesty successful. The scheme was found to be impracticable without a communication with Mr. Pitt. On the mention of it to him, he was actually more affected than I recollect to have seen him on any occasion; but he declined it,

though with the deepest sense of gratitude possible. It was indeed one of the latest circumstances he mentioned to me, with considerable emotion, towards the close of his life. I mention this to you now, Sir, for the purpose of requesting that you will have the goodness to express to his Majesty, with all humility, my humble and dutiful suit, that he will be graciously pleased to permit me to mention the fact in a Tract, that I hope may be of some use, which I am about to publish, as likely to add to the respect for Mr. Pitt's memory, though nothing can increase the veneration which every good subject has for the best qualities ever possessed by a sovereign.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your humble, &c. &c.

“ G. ROSE.

“ I made an application of a similar nature soon after Mr. Pitt's death ; but I believe from not expressing myself properly then, I had not the honour of receiving his Majesty's pleasure on the subject.”

COLONEL TAYLOR TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“ Windsor, Dec. 16th, 1809.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I could not have any hesitation in submitting to the King your letter of the 14th instant, and I had this day the honour of reading it to his Majesty.

“ The King ordered me in reply to observe to you, that the communication which he made to you in 1801, of his desire to assist the late Mr. Pitt, was one of

which he never intended that the knowledge should reach any others than the parties immediately concerned; that his Majesty has never mentioned it since, and cannot acquiesce in the publication of the circumstance, as it would bear the appearance of making a parade of his intentions.

His Majesty also observed, that he never mentioned the specific sum to be applied towards relieving Mr. Pitt from his embarrassments, and certainly had not in view one so considerable as that which you have named.

“ I have the honour to be, with great regard,

“ My dear Sir,

“ Most faithfully yours,

“ H. TAYLOR.”

LORD LOWTHER TO MR. ROSE.

“ Cottesmore, near Stamford.

“ March 6th, 1806.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I am much obliged by your letter which I have received by the last post.

“ I am very anxious to promote the writing of a history of Mr. Pitt's Life and Administration, and have already named the subject to Lord Mulgrave. I know no one who could supply so many and such important materials for a work of this kind as yourself. A friend of mine, every way qualified for this undertaking, with the most ardent and enthusiastic admiration of Mr. Pitt's character, would, I believe, engage in it; and in his hands, I am inclined to

think it would want nothing of that distinctness, accuracy, and animation by which a work of this kind ought to be characterized. The Bishop of Lincoln would be able to afford most material assistance. I should think myself most obliged if you would name to him this project, and request his assistance.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Ever most faithfully and truly yours,

“ LOWTHER.”

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LADY HESTER
STANHOPE TO MR. ROSE.

“ Dawlish, March 25th, 1806.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I am much obliged to you for your kind letter, but should not write merely to thank you for it, had not the dear personage who you tell me *mentioned* me with interest, named you in the following terms, in his last letter:—‘ Since I wrote to you last, I have seen our *mutual friend*, dear old Rose, and love him better than ever;’ part of your conversation then followed, too long for me to detail. I hope this pleases you; it does me; for they are not in the *habit* of disguising their thoughts or treating me with insincerity, therefore in naming you thus *kindly*, they only expressed what they felt.

“ I perfectly agree with Lord Lowther in the propriety of the history of Mr. Pitt’s life being begun immediately, and also in the choice of his historian. Mr. S. is certainly a man of great integrity, and possesses great literary knowledge, and he will have

many opportunities of learning facts, which would not be communicated to every one who might undertake such a work. In short, few persons I think better qualified to do justice to the sublime virtues and transcendent talents of this ever-lamented, greatest of men, than Mr. S. A history of a life like his is a work of labour, and genius *only* will not fit a man for this interesting task.

“ Ever most sincerely yours,

“ H. L. S.”

FROM HENRY MACKENZIE (*Author of the “Man of Feeling”*) TO MR. ROSE, *on the desirableness of a Life of Mr. Pitt.*

“ Achindinny, 15th June, 1806.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ My principal reason for troubling you with a letter is on a subject in which I know you must be interested, and which I see, by the additions to your political pamphlet you lately sent me, has been frequently in your thoughts. You mention your hope that the *Life of Mr. Pitt* will be written by some one qualified to do it justice. Now, some of my friends have mentioned this subject to me, with an earnestness which is a greater proof of their kindness than their judgment; but the above-recited passage in your papers, leads me to mention it, though perfectly aware that I am not the person you wish for, as *qualified to do justice* to the memory of Mr. Pitt. Were it otherwise, I own I should esteem it one of the best as well as most honourable closes which I could make of my

literary life. But, independently of every other consideration, I should like to know where proper *materials* are to be had, and if they are in quarters where I might hope to find access to them. I once mentioned to Lord Melville how essential it would be to the honour of the Administration of which, under Mr. Pitt, he formed a considerable part, to have some memorial or abstract of its principal events:—events connected with the most momentous era in the history of Europe, and indeed of mankind; and I think he mentioned that he had papers and letters which he could communicate to me that would enable any one to throw much light on our history during that period. But you are one of the best authorities I know on this subject; and it will be a great favour if, during any moment of leisure, you will write me your candid opinion upon it. Perhaps it is yet much too early for a *history* of that period to be written; but there are certain facts, as well as certain motives and opinions, which are better and more accurately recorded near the period of their rise than at a remoter one; something like what the French call ‘*Mémoires pour servir*.’ a good enough phrase in itself, though discredited by the numerous silly works of the kind to which the national vanity gave birth in France.

“The *substance* of such a work there is perhaps nobody so well qualified to write as yourself. If you should have any thought that way, I would give up those slight and imperfect ideas to which the above-mentioned suggestions of some friends of mine had sometimes given birth. At any rate, write to me

frankly on the subject. I look every day for the appearance of the new edition of your pamphlet, which, in itself, is an important sketch of the life and character of that great and excellent man.

“ Most faithfully and truly yours,

“ H. MACKENZIE.”

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO MR. ROSE.

“ Phoenix Park, June 2d, 1810.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ It is particularly flattering to me that the Pitt club should wish me to be their president, and I beg of you to thank them in my name for the honour they do me. There is nothing I pride myself on so much as having been the intimate friend of such a man. If another inducement to accept the office was necessary, the choice of you as vice-president would have been sufficient. I was very glad to hear you had so good a day as I understand you had on the last 28th.

“ Believe me, my dear sir,

“ Yours very faithfully,

“ RICHMOND.”

MR. ROSE TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PITT CLUB.

“ SIR,

“ You will see by the inclosed letters from the Duke of Richmond, which I have the honour of inclosing to you, how highly gratifying it will be to him to preside in the society established for commemorating the memory of Mr. Pitt ; and it cannot

be necessary for me to seek for expressions to convey to the members of that society that it will not be less so to me to be placed in a distinguished situation amongst them.

“I was in habits of the closest confidence with Mr. Pitt from the first hour of his entrance on administration, and enjoyed his most cordial and affectionate friendship, without the slightest interruption, to the latest hour of his existence ; everything therefore that keeps alive in the minds of others what can never have any abatement in mine, must afford me the highest satisfaction. Under this impression, therefore, which will not be weakened while I exist, I cannot hesitate to request that you will acquaint the gentlemen that I shall be highly flattered by being allowed to enrol myself amongst the members of the Pitt Club in the manner which has been suggested to me.”

CHAPTER VII.

1806.

MR. ROSE'S DIARIES FOR JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1806—PARTICULARS
RESPECTING MR. PITT'S DEATH AND FUNERAL—THE BREAKING UP OF
HIS MINISTRY, AND THE FORMATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT.

[THE preceding correspondence has given a brief account of the circumstances of Mr. Pitt's death, but the Diary enters much more into detail, and then relates the breaking up of his Ministry, and the formation of a new one.—ED.]

Wednesday, January 15th.—I arrived at Mr. Pitt's house on Putney Heath; expecting, from the accounts I had received in the country, to find him gaining strength daily, as he had arrived there from Bath on the Saturday evening preceding, after a journey made in three days, which the physicians thought would have required six; Sir Walter Farquhar having travelled with him: but, to my deep concern, I learned that he had lost ground since his arrival. On the Sunday he was better, and continued improving till Monday in the afternoon, when Lord Castlereagh insisted on seeing him, and having

obtained access to him, entered (Lord Hawkesbury being also present) on points of public business, of the most serious importance (principally respecting the bringing home the British troops from the Continent), which affected him visibly that evening and the next day, and this morning the effect was more plainly observed. Sir Walter Farquhar, whom I found in the house, said so much on the subject that I positively declined going to Mr. Pitt on being requested by him to do so through the Bishop of Lincoln. Mr. Pitt then insisted that I should not leave the house till evening, and about eight o'clock Sir Walter brought me a message to say he was confident the seeing me would do him good. I therefore no longer hesitated, but went up to his room and found him lying on a sofa, emaciated to a degree I could not have conceived. He pressed my hand with all the force he could (feebly enough God knows!) and told me earnestly he found himself better for having me by the hand. I did not remain with him more than five minutes. The short conversation was quite general, as I felt it of importance not to touch on any topic that could agitate his mind in the smallest degree; and at ten in the evening I left the house. His countenance was changed extremely, his voice weak, and his body almost wasted, and so indeed were his limbs.

From Thursday the 16th to Sunday the 19th.—No considerable alteration in Mr. Pitt. He took no nourishment of any sort, except occasionally a small cup of broth, which seldom remained on his stomach;

hardly spoke at all, though as entirely right in his mind as at any time in his life. The very little he did say to his physicians, and to the Bishop of Lincoln (the only persons, except servants, who saw him in this interval), had not the remotest tendency to anything respecting public affairs.

Dr. Baillie and Dr. Reynolds were first called in to the assistance of Sir Walter Farquhar on Sunday the 12th; they then thought there was a reasonable prospect of Mr. Pitt's recovery, that the probability was in favour of it, and that if his complaint should not take an unfavourable turn, he might be able to attend to business in about a month. On this following Sunday morning the 19th, they acknowledged that although there were no new unfavourable symptoms in the disorder, he was much weaker; and they now suggest (especially Dr. Baillie separately), that supposing the patient to go on as well as they can reasonably expect, it can hardly be hoped that he will be able to transact business in less than two months, and they entertain considerable doubt if he will be fit to take an active part in the House of Commons this winter.

Under that discouragement, I felt an extreme anxiety that Mr. Pitt should be apprised of the probable length of time that would elapse before he could return to his public duty, in order that he might decide what course it would be proper for him to take with respect to his retaining or resigning his office. I therefore, on Sunday, pressed Sir Walter Farquhar myself (and the Bishop of Lincoln did the same at my

desire) to consult the other physicians, whether it would be safe to make the communication to Mr. Pitt as to the duration of his confinement. The point was accordingly considered by the three physicians, and they were most decidedly and unanimously of opinion, that nothing should be said to their patient on the subject. At this I felt deep and sincere concern, under an impression that if the Opposition should press us vigorously on Tuesday, on the point of the insufficiency of the Administration, without Mr. Pitt to conduct the difficult and arduous affairs now depending, both as to foreign politics and financial measures, we should be in great danger of being beaten; and so, uncreditably driven out of government: which I am persuaded would be avoided by a dignified resignation, if Mr. Pitt could be consulted. In the unfortunate state, however, in which he is, the risk is utterly unavoidable; and we must take our chance. It is my determined purpose to take as strong and direct a part in the debate on Tuesday, as I shall find it possible to do; and my son has promised to do the same. If there had been a reasonable hope of Mr. Pitt's attendance in three or four weeks after the meeting, I should certainly have thought it right to make every possible exertion to carry on business till then; and I have a firm persuasion we should in that case have been able to go on till the middle of March. But the hope of the Administration maintaining itself for two or three months, within which time the budget must unavoidably be opened, appears to be utterly desperate, if

Mr. Pitt cannot, during the period, be even consulted on business; especially as the ways and means of the year will require resources being resorted to of a new and extraordinary nature.

Sunday Evening, January 19th.—A meeting was held at two o'clock, to consider the speech and the address, at Lord Castlereagh's, when some small alterations were made in the speech, to render it as unexceptionable as possible, avoiding any expression that could convey approbation of late measures, in order to take the best chance of unanimity on the address; it being thought most advisable that those should be separately discussed when the papers come before the house. Lord Francis Spencer to move the address, and Mr. Ainslie to second it.

Although detained at the meeting till past four o'clock, I got on horseback to go to Putney Heath; but meeting Lord Camden and the Duke of Montrose entering Fulham, and the former beginning an interesting conversation with me, I thought it more essential to pursue that by returning with them than to pursue my ride to Mr. Pitt's house. They told me they found Mr. Pitt's health rather improving, and Lord Camden expressed a decided opinion that if there should not be a probability of his recovery within such a time as there might be a necessity for his appearing in the House of Commons, in that case undoubtedly he would not be prevailed with to retain his office; which should not however induce his colleagues to resign, so long as the King could form a Government, including them, that could carry on his

business. But that, if unfortunately Mr. Pitt should die, it might be prudent for them to advise his Majesty to form a new Administration altogether ; and admitted that in this event the King could do no better than to send for Lord Grenville, and put the arrangement into his hands. With the Duke of Montrose I had had repeated conversations before. He agreed with me most entirely on every point bearing on our present situation ; but he found it quite impossible to get the cabinet to discuss the consideration of the propriety of Ministers resigning or continuing in office ; Lord Hawkesbury in particular insisting upon it, that *that* was not a point on which a cabinet could be summoned. On learning that from his Grace, I suggested to him that he might bring on the discussions incidentally when the cabinet should meet on any other matters,—which he tried to do, but without success. Nothing could more plainly mark the disinclination of a part of the Administration to quit their offices. Those who were evidently desirous of some arrangement that would give them a chance of retaining them, were Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Chatham, and Lord Camden, influenced altogether by considerations for Lord Castlereagh.—Lord Mulgrave is desirous of retaining office till after the discussion of the late measures of the Government, but will on no account remain longer, or form a part of an Administration without Mr. Pitt. Of Lord Westmoreland nobody knows anything, nor has he so much as made a single inquiry after Mr. Pitt. The Chancellor, from the recent severe misfortune

of the loss of his eldest son (a most amiable and respectable young man) has been shut out from all intercourse; but I have not the slightest doubt of his disposition to make up a Government without reverting to Mr. Fox or Lord Grenville. Lord Barham's very advanced age will make him, to a certain degree at least, indifferent about what is to be done relative to a new arrangement, though he has most unquestionably conducted the Admiralty with as much industry, ability, and success as any one of his predecessors without exception. The Duke of Montrose is decided for retiring, in the hope the King would call into his service Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox. Lord Harrowby is abroad; but I am persuaded, if he was on the spot, his sentiments would completely coincide with his Grace's. On the whole, however, my conviction is that, in the afflicting event of the death of Mr. Pitt, which appears to me to be too certain!! the present Ministers who are desirous of remaining in office will not be able to form a Government that would stand three months. They can strengthen themselves only by Lord Sidmouth's friends; the worst of all resources in every respect.

These notes are written, with an aching heart and anxious mind! I have lived now a little more than two-and-twenty years (I do not include the first eighteen months of our acquaintance) in habits of the closest intimacy and most confidential friendship with Mr. Pitt; hardly ever clouded, never interrupted. In addition to the feelings naturally incited thereby, I foresee consequences likely to be deeply

hurtful, if not ruinous, to the public interest by his loss. Any further reflections on this subject will be unnecessary to my son when he reads these notes hereafter, as he is a witness to my feelings. To others, into whose hands they may subsequently fall, they would be comparatively indifferent.

Monday, January 20th.—I got to Putney soon after daylight, and learned from Mr. James Stanhope, that Mr. Pitt had fainted the evening before, or had fallen into something like a fit. Sir Walter Farquhar soon after came to me, and confirmed that, adding that the symptom was an unpleasant one, and that a repetition of it would be highly alarming. He had given Mr. Pitt two large glasses of Madeira.¹

Tuesday, January 21st.—On going early this forenoon to Mr. Pitt's, I found the three physicians in better spirits. Mr. Pitt showed some disposition to take food (which he had not done for several days), and last night Sir Walter had given him his choice, whether he would have an egg or some bread jelly; he determined for the former, and then asked for a second, which he ate with appetite. On pressing Sir Walter, however, to explain to me what he really thought of the state of Mr. Pitt, he said, he did not think him in so promising a way as he was in on Sunday ² before he fainted.

¹ In this situation of Mr. Pitt, I was extremely desirous that the usual public dinner at his house the day before the meeting of Parliament, should be put off, in which Mr. Canning, Mr. Bourne, and Mr. Huskisson concurred; but we were overruled by Lord Castlereagh, and it took place.

² In the afternoon, when the three physicians met, they thought very ill of his case; the account they desired might be sent to the King, was, that *the symptoms were unpromising and his situation hazardous.*

On returning to town, therefore, I said to two or three confidential friends, that I was convinced the misfortune we were dreading was very fast approaching.

Wednesday, January 22d. — On my arrival at Putney Heath this morning, the Bishop of Lincoln and Sir Walter Farquhar were going in to Mr. Pitt. The Bishop came down to me, however, and took me into his own room; where he begged me to wait till he could speak to me at more leisure. When he came, he confirmed the account of Mr. Pitt's dangerous state. What followed leads me here to observe, that from my seeing him on the evening of Wednesday the 15th (from which time no one had access to him except the Bishop and the physicians), he had lain on the sofa or in bed without hardly opening his mouth, except to answer questions put to him by the physicians, nor did he attempt to read a line; but such a mind as his must have been occupied with something; about what *that* was, however, no conjecture could be formed. The Bishop did not venture to call his attention to religious duties, lest he should do harm by agitating his mind; the physicians having strictly directed that nothing should be done to incur a risk of that.

I now resume the diary:—After the Bishop was told by Sir Walter that Mr. Pitt's death was inevitable, he proposed to him to administer the Sacrament to him, which Mr. Pitt said he had not strength to go through. The Bishop then desired to pray with him, —whereupon, he asked Sir Walter, "how long he thought he might hold out?" who answered, "he

could not say that he might not recover." Mr. Pitt, apparently regardless of that, turned on his bed towards the Bishop and said, "he had (as he feared was the case with many others) neglected prayer too much to allow him to hope it could be very efficacious *now*." He, however, joined the Bishop in prayer, with his hands clasped with much earnestness.¹ After that was over, the Bishop observed to him, that, although he had nothing to bequeath, his papers were of importance, and he might probably wish to give some directions about them; which induced him to desire the Bishop would put in writing what he should express to him. Proceeding then to dictate: first,—that he was indebted to Sir Walter Farquhar one thousand guineas, for his attendance on him from the month of October last, which he signed; he then stated, that in the year 1801, he had borrowed the sum of 12,000*l.*, through the medium of Lord Camden, the Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Carrington, Mr. Steele, Mr. Long, and Mr. Joseph Smith, which he was anxiously desirous should be paid with interest. He then directed that the examination and care of his papers should be entrusted to Lord Chatham and the Bishop of Lincoln;—that his servants should have double wages; and, lastly, he expressed a hope that pensions might be granted of 1,000*l.* or 1,200*l.* a-year, to each of his nieces, the daughters of Earl Stanhope; and 1,000*l.* each to their younger brothers,² Charles and James; which he did not know

¹ See further on this interesting subject, what the Bishop mentioned to me in quiet conversations at Buckden.

² They are not the children of his late sister, but the sons of the present Countess Stanhope.

that he had earned, but he hoped his wish might be acquiesced in. This paper was subscribed by Mr. Pitt in three places in the whole, his signature varying very little from the manner in which he signed his name when in health. When the Bishop showed me this paper, with the ink hardly dry, it struck me with astonishment, and filled me with grief to observe that Mr. Pitt had a fixed opinion that Lord Carrington was one of the six who raised the money for him in 1801, instead of me. The measure was concerted at that time by Lord Camden, the Bishop of Lincoln, and myself; and in the final arrangement the names were as above, with mine instead of Lord Carrington's; but Mr. Pitt had most unquestionably been led somehow to believe I had withdrawn myself from the loan, and under that impression, unfortunately for my feelings, he must have continued to his death. After the arrangement was completed, and the money was raised, the communication with Mr. Pitt was left with Mr. Long; from which quarter the misconception must have arisen.

After a most distressing scene with Lady Hester Stanhope, and her brothers Charles and James, I returned to town. No intelligence was brought to me during the afternoon or evening; but about half-an-hour after midnight, Miss Jennings and my son came to me with a letter from Sir Walter Farquhar to the former, telling her that Mr. Pitt's situation was perfectly hopeless! However the late accounts had prepared me to expect this, the shock convulsed me strongly, and in half-an-hour I felt the gout in my foot,

with which I have never been troubled a week in my life.

Thursday, January 23d.—I passed a completely sleepless night. I received a note about seven in the morning from Mr. James Stanhope, and afterwards one from the Bishop, to tell me that my most inestimable friend quitted this world soon after four o'clock. He saw no one after the Bishop had taken notes of his last desires, but Lady Hester, who went to his bed-side in the evening. He at first did not know her, but afterwards he did and blessed her: nor did he utter another word, except that about half-an-hour before he breathed his last; the servant heard him say, "My country! oh, my country!"

Mr. Pitt attempted to write himself before he dictated to the Bishop; but it was not at all legible, though his name was signed very nearly in his usual manner.

Intending these notes merely as memoranda of occurrences, it is not my intention to attempt to express the agony of my mind on the incalculable loss I have sustained; severe and irreparable as it is, and deeply as it will be felt by me to the latest hour of my life, I bow with *resignation* to the Power that has inflicted it: that which I have exhorted others to I will practise. The event, however, will strongly put to the test this resolution, but I trust it will not overcome it. This afflicting stroke follows close on the loss of Lord Nelson, for whom I had also a cordial love and affection; and it leads me to reflect on the uncommon similarity of their characters:—gentleness of mind; sweetness of

disposition, accompanied by the most determined resolution ; quickness of conception, and promptitude in decision ; ardent zeal for the welfare of their country, rendering it most signal and important services ; wisdom in concerting plans, and firmness in executing them, undismayed by any hazards or the severest responsibility. In all these they resembled each other with a degree of exactness not to be conceived by any one who did not know them as intimately and as entirely as I did. They differed only in one having been educated as highly as a man could be, and the other in having been deprived of that advantage by being sent early to sea. With respect to Mr. Pitt, I can say with the sincerest truth, that in an intercourse almost uninterrupted during more than twenty years, I never saw him once out of temper, nor did ever one unpleasant sentence pass between us ; of which I verily believe there have been few, very few, so remarkable instances, where two persons have had the same constant intercourse on public affairs (in times too of the most trying difficulties respecting finances, internal government, and foreign politics) without the slightest disagreement having occurred, or a harsh or even, to the best of my recollection, a hasty word used. These two great men died, as they lived, for their country. Mr. Pitt sacrificed his life in its service as much as Lord Nelson did. I foresaw what he would have to encounter when he undertook the Government in 1804 ; that the whole weight of it falling, as it inevitably would do, upon him, would be too much for his health and strength to stand. He bore up, however,

under all the incredible fatigue that he underwent in the conduct of his own department, and of the War and Foreign departments, occasionally assisting in those of the Commander-in-Chief and the Admiralty, beyond my utmost hopes ; and although he was sometimes indisposed (seldom indeed for a long interval, without taking cordial medicines), he was, when at Cuffnells in September last, and when I left him at Weymouth in the same month, apparently as well, or nearly so, as I ever saw him. And from all I heard there was no failure in his health till the beginning of December ; when, more from precaution than from any other cause, he was advised to go to Bath,¹ some symptom of the gout having appeared. The waters there almost immediately threw the gout into his right foot, and soon after into the left ; but on receiving the account of the armistice, after the battle of Austerlitz, the gout quitted the extremities, and he fell into a debility which continually increased till it deprived the world of the man who appeared to have been born to save it. The physicians were decidedly of opinion that he died merely from a decay, and that there was nothing wrong in any of the vital parts.

To return to the similarity of character between the two eminent men of whom the nation has recently been deprived : I am desirous of observing that they carried the principle of disinterestedness to the utmost extent, with the liveliest disposition to reward merit wherever they found it. In short, I can say with the utmost confidence, arising from a thorough knowledge of both,

¹ He went on the 7th of December.

that there never existed in this or any other country greater men than themselves in their different lines. Their perception on subjects on which they bestowed their attention, and on which they had occasion to state opinions, appeared like intuition. Anxious, in the extreme degree, about the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts, I wrote to the King, requesting I might be at liberty to mention his Majesty's gracious proposal in 1801, as to putting money into my hands for that purpose; conceiving that it would reflect great honour on his memory that he declined the offer, and that it might be very useful *now*, whether application should be made to Parliament, or we should have recourse to a subscription.

The Cabinet this day communicated to the King their unanimous opinion that it would be impossible, by any acquisition to the present Government, to form an Administration that could have a prospect of carrying on the public business in the present crisis; and, therefore, recommended to his Majesty, most earnestly, to send for Lord Grenville, in order to take his advice about forming a new one. In the evening, Lord Hawkesbury said the King had received the communication with perfect temper and coolness; that his Majesty saw the necessity for following the advice offered to him, and had made up his mind to admit of such an Administration as should be recommended to him, *without* any exclusion.¹ The promptitude with which that determination is taken may, I think, lead to a suspicion in some minds that Mr. Pitt had not

¹ This was not expressed *decidedly* till the following day.

made all the exertions he stated to his friends he had done, for prevailing with the King to admit Mr. Fox to his councils ; the certainty of which, however, is as clear to me as my own existence.

Friday, January 24th.—Lord Hawkesbury came to me, by the King's command, to talk with me on the subject of my letter of yesterday, and to express his Majesty's disposition to do respecting it what I and the other friends of Mr. Pitt might think right ; from whence an explanation followed, by which I learned his Majesty understood me to have submitted to his Majesty's consideration the propriety of his now paying Mr. Pitt's debts. On referring to the letter I answered his Lordship I had no such meaning. I found the misconception had arisen from my requesting that I might *mention* the former proposal instead of *disclose* it. Not choosing to trust the explanation altogether to his Lordship, I wrote an explanatory letter to his Majesty to free myself from the presumption of offering an opinion to his Majesty on a matter of so much delicacy. Unfortunately, my first letter was delivered to the King at the Queen's House, when Colonel Taylor (who reads all papers to his Majesty) was not there, he having remained at Windsor.

I received no answer to either of these letters.

During these three days I have seen various friends of Mr. Pitt, and two or three leading men in the City who highly respected him, on the subject of his debts. Mr. Smyth, of Heath, thought a proposal for paying them would be very readily and cheerfully acquiesced in, in the House of Commons. Mr. Wilberforce decided

against that, under a persuasion that the amount could be raised amongst his private friends. Wishing to learn the sentiments of the Opposition on the subject, I begged Lord Glastonbury to sound Mr. Thomas Grenville upon it; whose answer was discouraging as to an application to Parliament. Mr. Bankes decidedly against that course. Lord Carrington unwilling even to talk about it, and said he was going to Wycombe. Mr. Angerstein and Sir Robert Buxton in the City, eager for success by subscription. Mr. Thornton and Mr. Manning there, cool, and for beginning with 100*l.* each. The two former had proposed 1,000*l.*, and said they were sure some others in the City would give as much. At this end of the town I found few very eager; Lord Camden not so; Lord Lowther absent. The Duke of Montrose thought people lived in general so entirely up to their income, some beyond it, that few would give liberally, and discouraged the idea of subscription. On the whole, the prospect of raising the necessary sum in that way is certainly unpromising. On Friday, Mr. Lascelles, member for Yorkshire, gave a notice in the House that he should on Monday move for a mark of public respect being shown to the memory of Mr. Pitt; intending to propose a public funeral. After which, Mr. Fox intimated to him, privately, that if he should do so, he would oppose it; but that he would interpose no difficulty in the way of a monument and the payment of debts. On Sunday, there was a meeting of Mr. Pitt's friends to consider of what course should be followed in the business next day, which was held at

Mr. Lascelles' house. Himself and his elder brother, Lord Euston, Lord Bruce, Mr. Smyth, of Heath ; Mr. Steele, Mr. Morton Pitt, Mr. Blackburne, Mr. Bootle, myself, my eldest son, Mr. Canning, Mr. Bourne, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Gunning, Mr. Thornton, Mr. Manning, Mr. Richard Ryder, and some others were present. It was agreed to adopt, at my instance, the resolution for an address for a public funeral and monument in Westminster Abbey, in the same words as in Lord Chatham's case in 1778. I was led thereto not from liking those words so well as others proposed by Mr. Smyth, of Heath (probably written by his son), but under an impression that by taking the specific words we find in the Journal, we shall have less resistance than if we suggest any new ones ; because it cannot be imputed to us that we have invented anything to press the individuals in Opposition who invariably differed from Mr. Pitt in his politics and in the whole of his Parliamentary conduct.

The subject of the debts was then discussed. Lord Euston was for submitting to Parliament to pay them. Mr. Canning concurred in that, and thought it might be proposed to grant 100,000*l.* to trustees, one-half of which might be applied to the payment of debts, and the other be divided amongst those relatives who in his life were dependent in any degree on him. That was, however, very generally thought inadmissible. I then stated the discouragement I had met with respecting a Parliamentary application, which influenced the meeting to give up that intention ; but as Mr. Pitt, within three days of his death, had expressed

to the Bishop of Lincoln an earnest wish that the three Ladies Stanhope, one married to Mr. Taylor, another married to Mr. Tekell, the third, Lady Hester, unmarried, should be secured in an income of 1,500*l.* or 1,000*l.* a year each; and Mr. Charles and Mr. James Stanhope of 1,000*l.* a year each, which, as already stated, was taken down in writing by the Bishop, and signed by Mr. Pitt,—it was agreed by the gentlemen present, unanimously, that Lord Hawkesbury, should be requested to carry to the King the following warrants:—1,200*l.* a year for Lady Hester, under which she will not receive 900*l.* net; the same for each of her two sisters, contingent on the death of their husbands; and 500*l.* each for the two brothers; and it was agreed to meet again the following day (Monday) to receive his Lordship's answer: that in the event of his finding himself under a difficulty in proposing such warrants to his Majesty, some measure may be taken in the House for carrying into effect that part of Mr. Pitt's will, or rather dying request.

Mr. Bourne and Mr. Huskisson, the two secretaries of the Treasury, were deputed to wait on Lord Hawkesbury, who immediately agreed to carry the warrants to the King the next day.

Monday, January 27th.—The same gentlemen nearly as yesterday met at the house of Mr. Lascelles; and Lord Hawkesbury's consent having been communicated to them, it was agreed that no mention should be made of the matter in the House of Commons.

Mr. Lascelles moved in the House of Commons for a public funeral for Mr. Pitt, and the Marquis of

Titchfield seconded him. The motion was resisted by Mr. Windham and his personal friends (from whence the difficulty certainly arose), supported by Mr. Fox and the old Opposition. Lord Grenville did all he could to prevent any objection being made to it; Lord Temple, therefore, supported the motion, but Mr. Thomas Grenville did not attend, and I believe Sir Wm. Young went away. Lord Morpeth and Lord Stafford's friends voted with us, and I think every member present not immediately connected with Mr. Fox's party. The division was 258 to 89. After that was over, Sir Robert Buxton, sitting behind me, expressed an earnest desire that I would allow him to give a notice of his intention to submit, on some future day, a motion for the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts; but I entreated him to take four-and-twenty hours at least to consider of it; when, greatly to my surprise, Mr. Cartwright rose, and gave notice that on this day se'nnight he should propose such a motion.

Lord Grenville saw his Majesty to-day. It is generally believed that the interview was a short one, and that no particulars were entered into on either side. His Lordship requested he might attend his Majesty again on Thursday, to submit then the names of the persons to form a new Administration.

Friday, 31st.—Lord Grenville waited on the King, with the list of the new Cabinet, in which there was a provision that the Duke of York shall remain Commander-in-Chief, but assisted by a military council. His Majesty put the paper in his pocket, but desired two days to consider of the arrangement, asking,

however, whether the proposal respecting the military council would be insisted on ; to which, on that being twice repeated, Lord Grenville answered that he was only instructed to submit it to his Majesty. The King then asked if Lord Eldon had been requested to retain the Great Seal ? to which Lord Grenville answered, No ; and whether it had been proposed to Sir Wm. Grant ? to which his Lordship answered also in the negative.

Saturday, February 1st.—The friends of Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville circulated industriously that the King would not consent to the Duke of York being fettered by a council, and that the formation of a Government was completely abroad ; perfectly well knowing that what they should insist upon must ultimately be acquiesced in.

Sunday, February 2d.—A meeting was held in the evening at Lord Camden's, in Arlington Street, to consider whether the paper before alluded to, dictated by Mr. Pitt, written by the Bishop of Lincoln and subscribed by Mr. Pitt, the day before he died, containing his latest request about a provision for the Stanhopes, and the payment of his debts, especially the money borrowed of friends in 1801, should be proved as a will. There were present, Lord Camden, Lord Bathurst, the Bishop of Lincoln, Mr. Long, with Mr. Perceval, the late Attorney-General, Sir William Grant, Master of the Rolls, and Sir John Nicholl, the King's Advocate ; when it was decided the paper should be proved as a testamentary one. When that point was settled, it was considered whether the money lent in 1801 by private friends should be

claimed, on which subject Mr. Steele was sent for; and it was agreed that those sums should not be claimed, nor included in the list of debts for which application is to be made to Parliament; the Bishop of Lincoln dissenting from that as unreasonable, and contravening Mr. Pitt's last and dying request. Mr. Long undertook for the approbation of the persons absent, who were interested. Those present were, Lord Camden, Lord Bathurst, Mr. Steele, 1000*l.* each, and himself 500*l.* I, who was on the spot, and with whom and Lord Camden the measure of that loan originated, and who advanced 1000*l.*, was not thought of by those present, nor the Duke of Montrose, who contributed 1000*l.*,¹ nor, I believe, Lord Carrington. A conduct at which I feel a proper resentment (by which I do not mean anger), and advice for which a proper contempt; the present inclination of my mind being to act in direct contradiction to it.

¹ I have since heard that the Duke was not one of the contributors, who were as follows:—

Lord Camden	£1,000
Lord Bathurst	1,000
Bishop of Lincoln	1,000
Lord Carrington	1,000
Mr. Steele	1,000
Mr. Rose	1,000

From Scotland:—

Duke of Buccleugh	£1,000	} 4,000
Duke of Gordon	1,000	
Lord Melville	1,000	
Chief Baron	1,000	
Wilberforce, Joseph Smith, and Mr. Long, £500 each	1,500	
	<u>£11,500</u>	

There was a further sum of £200, from I know not who.

Monday, February 3d.—Lord Grenville saw the King again, when his Majesty acquiesced in the arrangement proposed; and the new administration was settled accordingly. The instant I heard that, I sent a letter to Lord Grenville, which I wrote the day after Mr. Pitt died (waiting only to fill up the blanks of date and address), desiring his Lordship would lay before the King my humble request to be allowed to retire from the situation of Joint Paymaster-General, and that his Majesty would be pleased to name a successor for me as Vice-President of the Committee for Trade; adding, that I should consider it as an act of personal kindness to me, if he would at the same time state to his Majesty that I should carry into retirement the warmest sentiments of gratitude, duty, and affection.

I omit the other arrangements till they shall be all completed, in order to state them in one view; observing merely that it is understood they are likely to include only the friends of Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville, and Lord Sidmouth.

In the afternoon, Mr. Cartwright made his motion for an address to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to advance the sum of 40,000*l.* for the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts, entering into no particulars whatever. He was seconded, in the same manner, by Mr. Bootle, which brought on a debate, in which very little difference of opinion prevailed. The proposal met with a very general concurrence. Mr. O'Hara, Lord Folkestone, and Mr. Wm. Smith, member for Norwich, expressed disapprobation, but did not give a negative.

I asked Mr. Cartwright if in making the proposal he considered the money lent in 1801 as waived; to which he answered, without the least hesitation, that he certainly did not; that he purposely avoided saying anything about it, in order to leave it open to the parties to do as they might think proper; in which Mr. Bootle concurred.

After the resolution respecting Mr. Pitt's debts was agreed to, Mr. Fox gave notice that he should to-morrow move for leave to bring in a bill to remove doubts respecting the First Lord or other member of the Board of Treasury holding the Auditorship of the Exchequer. I would have suggested to him the utter impossibility of such a bill passing in the shape proposed; but there being no question before the House, the Speaker would not allow me to say anything.

Tuesday, February 4th.—Mr. Fox named his bill, on which I felt myself compelled to state to the House that the measure proposed was a partial repeal of the Act of 8th and 9th Wm. III., and would most materially affect the business of the Exchequer, by removing not only a legal, but a practical check; and that, if the bill should pass, the title must be changed to “a Bill for altering the ancient course of the Exchequer, and taking away a check important to the security of the public money.” The Attorney-General supported me; and Mr. Fox agreed to alter the Bill. I told Mr. Charles Wynne, therefore, on passing him, that if he would let me see the bill before the House should meet to-morrow, I would suggest the necessary alterations.

Wednesday, February 5th.—Mr. Charles Wynne

accordingly came to me in the morning, and I went through the bill, making such alterations as removed all my objections, by enabling Lord Grenville to substitute another person who should perform all the functions of auditor, with the same responsibility as himself, and to hold the office so long as Lord Grenville should be a commissioner of the Treasury ; with which alterations the bill passed without difficulty. Mr. Wynne was the bearer of a very civil and kind letter from Lord Grenville, in consequence of my proffered assistance, and of my having, in the course of my speech, said I did not wish to obstruct his holding the office of First Lord of the Treasury, in which situation I had rather see him than any other man in the kingdom.

Friday, February 7th.—An answer from Lord Grenville to my letter of resignation, in which he says he could not *regularly* answer it sooner ; and adds, “ It is a matter of very sincere regret that the course which circumstances have taken should lead to his being the channel of a resignation, on my part, of the office which I held under the Administration of a friend whom he shall ever revere and lament. That it is, however, useless to dwell on these sentiments ; ” and then proceeds to expressions of regard and esteem in a style of feeling and cordiality.

Sunday, February 9th.—An interview with the Duke of Montrose, at his instance. In the course of it, he told me that he had learned from Lord Camden, Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Hawkesbury, the line that was thought best for Mr. Pitt’s friends to take at present—viz., to keep together in one compact body ;

to watch the conduct of the Administration, but not to oppose, unless any measures should be taken subversive of any of those adopted by Mr. Pitt; to hold themselves ready at any time to aid Lord Grenville in the event of Mr. Fox attempting to force upon him any proceeding hostile to constitutional principles, or that would press unfitly upon the King; and, in general, to hold a temperate language, and to act accordingly. In conclusion, his Grace assured me that Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Castlereagh had completely given up Lord Sidmouth, and would concur with Mr. Pitt's *other friends* in looking exclusively to Lord Grenville; in confirmation of all which, and to point out clearly the line to be pursued, Lord Castlereagh had written a letter to Lord Camden, to be shown to every one who it might be thought right to enter on any explanation with, containing in substance what his Grace had now said to me. I heard the Duke patiently, and then answered that, for myself, standing now as unconnected as any human being can, I had one rule to guide me, which I should follow as nearly as I could, without regard to the opinions of others: to do as nearly as I could what Mr. Pitt would have wished if he had been in life, and disabled from further interference in public matters. That the line suggested by his Grace very much coincided with my own opinions; that I had, indeed, expressed in the House of Commons my satisfaction at Lord Grenville's being placed at the head of the Treasury; that the dispositions professed by the two Lords towards him was natural, as they could not

otherwise hope for the concurrence of Mr. Pitt's friends, and they were cast off by Lord Sidmouth. That, however, I thought them very improper persons to give the tone to Mr. Pitt's friends, considering the vacillation of their politics; that the mummery of Lord Castlereagh writing to Lord Camden, with whom he was completely identified, in order to that letter to be shown, was offensive and disgusting; and that their Lordships had better remain quiet for a while, at least, as those whom it was intended should be imposed upon by the trick would see through it too clearly to allow themselves to be made stepping-stones for their Lordships to mount into power by: concluding that those who deserted Mr. Pitt on his first and widest difference from Lord Sidmouth, could not now be admitted to be the persons who should derive all the consequence that can be obtained through Mr. Pitt's firmest and most valuable adherents. His Grace having also, in the course of the conversation, mentioned an intention of the two Lords, Lord Camden, himself, Lord Mulgrave, and others, to give dinners, and to keep up in that way a constant convivial intercourse to hold friends together, I cautioned him to be careful how that was to be acted upon, lest, instead of *conciliating* people, it should *revolt* them. That men who felt properly would not submit to dine with persons with whom they had been in no former habits of familiarity whatever, when they could not be ignorant that the civility shown to them was to forward the views of those who were offering it. That himself, Lord Mulgrave, and others, who had occa-

sionally entertained political friends, might do so usefully at this time ; but I repeated my caution as to others, and concluded the conversation with saying that I disliked any immediate meetings, which did not appear to me to be called for ; that I had, therefore, declined Lord Mulgrave's dinner invitation for next Thursday, intending to go on Tuesday or Wednesday to the Bishop of Lincoln, at Buckden, in order to be out of the way of all interruption, and to find a quiet there from which I hoped to obtain real benefit to my health and relief to my mind. Heaven knows I want the latter much more than the former ! On the subject nearest my heart I can certainly communicate with the Bishop with less reserve than with any other person in the world, out of my own family.

Mr. S. Bourne called upon me, and rather abruptly asked me if I was aware that it had been Mr. Pitt's intention to bring Mr. Canning into the Cabinet, leaving him in his present office of Treasurer of the Navy ? To which I answered that I had never heard from Mr. Pitt, or any one else, the remotest hint of such an intention ; nor could I conceive it could ever have entered Mr. Pitt's mind for a single moment. That it would have been an instance of want of judgment and of infatuation which I could not reconcile with anything I had ever known Mr. Pitt do, because such a sudden advancement would have given much offence, and would, I am sure, have been generally disapproved of. That Mr. Pitt could have derived no possible advantage from it, as he had all the benefit of Mr. Canning's advice and judgment whenever he chose to resort to it ;

and he could have no assistance from him in any *detail* of business without placing him in the department to which it might relate. That, if this was now stated for the first time, to give him weight and consideration amongst Mr. Pitt's friends, I thought the object would not be attained, as it would be more likely to drive people from him than to advance them to him; no part of which did Mr. Bourne seem to enter into. It appeared to me evidently that his warm regard for Mr. Canning had led him to assist in circulating and giving effect to the account of the circumstance stated by Mr. Canning. In short, I did not conceal from Mr. Bourne any part of what occurred to me on his making the communication, and he left me not entirely well satisfied.

Monday, February 10th.—Mr. Canning called upon me, and went over nearly the same ground as the Duke of Montrose did yesterday, respecting the conduct of Lord Castlereagh and Lord Hawkesbury, and the line thought best to be pursued by Mr. Pitt's friends. I made nearly the same observations to him thereupon, expressing myself with rather more warmth at the presumption of the two Lords, especially Lord Castlereagh, in taking upon themselves to mark the road for Mr. Pitt's friends to pursue, not having grown cooler on that point upon reflection; in all which he agreed with me.

Mr. Long made me a visit,—the first time I have seen him since his arrival from Ireland (some weeks),—and told me Lord Grenville made him an offer to remain in office, and allowed him to mention it; but

that he had declined the proposal. Nothing fell from him that could lead to a conjecture why he was singled out from all Mr. Pitt's connexions for such a mark of favour. He did not mention Mr. Pitt's name, nor did any other allusion to the present state of things, or what had recently been passing, fall from him. I told him I had given in my resignation at the earliest moment I could, and how properly it was received by Lord Grenville.

Tuesday, February 11th.—Received a letter from Mr. Canning, saying that he had been industrious in preventing the bad effects which might be produced by the premature activity of the noble Lords before alluded to; and that he thought the letter would now be suppressed, and that no such *manœuvre* would be resorted to in future. In which case he was of opinion that the more harmoniously we could go on the better; and that he had not mentioned my name to any of the parties. I concur in thinking it will be desirable for Mr. Pitt's friends to act together, and in proper concert, but that it will require much prudence to devise and direct the mode of doing that.

All the arrangements being now completed, I state them here in order to mark opposite to each, the class of connexions each person belongs to:—F. Fox, G. Grenville, S. Sidmouth.

F. Lord Erskine . . .	{ <i>Lord</i> <i>Chancellor.</i> }	Lord Eldon.
G. Lord Grenville . . .	{ <i>Treasury.</i> }	{ Mr. Pitt, and Lord Fitz- harris, Marquis of Blandford, Mr. Long, Lord Lovaine.
F. Lord Henry Petty . .		
G. Lord Althorpe . . .		
G. Mr. Wickham . . .		
F. Mr. Courtney . . .		

F.	Mr. Grey	<i>Admiralty.</i>	{	Lord Barham.
	Sir Philip Stephens . .		{	Remains.
1st N.	Admiral Markham . .		{	Admiral Gambier.
Do.	Sir Charles Pole . .		{	Lord Garlies.
Do.	Sir Harry Neale . .		{	Admiral Patten.
F.	Lord William Russell . .	<i>Board of Control.</i>	{	Sir Evan Nepean.
G.	Lord Kensington . .		{	Mr. Dickenson, Jun.
	Lord Minto		{	Lord Castlereagh.
	Lord Morpeth . . .		{	Mr. Wallaco.
S.	Mr. Hiley Addington . .		{	
S.	Mr. Sullivan	<i>Ordnance.</i>	{	Earl of Chatham.
	Earl of Moira		{	
	Mr. Fox		{	Lord Mulgrave.
			{	
			{	
F.	Sir Francis Vincent . .	<i>Under Secretaries.</i>	{	Mr. Hammond,
F.	General Walpole . . .		{	Mr. Ward.
			{	
			{	
			{	
G.	Lord Spencer	<i>Home Secretary of State.</i>	{	Lord Hawkesbury.
	Mr. Beckett		{	
G.	Mr. Charles Wynne . .		{	Mr. John King, now Secre-
			{	tary of the Treasury.
			{	Mr. Smyth.
F.	Mr. Windham	<i>War Secretary of State.</i>	{	Lord Castlereagh.
	Colonel Crawford . .		{	Mr. Cook.
F.	Earl Fitzwilliam . . .		{	Lord Camden.
	Lord Sidmouth . . .		{	Lord Westmoreland.
F.	General Fitzpatrick . .		{	Mr. William Dundas.
F.	Mr. Sheridan	<i>Treasurer of Navy.</i>	{	Mr. Canning.
G.	Lord Temple		{	Mr. Rose.
F.	Lord Jn Townshend . .		{	Lord Charles Somerset.
	Lord Auckland . . .		{	Duke of Montrose.
	Lord Temple		{	Mr. Rose.
G.	Lord Carysfort . . .	<i>Vice President of Trade.</i>	{	
S.	Lord Buckingham-		{	
	shire		{	
			{	
			{	
		<i>Post-Masters General.</i>	{	Duke of Montrose.
			{	Lord Charles Spencer.
			{	
			{	
			{	

F.	Lord Robert Spencer	{ <i>Surveyor General of Crown Lands.</i>	Lord Glenberoi.
	Lord Charles Spencer	<i>Master of Mint.</i>	Lord Bathurst.
G.	Lord Carnarvon . .	{ <i>Master of the Horse.</i>	Marquis of Hertford.
F.	Lord Albemarle . .	{ <i>Master of the Stag Hounds.</i>	Lord Sandwich.
F.	Lord Ossulston . .	{ <i>Treasurer of the Household.</i>	Lord Stopford.
F.	Earl of Derby . .	{ <i>Chancellor of the Duchy.</i>	Lord Harrowby.
F.	Lord St. John . .	{ <i>Captain of Band of Pensioners.</i>	Lord Falmouth.
F.	Mr. Pigott	<i>Attorney-General.</i>	Mr. Spencer Percival.
F.	Mr. Romilly	<i>Solicitor-General.</i>	Sir Vickery Gibbs.
S.	Mr. Bond	<i>Judge-Advocate.</i>	Sir Charles Morgan retires.
F.	Duke of Bedford . .	{ <i>Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.</i>	Lord Hardwicke.
F.	Mr. Elliot	{ <i>Principal Secre- tary for Ireland.</i>	Mr. Long.
G.	Sir John Newport . .	{ <i>Chancellor of Exchequer for Ireland.</i>	Mr. Foster.
S.	Mr. Vansittart . . .	{ <i>Secretaries of Treasury.</i>	Mr. Sturges Bourne.
G.	Mr. King		Mr. Huskisson.
	Mr. Tucker	{ <i>Under Secretary of Admiralty.</i>	Mr. Barrow.

Of the above-mentioned appointments those which seem most to attract attention are Lord Erskine to be Chancellor, not only on account of his total inexperience in the Court of Chancery, but from his political attachment to Mr. Fox not having been steady and uniform. I recollect Mr. Pitt telling me, many years ago, that on meeting Mr. Erskine at the opera, the latter took occasion to tell him that he had no *determined* political tie to any one; and in Lord

Sidmouth's administration he was evidently opening his way for admission. Lord Ellenborough being of the cabinet, utterly improper for a criminal judge, for reasons most obvious.

Sunday, February 16th.—While at Buckden, the Bishop explained to me more particularly what passed in his last interview with Mr. Pitt; from which I learned that, although he was too weak to say much, he (when he spoke of his neglect of prayer) alluded to the innocency of his life, and expressed a confident hope of the mercy of God, through the intercession of his Redeemer:—and that with great fervour.

Wednesday, February 19th.—Returned to London with the Bishop of Lincoln.

Thursday, February 20th.—Previous to my leaving town to go to Buckden, Mr. Thomas, the accountant of the Pay-Office, with Mr. Hammond and Mr. Bradshaw, two of the senior clerks, came to me to make some observations (on Monday, the 10th of this month) respecting the office, and to thank me for attentions, &c. &c.; after which, when they were rising to go away, Mr. Bradshaw, under some apparent embarrassment, said he wished to apprise me of a circumstance of an extraordinary nature that had occurred in the time of my predecessors. That Mr. Steele had in the year 1800 taken two sums of 7,000*l.* and 12,000*l.* out of the cash in the hands of the Paymaster-General, on giving his own receipt for the same, which receipt was written by Mr. Wood, deputy cashier,—without any authority having

appeared for the same, either from the Treasury or the War Office. At which statement I expressed great surprise, and to Mr. Thomas some resentment, at the same having been delayed till I was out of office and could apply no possible remedy, observing that the transaction was, on the face of it, at least, a most irregular one; but that from my long knowledge of Mr. Steele I was perfectly sure he would be able to explain it, so as to acquit himself of having done anything more than taking upon himself a serious responsibility. That he probably had a voucher in his possession, and that, in any event, it was his (Thomas's) indispensable duty to remind that gentleman of the transaction on his quitting office in 1804. That if it had not been satisfactorily explained he ought then to have stated it to me and my colleague on our appointment. To which Mr. Thomas answered, that he had called two or three times at Mr. Steele's door, without finding him at home. Such a justification appeared to render his conduct still less excusable, because, if he thought it necessary to see Mr. Steele on the subject, he certainly should have apprised him of his wish to do so, that he might be sure of meeting with him. I therefore desired him to write to Mr. S. to ensure his seeing him, and to let me know on my return from Buckden whether any interposition of mine with Mr. Steele would be necessary.

This morning Mr. Thomas came to me accordingly, when he told me he had seen Mr. Steele, who said generally that the sums before mentioned were received by him for services of a secret nature.

Friday, 21st.—Mr. Thomas's statement of his interview yesterday was so little satisfactory to me that I went to Mr. Steele this morning myself, from whom I could obtain no clear explanation of the business. He said I must excuse his entering into particulars at present, as he did not feel himself at liberty to do so; that the advances were made to a person (or persons I am not sure which) for services of a secret nature; that the whole would be repaid, but he could not at this moment exactly fix the time when;—acknowledging that he had no warrant or other authority whatever for the issue. I observed to him, that under such circumstances I thought he should see either Lord Grenville or the present Paymaster-General, and explain to his Lordship, or them, so much of the transaction as should satisfy them; the whole, certainly, if they should think it necessary, adding, that it was beyond all comparison better he should do that *in the first instance*, as from himself, than wait to give an explanation when he should be called upon to do so; as the precedent in this case would show to future Paymasters-General the *possibility* of their taking money, placed in the bank on the account of the public, for their own private accommodation, at any time when they should find themselves under a pressing urgency to do so;—which was plainly against the spirit of the Pay-Office Act.

Reflecting in the course of the afternoon on what had passed, I wrote to Mr. Steele to enforce all that I had said in the morning.

I received to-day a letter from Lord Lowther, in

answer to one I wrote to him from Buckden, requesting to see him when he should come to town, that we might have a little conversation on the present state of things and parties; in which he says he comes for the funeral to-morrow morning, and returns part of the way to Cottesmere in the afternoon; laments the severe loss sustained by the death of Mr. Pitt, to whom he was attached by every tie that could bind the human heart; that if he could feel the same disposition towards Lord Grenville he entertained two months ago, or consider him as the same person he always thought him till his present accession to power, he should have little difficulty in fixing the line of his own political conduct; but, as matters have turned out, he is much at a loss what course it may be best to pursue. His Lordship then expresses a desire to have some conversation with me on the subject, adding that whatever may be the result of our present determination, he hopes Mr. Pitt's friends may be kept together if possible.

Saturday, 22d February.—The day of Mr. Pitt's funeral! On attending the remains of my ever to be deeply lamented friend, I was appointed to walk in the procession from the Painted Chamber to Westminster Abbey, as one of the supporters to Mr. Spencer Perceval (the late Attorney-General), who carried the banner of emblems; Mr. Canning was the other. Those who were to walk near the body assembled in the old House of Lords, where I saw Lord Lowther, who was to be one of the supporters to the chief mourner (the Earl of Chatham.) His

Lordship begged me to go to the upper end of the room with him, and referring to his letters, repeated sentiments very generally according with my own, against taking any precipitate step of hostility to the present Government ; the composition of which, however, he utterly disliked, marking his disapprobation of Lord Grenville's conduct, and suggesting that Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Castlereagh appeared to him to be taking their ground for stepping into power again by means of Mr. Pitt's friends, which he thought should be guarded against. In conclusion, he said he should return to London in eight or ten days, when he would take an early opportunity of discussing matters fully with me.

The funeral was numerously and respectably attended by Peers, members of both Houses, and others. The pall-bearers were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Beaufort, Rutland, and Montrose. The chief mourner was supported by six Peers. The Duke of York, the Duke of Cumberland, and the Duke of Cambridge, were in the procession ; also several Peers and Bishops, with about 250 of the House of Commons, amongst whom was the Speaker.

I got through the performance of this last public demonstration of my respect, love, and regard for the memory of one of the purest-minded and best men to whom God, I verily believe, ever gave existence, better than I hoped to do, although so deeply affected during one part of the ceremony as to be in danger of being completely overcome.

On my return to my own house, I indulged myself

with what has been very frequently the occupation of my mind during the last five weeks, and will not unfrequently employ it during the remainder of my life ; the reflection on the character and talents of my deceased friend, and the loss I have sustained in his death, banishing entirely every consideration of an interested nature. His talents ; the quickness of his perception, almost intuitive ; his discerning judgment ; the firmness of his mind, which secured to him the fullest advantage of that discernment, in cases of the extremest public dangers and calamities, such as indeed had never occurred since the revolution,—namely, the democratical exertions, prepared to be supported by an immense armed force, influenced by meetings, public and private, of those of the most dangerous principles and active minds, as well as by libels of a treasonable nature ; the mutiny of the fleet ; the stoppage of the banks ; famine in the country ; invasion threatened by an immense force of the enemy, brought down to their coast, opposite to ours, with ships collected sufficient to transport them. In short no danger (however great) ever dismayed him, or deprived him of the advantages resulting from the quickness of his conception. A certain shyness or reserve with persons he had little or no acquaintance with, and his general carriage (walking remarkably upright), were by many mistaken for pride ; of which he had as little as almost any gentleman I ever knew ; for in families, or with people with whom he was acquainted, his address and manner were the easiest and most pleasant possible. His temper, as I before

observed, the sweetest I think I ever knew; on no occasion ruffled by any dangers, difficulties, or unpleasant occurrences, except in the House of Commons, where undoubtedly he sometimes, under considerable provocation, gave vent to his feelings; and when he did it was with wonderful effect, for his eloquence was tremendous as well as persuasive. Few could know him as well as myself. From Christmas, 1783, to the time of his dissolution, I was in constant habits of the warmest affection and friendship, as well as of business with him. Hardly three days passed without my seeing him throughout that period, except during the five or six weeks in the summer, and the three weeks at Christmas, which I used to spend at Cuffinells in the year. He hardly ever had the slightest thought about himself; his mind was wholly occupied with his country. His most uncommon share of good-nature occasioned his giving way sometimes to solicitations he should have resisted, especially with regard to Peerages, of which he was liberal to a most unfortunate extent; but so far from gaining political strength thereby, I am perfectly sure he suffered by them; for it frequently happened that an enemy was chosen in the room of the newly-created Peer. In the administration of finances, and in the management of the public purse, it is not possible any one could be more entirely pure and disinterested. He abolished all contracts whatever, all purchases by commission, all private distributions of Loan, and every other species of money influence;—which was in truth at my

solicitation. He abolished also the sinecure employments in the Customs, numerous and valuable. He established a Sinking Fund in the year 1786, when the finances were in so wretched a state, that no other man would have even entertained *a thought* of the kind, which amounts now to more than eight millions a year, and which in no public exigency would he allow to be touched. These are only some of his internal arrangements and measures of domestic policy. In foreign politics he was intelligent, able, and indefatigable. I have heard several of the foreign Ministers say, they would rather discuss intricate matters with him than with any other man they ever knew; particularly Count Woronzow, who, I verily believe, laments his loss most deeply. The last union of Austria and Sweden with Russia, in which Prussia had actually undertaken to join, was accomplished absolutely by himself, and would have saved Europe, almost to a certainty, if it had not been defeated by the conduct of those who were entrusted with the command of the Austrian armies. The effect of these miscarriages has been already truly stated to have occasioned his death. Other points in his character may occur to me; if they do I shall note them. A more amiable one, upon the whole, no man can leave behind him. I am much mistaken, if the fact of his country being deprived of him, will not be deplored by some who are at present exulting at the event. God grant that no public calamity may lead to that! No one laments the loss with more bitterness of grief than myself. I am, as a political man, completely left alone;

no tie nor connexions with any one living, except my son and Mr. Bourne, who I bring into Parliament, and the habits I am in with many of Mr. Pitt's friends. Thus left, I must endeavour to take the best course I can. I trust I shall be guided only by views most strictly honourable, such as will reflect no discredit on those who shall come after me. I shall be inclined on every important instance to consider what Mr. Pitt would have been likely to wish me to do if he had been alive, but incapable of taking an active share in public business;—communicating on all such occasions most freely with the Bishop of Lincoln, who knew him, and the opinions he entertained, better than any one.

The Bishop and myself were to have sat down to a quiet dinner after the sad ceremony we had attended, but Mr. Canning having desired he might join us, I could not refuse it, and my eldest son at my desire made a fourth; as I wished him to be present in the event of any political proceedings being mentioned. In the afternoon Mr. Canning referred to what had passed relative to Lord Castlereagh writing to Lord Camden, before referred to, and again expressed his Lordship's contrition for his forward conduct in that instance, which led to a general discussion on the state of parties at great length, both on his part and mine; the Bishop and my son only making occasional observations. The substance of Mr. Canning's expressions of his intentions, views, and inclinations, I think was, that either Lord Lowther or the Duke of Beaufort, or some other such considerable Peer, should

be considered as the *point d'appui*; but that he would acknowledge no leader in Parliament, objecting to Lord Castlereagh and Lord Hawkesbury as such, particularly the latter, with whom, he pointedly declared, he never would have any intercourse. That if no considerable Peer, like one of those above mentioned, would set himself up to keep Mr. Pitt's friends together, he thought the next best thing would be to go on with a vigorous Opposition, looking to Lord Grenville *at the same time* as the person really at the head of the party. That he would allow no time for further reflection of individuals, as he was determined not to keep himself *in abeyance*, but if he could do no better, he would go down to the House of Commons, day after day, with three or four friends who would adhere to him. He said much more, nearly in the same strain, and frequently with much warmth. I replied, that I was resolved to remain in abeyance, to afford time for talking with other people, and for consideration; that I was extremely disinclined to determined hostility to a Government immediately on its being formed, in a period of real danger and great difficulty, both from foreign and internal causes, as well on the ground of the impolicy of that line of conduct as on account of the probable mischief that might arise to the country from it. That I had as little liking for the two Lords above mentioned as he had, and was very averse to their being considered as leaders of Mr. Pitt's friends; but that I could conceive the possibility of circumstances occurring in such a way as to render it necessary, in some degree, to place Lord Castlereagh in a

prominent situation amongst us, however uncomfortably we might feel about his having left Mr. Pitt for Lord Sidmouth. That feelings, such as I certainly entertained respecting the two Lords, must occasionally be suppressed in *private* life, and still more so in *public*, which would prevent my deciding positively against acting with Lord Castlereagh, at least as a leader, although I should anxiously wish to avoid that. I then suggested Charles Yorke and Mr. Perceval, to whom Mr. Canning did not evince so strong an objection as to the others, and seemed to think either of those two might do tolerably well; and yet they both left Mr. Pitt to act with and serve under Mr. Addington. I also stated distinctly my fixed determination not, in any event, to go on with a systematic opposition to the Government, the avowed object of which should be to support Lord Grenville, against the other part of the Administration, if they should ever entertain opinions discordant on public matters. That agreeing with Mr. Canning as I did, in thinking Lord Grenville the best man to be at the head of the Government, and wishing to keep him there rather than bring forward Mr. Fox, I should be more disposed (if it should not be found possible to keep Mr. Pitt's friends together,) to say to Lord Grenville, *that* is what I wish. I will not take office now, but I will privately and publicly give you all the assistance I am able to afford, and make me as useful as you can. That I thought also such a course would be more creditable, and more honourable, than the one he marked out for himself, believing perfectly, however,

that he felt disposed to do what should appear to him correctly right. We agreed that there can be no doubt of the expediency, and indeed the strong necessity, of calling the attention of Parliament to the nomination of Lord Ellenborough to the Cabinet, as a measure in principle most dangerous to the Constitution, by mixing the character of a confidential servant of the Crown with that of the first criminal Judge in the kingdom, without the remotest necessity for so highly objectionable a proceeding.

So far, this is a narrative of what actually passed.—Left now to my own guidance in politics, unconnected with any human being, except my eldest son and Mr. Sturges Bourne, brought into Parliament by me, I have naturally reflected seriously and deeply on the course I should pursue. In supporting the measures of Mr. Pitt, my real opinion went with him, to the best of my recollection, in every instance in which I concurred with him. On some great and important points I differed with him in my parliamentary conduct: the Reform of Parliament (to which he was at last a convert), the Slave Trade, and the Peace of Amiens, were the most weighty. On the impeachment of Mr. Hastings I concurred, but have since, on more mature reflection, and from subsequent events, regretted the part taken both by him and myself. To return to the consideration of the line I ought to pursue, thus left to myself, my most anxious wish is that I may be able to prevent personal resentments, passions, disappointments, or private views, from entering into contests where the public interest is concerned ;

at least, to guard against their influences as much as it is possible for human nature to do. I know how hard the lesson is, and I have painfully witnessed how seldom it is practised. I am aware that there is something in self-love¹ so deeply rooted, that private interests, and private views, have often a silent and effectual influence upon men, even when their movements are not distinctly felt within. I have met with instances in others, where, I verily believe, they made that appear *reasonable* which was *profitable*, or agreeable to some present view. Against revenge for personal injuries my mind is most strongly fortified; *that* I know by experience is blind against all light, and deaf to all argument. May I on the whole so conduct myself, as to bring no discredit on my character, or give a moment's pain to those who come after me.

¹ When I read Rochefoucault's definition of this passion (at a very early age) I was struck and pained at it. The constant guard I have had in my mind against misanthropy would not, however, allow me *now* to impute to that author a total want of knowledge of the world, although he colours highly. "Self-love" he describes as "the love of one's self and of everything else for our own sake; it makes a man the idolater of himself, and the tyrant of others. Man is a mixture of contrarieties; imperious and supple, sincere and false, fearful and bold, merciful and cruel; he can sacrifice every pleasure to the getting of riches, and all his riches to pleasure; he is fond of his preservation, and yet sometimes eager after his own destruction; he can flatter those he hates, and destroy those he loves."

CHAPTER VIII.

1806—1807.

A VINDICATION OF MR. PITT'S CHARACTER IN COMPARISON WITH THAT OF MR. FOX, BY THE EDITOR OF THE PRESENT WORK—ESTIMATE OF MR. PITT BY LORD WELLESLEY—LETTER FROM MR. CANNING TO MR. ROSE, FEBRUARY 7th, 1807, EXPLANATORY OF HIS POLITICAL VIEWS AND OPINIONS AT THAT TIME.

[It is remarkable that both the great rival Ministers of the Crown died in one year ; and that, as in their social position and in their conduct, several parallels may be observed, so in their character there were as many contrasts. First, both were giants in oratory ; Mr. Fox excelling most in acuteness of argument, and Mr. Pitt in lofty declamation, the effect of which, however, was so great, that even an opponent, Sir Samuel Romilly, bears this testimony to it, that “ his influence and authority in the House exceed all belief ; ” for his reasonings were always logical, whereas Mr. Fox's were often tainted with sophistry. Secondly, both of them were at the head of large sections in Parliament who were enthusiastic partisans, and adopted their opinions with a veneration little short of idolatry, and were bitterly hostile to each other ; hence fairness in judging of one another is rarely to be expected,

but that regard for truth,—which, in men of high principles, will force its way occasionally through the opposition of political bias, like gleams of sun through a dense mass of clouds,—sometimes involved them in strange inconsistencies. Thus, for instance, Sir S. Romilly, in general a very consistent man, but inflamed by party zeal, challenged Mr. Canning to show “in what class of the community he could discover an increase of comforts and happiness, the effects of Mr. Pitt’s talents; and to what part of the empire he was to look to read his history in a nation’s eyes.”¹ But what is his own acknowledgement? Either he must have thought that truth was an inconvenient and unnecessary garniture of oratory, or he must have quite forgotten certain facts which he had entered in his journal a few years before, and which are a very sufficient answer to his challenge. During the peace of Amiens he went over to Paris; and this is what he records of the conversation there:—“Almost all the French I have seen entertain a very high opinion of Mr. Pitt, and a proportionally mean opinion of the English Opposition. They *admit* that Mr. Pitt did not carry on the war with great ability; but they think that *his talents alone* saved us from a revolution such as they have themselves experienced.”²

It is evident, from what is said of their *admission*, that, in order to break the force of their enlogium, Sir S. Romilly himself had suggested the ill-success of the

¹ Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 357.

² *Ibid.* p. 101.

war,—an argument against which, of course, they were not disposed to do battle ; and yet it was a very bad argument, because it assumed that Mr. Pitt was responsible for all the miscarriages of the Austrians, and the blunders of the Aulic Council. But the rest of the sentence proves, incontrovertibly, that the superior comfort and happiness enjoyed in unrevolutionized England were the effects of Mr. Pitt's talents ; and if he wanted to know in what part of the empire he had to look to “read his history in a nation's eyes,” he had only to look at the representation of the whole empire in the House of Commons. There was, however, this difference between the two leaders : Mr. Fox had not so large a party ; but he identified himself with it, and shaped his policy in the strictest conformity to its interest, and laid them nearer to his heart than the public good. Of this his letters give sufficient evidence. Thus, when in 1792 he expressed his conviction that they never could with honour and advantage come in under Pitt, he added,—“And I deceive myself, if I do not ground this opinion much more upon party than personal reasons and feelings.”¹ And in 1804, when Mr. Pitt failed in all his attempts to persuade the King to admit Fox into the Cabinet, he declared that “nothing could have fallen out more to his mind than what had happened ; the party revived and strengthened, Pitt lowered, and, what was of more consequence in his view, the cause of

¹ *Memoirs and Correspondence of C. J. Fox*, vol. iv. p. 287.

Royalism, in the bad sense of the word, lowered too.”¹ In short, it might more truly be said of Fox, than of Burke, that “to party he gave what was meant for mankind.”

Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, preferred the interests of the country to those of his party; and it is with great truth observed by Mr. Wilberforce that he wished to form for Addington the strongest and best possible Administration:—“He has really behaved with a magnanimity unparalleled in a politician. New instances of it are daily occurring; it is one of the noblest exercises of true magnanimity that was ever exhibited to the admiration and imitation of mankind.” Both Pitt and Fox advocated, in the strongest terms, the abolition of the slave-trade; but neither of them ventured to abolish it while they were in office. Mr. Fox, indeed, passed a Bill by which its further extension under the British flag was prevented; but this bill was only to be in force for two years. Both of them were advocates for parliamentary reform; but Mr. Fox agreed with Lord North, that on that subject every man should follow his own opinion; and, therefore, while they were in office, Mr. Pitt’s resolutions in favour of it were defeated by a large majority. If it be asked, why he did not renew the attempt afterwards, when he returned to office, the answer may be given in the words of Lord Brougham:—“The atrocities of the French

¹ *Memoirs and Correspondence of C. J. Fox*, vol. iv. p. 57.

Jacobins, the thoughtless violence of the extreme democratic party in this country, the spirit of aggression which the conduct of her neighbours had first roused in France, and which unexampled victories soon raised to a pitch that endangered all national independence, led many who were naturally friendly to liberty into a course of hostility towards all change ; because they became accustomed to confound reform with revolution, and to dread nothing so much as the mischief which popular violence had produced in France, and with which the march of French conquests threatened to desolate Europe.”¹ Similar reasons were assigned by Mr. Pitt himself, in answer to Mr. Grey ; but it is better to adduce them from the pen of the great Whig Reformer who makes these candid admissions ; only he should have recollected that it was difficult not to confound reform with revolution, when, at the head of the reformers, we find the London Corresponding Society vowing, in their Magazine, the destruction of the King, the Royal Family, the Nobility, and the Episcopacy, and talking at their meetings of a Revolutionary Tribunal, as the only court adapted to the state of the country.

Both statesmen were real lovers of peace, and yet neither of them could obtain it during their tenure of office. Mr. Fox enjoyed more credit for it, because it is so easy for those who have no responsibility to

¹ Historical Sketches of Statesmen, by Lord Brougham, vol. i. p. 281.

condemn those who have, and to censure them for not overcoming impossibilities ; but, when he came into power, he found out how much he was mistaken, and that there were circumstances in which, consistently with his duty to his country, peace was an impossibility. In 1806 he expressed his conviction to Lord Holland, founded on what he termed “ the shuffling conduct of France, that the negotiation for peace would fail ;”¹ and fail it did. Mr. Pitt was equally averse to war, although he obtained no credit for it, because he could not control the destiny of nations according to his pleasure. Lord Malmesbury made it an argument with him for turning out Addington at the end of 1802 ; and, if he had preferred reputation to conscience, it might have had great weight with him. “ I said, if he came in at such a moment, and could preserve peace even for a year, and till war was manifestly forced upon us, he would do away that clamour raised against him (and no one knew better than myself how undeservedly) of his being fond of war. This, he must know, was the Jacobin cry ; it was believed on the Continent, and affected to be believed by the factions and discontented here. ‘ I know it,’ said Pitt, ‘ the Jacobins cry louder than we can, and make themselves heard.’”² On the same authority we have this decisive evidence to the same effect : “ Mr. Pitt has always been held up to the present

¹ Memoirs of the Whig party, by Lord Holland, vol. ii. p. 78.

² Lord Malmesbury's Diary, vol. iv. p. 114.

generation as fond of war; but the Harris papers could furnish the most continual evidence of the contrary; and that he often suffered all the agony of a pious man who is forced to fight a duel.”¹ Up to the commencement of the war which was forced upon him by the French Revolution, we have the testimony of Mr. Fox himself, “that his language breathed only the strictest neutrality, which continued even after the King had been dethroned, and many of the worst atrocities had been perpetrated.”²

If, after the palpable proof of insatiable aggressiveness which the excitement then raging in France exhibited, he had been guilty of “that blind and obstinate adherence to the same system of neutrality,” which, according to Prince Hardenburg, “precipitated Prussia into the abyss;”³ he would have deserved to be impeached, as the author of ruin and degradation to his country. But it has been already shown, that notwithstanding the reluctance and opposition of his Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Lord Grenville), he availed himself of every glimpse of an opening for bringing the war to a conclusion, and was so anxious for peace, that he was ready to sacrifice anything to obtain it, except the honour of his country; so that one of his warmest admirers,

¹ Lord Malmesbury's Diary, vol. iii. p. 516.

² Alison's History of Europe, vol. ii. p. 445.

³ Prince Hardenburg's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 151.

Mr. Canning, complained that he was always too pacific. Lastly, both held the same views of the Roman Catholic question.¹ Both of them believed that justice and policy required the removal of many of the restrictions; but neither of them, when they were at the head of the Government, attempted to remove them. Both of them were indulgent to the conscience of the King, and were unwilling to embitter the remainder of his life, by striving to make him disregard it. On this account both have been charged with inconsistency; but if Mr. Pitt was inconsistent, it was an inconsistency of a very different character, and of far less consequence than that of Mr. Fox.

It has been shown, that he did not resign his office because he could not carry that measure, but upon a political principle which merely touched upon it; and whether upon that point any concession was subsequently made, either by himself or by the King, there is no evidence to show. But upon the measure itself he never insisted as a *sine quâ non*; he only laid it before the King as a measure recommended to his consideration by the Cabinet, and from the first was willing to pledge himself, that he would not introduce it during his Majesty's life. But Mr. Fox, three years before, had reprobated, in the strongest terms of abhorrence, the idea of giving way upon the Roman Catholic question. He wished to rescue his *party*

¹ Lord Malmesbury's Diary, vol. iv. p. 50.

“from the *infamy* of acquiescing in the *baseness* of conceding the most important of all national points to the private opinion of the King ;”¹ and yet in that infamy and baseness he did acquiesce, much to his credit, for he was too good-natured a man to inflict needless pain.

The motive which he assigned to his nephew for his conduct on this occasion, was the apprehension, lest an opportunity of restoring peace to the world might be lost by stickling for a measure which he knew he could not carry. If it were so, he must have been grievously disappointed ; but the truth is, that though a great demagogue out of office, yet in office he was an excellent courtier, perhaps better than Mr. Pitt, certainly better than Lord Grenville ; for the King told Lord Eldon, who was more in his confidence than any one after the death of Mr. Pitt, that it was but just to acknowledge that Mr. Fox, though certainly forced upon him, had never presumed upon that circumstance to treat his Sovereign like a person in his power ; but had always conducted himself frankly, and yet respectfully : his manner contrasted remarkably with that of another Whig Minister, who when he came into office, walked up to him in the way he should have expected from “ Buonaparte after the battle of Austerlitz.”² And this is quite in the spirit of the letter which he addressed to the King, when he

¹ Memoirs of Fox, vol. iii. p. 429.

² Lord Eldon's Anecdote Book, p. 510.

was in office before, in which he implored his Majesty to believe, that he had nothing so much at heart as to conduct his Majesty's affairs, both with respect to measures and to persons, in the manner that might give his Majesty most satisfaction; "and that whenever your Majesty will be graciously pleased to condescend, even to hint your inclinations upon any subject, that it will be the study of your Majesty's Ministers to show how truly sensible they are of your Majesty's goodness."¹ Lord Holland, therefore, who was more a Whig than the leader of the Whigs himself, was maliciously wrong, when he asserted that the King could hardly suppress his indecent exultation at Fox's death.² On the contrary, the King said that once he would not have believed that he could be so sorry for that death.

So far we have seen that there was a great resemblance, though not without some signal differences too, in the conduct of the two Premiers. But in their characters they were entirely different. It has been shown, that in point of morality, the profligacy of Fox was a striking contrast to the spotless reputation of Pitt; nor was the difference between them less, in the exhibition of that spirit of evangelical "charity, which envieth not, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, and endureth all things." From their private correspondence it appears, that

¹ *Memoirs of C. J. Fox*, vol. ii. p. 123.

² *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, vol. ii. p. 19.

Fox “spoke with acrimony of Pitt: he called him impudent, audacious, one that never would do right, incapable of acting fairly, and a mean, pitiful fellow;” than which there could not be a greater outrage upon truth. He imputes to him the basest motives, and professes that to lower him is the great object of his ambition. Mr. Pitt, on the contrary, never speaks evil of his rival; his name is only introduced when he advocates his cause, commends his nobleness, and advises that he should be consulted.

In matters of religion, they were equally far apart; for Mr. Fox was an enemy to the Church of England. Mr. Wilberforce, a good and impartial judge, who writes of it more in pity than in anger, asks Macaulay, “Does it not strike you, that there is a certain philosophical spirit throughout his history, very hostile to the spirit of Christianity, as well as a manifest hatred in him, poor fellow—but too natural, to the Church of England?”¹ This might partly arise from a principle avowed by Lord Holland, that in any contest with the Crown (he might with equal truth have omitted the Crown); the Whigs must always mainly rely upon the Dissenters.² Mr. Pitt, on the contrary, was friendly to the Established Church. In 1790, when he was pressed to repeal the Test Acts, he said, “The Dissenters had succeeded in their application about fourteen years before, and obtained

¹ Life of Wilberforce, vol. iii. p. 387.

² Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. ii. p. 227.

what was considered a completion of their toleration. It was then declared that they intended to proceed no further, if they only obtained the relief which they then solicited. He could not therefore trust their assurance, that they would now be satisfied, if they gained their point, and would proceed no further ; for they had violated their promise, and if the House should comply with their wishes, who could tell but their next application would be for an exemption from Church dues, to which every argument advanced in support of the present question would equally apply.

“Now an established religion had been admitted as necessary, useful, and advantageous to the civil government of a state. It ought, therefore, to be protected and supported by the Government ; and its expense should fall equally on all the members of the general community in a certain proportion.”¹

Subsequent events have proved how accurately Mr. Pitt looked forward into the future ; and it were well, if those who have succeeded him, and have only to look back to the past, would profit by the justness of his reasoning and the fulfilment of his predictions, and beware of giving any further aid to the ultimate designs of political nonconformity. What those designs were, was accidentally revealed to Mr. Fletcher, a Methodist preacher, eminent for his genuine piety and great talents, who attended a meeting of Dissenters,

¹ Gifford's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p. 462.

at Bolton, in the belief that its object was to petition for the repeal of the Test Acts; but they informed him, that “they did not care the nip of a straw for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; but that they designed to try for the abolition of the Tithes, and the *Liturgy* :”—a curious instance of intolerant tyranny, in those who were clamouring for toleration, and liberty of conscience.

But the most important point of this contrast between the two statesmen, is their behaviour on the bed of death, when all human greatness sinks into insignificance, and the awful prospect of eternity searches the heart of the dying sinner. In the one case we see no sense of religion at all; in the other, uncultivated religion, and forgetfulness of God. But the time which had been too much given to this world was redeemed by penitence and faith.

Nothing can be more painful to a Christian mind than the mockery of religion at the death of Fox. The scene is related by his nephew, who was present, and seems to have shared his apathy. “About this period of his illness (September 11th) Mrs. Fox, who had a strong sense of religion, consulted some of us on the means of persuading Mr. Fox to hear prayers read by his bedside. I own, that I had some apprehensions lest any clergyman called in might think it a good opportunity for displaying his religious zeal, and acquiring celebrity by some exhibition, to which Mr. Fox’s principles and taste would have been equally averse.

When, however, Mr. Bonverie, a young man of excellent character, without pretension or hypocrisy, was in the house, I seconded her request, in the full persuasion that by so doing I promoted what would have been the wish of Mr. Fox himself; his *chief object* throughout was to soothe and satisfy *her*. Yet repugnance was felt, and in some degree urged, by Mr. Trotter, who soon afterwards thought fit to describe with great fervour the devotion it inspired, and to build upon it many conjectures of his own on the religious tenets and principles of Mr. Fox. Mr. Bonverie stood behind the curtain of the bed, and in a faint but audible voice read the service. Mr. Fox remained unusually quiet. Towards the end, Mrs. Fox knelt upon the bed, and joined his hands, which he seemed faintly to close, with a smile of ineffable goodness. His last words were, "I die happy."¹

Thus died, on September 13th, he whom Lord Holland ventures to call, "the best and greatest man of his time." Whether he was in any sense good or great, he and Lord Holland, and the whole world will know, when we all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ; but, in the meantime, what can be more shocking to a well-regulated mind, than the picture here presented to us of a dying man, with expanded understanding, almost it would appear destitute of divine grace, with no care apparently for his soul, no fear of judgment, submitting to a cold formality

¹ Fox's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 489.

of prayer, in which he takes no interest, and seeks no profit, not from any sense of duty, or any desire of spiritual good, but merely to soothe and satisfy his wife? While in the background stands the minister of Christ, not permitted to speak a word of warning or admonition, but concealed behind a curtain, and giving utterance only to a portion of the appointed service for the sick, which wakes no emotion in the heart of the listener, not even the semblance of devotion, till he is lovingly compelled to assume it. Yet this man dies under the belief that he is happy; and one then present, who wishes his idol to stand well in the opinion of the world, imposes upon it a fable directly opposite to the truth, in which he would have succeeded if another nephew had not spurned the falsehood, and given the true version in a manner more to his own taste.

But he might have known that there was a *better* and a *greater* statesman, who had left this world only eight months before his uncle. He might have known it, if he had not hugged his political prejudices to the last, and desiring to drag down Mr. Pitt to the same depth of irreligion and infatuation, he scrupled not to contradict most positively the truths which he was unwilling to believe, without a particle of evidence to support him, and in the teeth of the most authentic evidence on the other side. It is due both to Mr. Rose and to Mr. Pitt, not to allow these bold allegations to pass unnoticed, and to show that they are

shamefully calumnious. "A tale," Lord Holland says, "relating to the circumstances of Mr. Pitt's death was fabricated by Mr. Rose, and delivered in his place in Parliament. As Mr. Rose was his intimate associate, and steady partisan, and his account was uncontradicted in the House, it might very reasonably obtain credit with posterity. Mr. Pitt was represented by this unscrupulous and injudicious encomiast, to have exclaimed in the agonies of death, 'Save my country, save my country!' And then to have gone through his devotions, and taken the sacrament with the most fervent and edifying piety.—In all this there was *not one word of truth*; for some days before Mr. Pitt's death his fever had rendered him nearly insensible; and during the last twenty-four hours he was actually speechless. As to religious observances, he at all times complied with the customs of the world, but neither felt nor affected any extraordinary zeal or devotion. Mr. Canning was disgusted at the effrontery of Mr. Rose, and left the House, after observing to his neighbour, that the value of historical testimony was impaired by seeing that a lie could pass uncontradicted in the presence of hundreds who knew it to be false."¹

Now it may at once be admitted that Mr. Pitt never affected any extraordinary zeal or devotion; but such was never asserted by Mr. Rose, and therefore is nothing to the purpose. What he felt neither Lord

¹ Memoirs of the Whig Party, vol. i. p. 208.

Holland nor any one else can know, except the Searcher of all hearts; and the anecdote concerning Mr. Canning is altogether apocryphal. He was dead when the paragraph was written, and *his neighbour* was not designated: no one therefore could contradict it. But considering the intimacy at that time existing between Mr. Canning and Mr. Rose, and his attachment to Mr. Pitt, the story is in the highest degree improbable. One thing, however, is certain; that if Lord Holland's statement be true, Mr. Canning said a very foolish thing; for he was not present in the chamber of death, and there was no time for him to obtain any evidence upon which he could impeach the truth of his friend's statement. Moreover, such an insult being publicly known would have cut short that friendship which the Diary shows was not broken off till at a much later period, on a very different occasion.

With respect to the rest of the contradiction, it may be said with much more reason, that "there is not a word of truth in it." Mr. Pitt was lethargic but not insensible. He was not speechless during the last twenty-four hours. He was heard by the servant in attendance to say, with his last utterance, "My country!" and at that time, it is a rational inference, that it was a prayer to Him, to whom he had been praying, to save it; for he did pray fervently. All this we have upon the evidence of the Bishop of Lincoln, who was not only present,

but received Mr. Pitt's confession, and witnessed his devotion. But since that evidence has been already produced in the Diary, it may be more useful to give another account of the closing passage of Mr. Pitt's life, by one who declares himself to be no partial friend. A writer in the *Annual Register* of that year, the politics of which are wholly of a Whig complexion, gives these details :—"The day before his death the physicians told the Bishop of Lincoln, that any attempt to arouse him from his present lethargy would be attended with instant death. The Bishop now saw the necessity of intimating his danger to Mr. Pitt : he fulfilled this painful office with firmness. Mr. Pitt was hardly sensible ; this dreadful shock had scarcely power to dissipate his lethargy ; but after a few moments he waved his hand, and was left alone with the Bishop. He instantly expressed himself perfectly resigned to the divine will ; and with the utmost composure asked Sir Walter Farquhar, who was present, how long he might expect to live. Mr. Pitt then entered into a conversation of some length with the Bishop, upon religious subjects. He repeatedly declared, in the strongest terms of humility, a sense of his own unworthiness, and a firm reliance upon the mercy of God, through the merits of Christ. After this, the Bishop of Lincoln prayed by his bedside for a considerable time ; and Mr. Pitt appeared greatly composed by these last duties of religion. Lady Hester Stanhope, his niece, had an interview with him

on the Wednesday evening, and received his last adieu, which he gave in the most affectionate and solemn manner. Mr. James Stanhope continued with him all night, during which he expressed at intervals frequent solicitude as to the political intelligence at that time expected. It is said that he continued clear and composed till a short time before his dissolution, which took place without any addition of suffering, or struggle, at half-past four, on Thursday morning. His last words are said to have been, "O my country!"¹

It cannot have escaped the observation of any thoughtful reader, that the advice of the physicians very nearly deprived him even of one solitary day for preparation to meet his God; and medical men, in general, are not sufficiently aware of the heavy responsibility which they take upon themselves, and the grievous mischief to the souls of men, of which they may be the authors, when, from any imaginary or real danger to their bodies, they keep back the knowledge of their approaching death. It is not because death may be sudden, that we pray in our liturgy to be delivered from it. To be transferred in a moment of time from earth to paradise, would be the greatest of all possible blessings; and blessed are they, whom, at

¹ Annual Register for 1806, p. 882. This account is evidently derived from a different source, but fully coincides in proving that with the few exceptions already noticed, *there is not one word of truth* in Lord Holland's slanderous report.

whatever hour of the night he may come, their Lord shall find watching. But it is because by such suddenness the majority of mankind would be precluded from all preparation; and that communion with God in prayer, which the angel of death suggests, while he hovers over his prey, is one of the most efficient means of grace to reclaim the wandering soul, and raise its affections to things above, and fit it for the enjoyment of heaven.

If the Bishop of Lincoln had not been restrained by the injudicious timidity of the physicians, who feared to agitate Mr. Pitt's mind by a sense of danger,—a mind far too strong and healthy to be so easily dismayed,—his spirit might have been refreshed by partaking of the holy communion, which he only declined when it was proposed to him, because then he had not strength enough remaining to go through the ceremony. And as this fact is recorded in Mr. Rose's diary, it is utterly impossible that he could have made the statement in the House of Commons which Lord Holland chooses to attribute to him.

Mr. Gifford relates the same circumstances with more minuteness, and as he must have obtained them from some one who was present, they are an important confirmation of Mr. Rose's statement: "Sir W. Farquhar called up the Bishop of Lincoln, telling him he was much alarmed, and could now no longer object to any communication which the Bishop might think proper to make to him. . . . The Bishop immediately

went to Mr. Pitt's bedside, and told him he found it to be his duty to inform him that his situation was considered as precarious, and requested his leave to read prayers to him, and to administer the Sacrament. Mr. Pitt looked earnestly at the Bishop for a few moments, and then, with perfect composure, turned his head to Sir Walter Farquhar, who stood on the other side of the bed, and slowly said, 'How long do you think I have to live?' The physician answered, he could not say, and expressed a faint hope of his recovery. A half smile on Mr. Pitt's countenance showed that he placed this language to its true account. In answer to the Bishop's request to pray with him, he said, 'I fear I have, like too many other men, neglected prayer too much to have any ground for hope that it can be efficacious on a death-bed; but'—rising as he spoke, and clasping his hands with the utmost fervour and devotion—'I throw myself *entirely*' (the last word being pronounced with a strong emphasis) 'upon the mercy of God, through the merits of Christ.' The Bishop assured him that the frame of his mind at this awful moment was exactly such as might be reasonably expected to render prayer acceptable and useful. The Bishop then read prayers, and Mr. Pitt joined in them with calm and humble piety. He repeatedly expressed, in the strongest manner, his sense of his own unworthiness to appear in the presence of God, disclaiming all ideas of merit; but with a conscience clear and undisturbed, he appealed to the Bishop's knowledge of the

steadiness of his religious principles, and said it had ever been his wish and endeavour to act rightly, and to fulfil his duty to God and to the world; but that he was very sensible of many errors and failures. He declared that he was perfectly resigned to the will of God, that he felt no enmity towards any one, but died in peace with all mankind, and expressed his hope, at once humble and confident, of eternal happiness, through the intercession of his Redeemer. . . . Sir W. Farquhar and several of the servants had remained in the room a part of the time in which Mr. Pitt was engaged in religious duties, and heard this great and good man profess the faith and hope and charity of an humbly pious Christian."

Moreover, there is another remarkable trait in Mr. Pitt's character, related by Lord Eldon, which should not be omitted as an evidence of his general philanthropy. "I observed," he says, "to Mr. Pitt that his station in life must have given him better opportunities of knowing men, than almost any other person could possess; and I asked whether his intercourse with them, upon the whole, led him to think that the greater part of them were governed by reasonable and honourable principles, or by corrupt motives. His answer was, that he had a favourable opinion of mankind, upon the whole; and that he believed the majority was really actuated by fair meaning and intention."¹ Contrast with this what

¹ Vol. i. p. 499.

Sir Samuel Romilly reports of Napoleon I., that he entertained a very bad opinion of mankind.

In order to complete the portrait of Mr. Pitt's character, it only remains to give some additional testimonies from Mr. Rose, concerning his deportment in society, taken from a pamphlet entitled "A Brief Examination into the Increase of the Revenue, Commerce, and Navigation of Great Britain during Mr. Pitt's Administration :"—

"No man was ever better qualified to gain, or more successful in fixing, the attachment of his friends than Mr. Pitt. They saw all the powerful energies of his character softened into the most perfect complacency and sweetness of disposition in the circles of private life ; the pleasures of which no one more cheerfully enjoyed, or more agreeably promoted, when the paramount duties he conceived himself to owe to the public admitted of his mixing in them. That indignant severity with which he met and subdued what he considered unfounded opposition ; that keenness of sarcasm with which he repelled and withered (as it might be said) the powers of most of his assailants in debate,—were exchanged in the society of his intimate friends for a kindness of heart, a gentleness of demeanour, and a playfulness of good humour, which no one ever witnessed without interest, or participated in without delight. His mind, which in the grasp and extent of its capacity, seized with a quickness almost intuitive all the important relations of political power and political economy, was not less uncom-

monly susceptible of all the light and elegant impressions which form the great charm of conversation to cultivated minds."

It is much to be regretted that Bishop Tomline, who had been in habits of familiar intercourse with Mr. Pitt from the very first commencement of his collegiate life, and enjoyed his confidence till the hour of his death, should not have fulfilled the promise which he made to the public, that the last volume of the work he had then undertaken, should be a picture of his domestic life. Perhaps he was deterred by finding that it could not be done without compromising many persons then living; but whatever might be his motive, the result has been that the volumes which he published were only compiled out of public documents, and add nothing to our knowledge of Mr. Pitt's private character. Some amends, however, have been made by another most distinguished friend, who, in a letter to the editor of the *Quarterly Review*, has given us a very highly-finished sketch of those minute details of character, which none but his most confidential intimates could have the opportunity of observing. Lord Wellesley, in 1836, gave this masterly description of what he had known and seen, in the following letter to the editor of the *Quarterly Review* :—ED.]

"Hurlingham, Fulham, Nov. 22d, 1836.

"IN attempting to convey to you my recollection of Mr. Pitt's character in private society, I cannot separate those qualities which raised him to the highest

public eminence, from those which rendered him a most amiable companion. Both proceeded from the same origin, and both were happily blended in the noble structure of his temper and disposition. Mr. Pitt's mind was naturally inaccessible to any approach of dark, or low, or ignoble passion. His commanding genius and magnanimous spirit were destined to move in a region far above the reach of those jealousies, and suspicions, and animosities which disturb the course of ordinary life. Under the eye of his illustrious father, he had received that 'complete and generous education which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both public and private, of peace and war.'

"Such an education, acting on such a natural disposition, not only qualified him to adorn the most elevated station in the councils of his country, but furnished him with abundant sources to sustain the tranquillity and cheerfulness of his mind. He had received regular and systematic instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, and in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and in every branch of general ecclesiastical history. His knowledge on those subjects was accurate and extensive. He was completely armed against all sceptical assaults, as well as against all fanatical illusion; and, in truth, he was not merely a faithful and dutiful, but a learned member of our Established Church, to which he was most sincerely attached, with the most charitable indulgence for all dissenting sects. No doubt can exist in any rational mind, that this early and firm

settlement of his religious opinions and principles, was a main cause of that cheerful equanimity, which formed the great characteristic of his social intercourse, and which was never affected by adversities or troubles.

“ He was perfectly accomplished in classical literature, both Latin and Greek. The accuracy and strength of his memory surpassed every example which I have observed ; but the intrinsic vigour of his understanding carried him far beyond the mere recollection of the great models of antiquity, in oratory, poetry, history, and philosophy. He had drawn their essence into his own thoughts and language ; and with astonishing facility he applied the whole spirit of ancient learning to his daily use. Those studies were his constant delight and resort. At Hollwood, in Kent, his favourite residence, and at Walmer Castle, his apartments were strewed with Latin and Greek classics ; and his conversation with those friends who delighted in similar studies, frequently turned on that most attractive branch of literature ; but he was so adverse to pedantry or affectation of superior knowledge, that he carefully abstained from such topics in the presence of those who could not take pleasure in them. In these pursuits, his constant and congenial companion was Lord Grenville, who has often declared to me that Mr. Pitt was the best Greek scholar he ever conversed with.

“ Mr. Pitt was also as complete a master of all English literature, as he was undoubtedly of the English language. He amply possessed every resource which could enliven retirement. No person had a more ex-

quisite sense of the beauties of the country. He took the greatest delight in his residence at Hollwood, which he enlarged and improved (it may be truly said) with his own hands. Often have I seen him working in his woods and gardens with his labourers, for whole days together, undergoing considerable bodily fatigue, and with so much eagerness and assiduity, that you would suppose the cultivation of his villa to be the principal occupation of his life. He was very fond of exercise on horseback, and when in the country, frequently joined the hounds of his neighbourhood, both at Hollwood and Wahner Castle. At the latter place he lived most hospitably, entertaining all his neighbours, as well as the officers of the neighbouring garrisons and of the ships in the Downs; and he was most attentive to his duties of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, which called him frequently to Dover, and sometimes to the other ports.

“ But in all places and at all times his constant delight was society. There he shone with a degree of calm and steady lustre, which often astonished me more than his most splendid efforts in Parliament. His manners were perfectly plain, without any affectation. Not only was he without presumption or arrogance, or any air of authority, but he seemed utterly unconscious of his own superiority, and much more disposed to listen than to talk. He never betrayed any symptom of anxiety to usurp the lead or to display his own powers, but rather inclined to draw forth others, and to take merely an equal share in the general conversation; then he plunged heedlessly into

the mirth of the hour, with no other care than to promote the general good humour and happiness of the company. His wit was quick and ready; but it was rather lively than sharp, and never envenomed with the least taint of malignity; so that instead of exciting admiration or terror, it was an additional ingredient in the common enjoyment. He was endowed beyond any man of his time whom I knew, with a gay heart and a social spirit.

“With these qualities he was the life and soul of his own society. His appearance dispelled all care; his brow was never clouded, even in the severest public trials; and joy, and hope, and confidence beamed from his countenance in every crisis of difficulty and danger. He was a most affectionate, indulgent, and benevolent friend, and so easy of access that all his acquaintance in any embarrassment would rather resort to him for advice than to any person who might be supposed to have more leisure. His heart was always at leisure to receive the communications of his friends, and always open to give the best advice in the most gentle and pleasant manner.

“I cannot resist the conclusion that a pure and clear conscience must have been the original source of such uniform cheerfulness and gaiety of spirit. The truth, which I have asserted, I possessed ample means of knowing. From the year 1783 to 1797 (when I went to India), I lived in habits of the most confidential friendship with Mr. Pitt. On my return in 1806, I warned Lord Grenville of Mr. Pitt’s approaching death. He received the fatal intelligence with the

utmost feeling, in an agony of tears, and immediately determined that all hostility should be suspended in Parliament. Mr. Pitt's death soon followed (two days after the meeting of Parliament).

“ If any additional evidence were required of the excellence of his social character, it would be found abundantly in the deep sorrow of a most numerous class of independent, honest, and sincerely attached friends, who wept over the loss of his benevolent and affectionate temper and disposition with a degree of heartfelt grief which no political sentiment could produce.”

[A Commission had been issued by the Crown for the purpose of inquiring into the truth of some grave charges which had been brought by the friends of the Prince of Wales against the character of the Princess, similar to those which were renewed after his accession to the throne; and the Commissioners had made a Report unfavourable to the Princess, but they seem to have conducted the inquiry without any great desire to convict her. It appears from the letters of the lawyers to whom her case was referred, and who drew up her answer to the Report,—Mr. Perceval, Sir Vicary Gibbs, and Mr. Plumer,—that the Commissioners had omitted some important points in the accusation, which made it a difficult matter for the lawyers so to defend her as not to suggest to the accusers the necessity of asking for a renewal of the inquiry, and to prosecute it further.

Mr. Rose was friendly to her, and at her request lent her for two or three days his house at Christchurch. When the Princess was on her road to Norbury Park, near Leatherhead, her carriage was overturned by the postilion, in turning a corner, and Miss Cholmondeley, who was sitting on the box, was thrown against a tree and killed upon the spot. This accident is alluded to in one of her letters, but one only has been selected for publication, partly as a specimen of her familiar style when she was on her good behaviour,—for she was a remarkable woman, and her ill-regulated mind occupied a large share of public attention for a long period of time,—and partly because it contains her opinions upon two events of great historical importance, which had recently occurred; the death of Mr. Pitt, with the payment of his debts, and the trial of Lord Melville for supposed malversation as Treasurer in the Navy. The other letter shows the view taken by her lawyer, Sir Vicary Gibbs, of the position in which she was placed by what was not very appropriately called “the delicate investigation.” —ED.]

THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO MR. ROSE.

“Rose Cottage, May 1st, 1806.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Encouraged by your so well-known good nature, and as well by Lady Hester Stanhope, I resume my pen to ask of you a favour, which consists in lending me your little cottage at Christchurch near Poole, for

eight and forty hours, which fame has told me is beautiful.

“The period of my intruding on you will be the 21st or 22d of this month. I now am setting off for Mount Edgecumbe with Lady Hester, and I hope that the variety of new scenes will be conducive to her health as well as to her spirits, which I found very indifferent; but between you and me, no wonder, after such a loss! and not less to us; and depend upon it, my dear Sir, that our departed friend will remain immortal in our hearts, as I hope his loyal spirit will in the common rustic’s heart.

“If it were not too indiscreet of me, I would feel so thankful if you would still more heighten your goodness to me by informing me how dear, good, amiable, and for ever respectable Lord Melville is in health. I know that he bears with fortitude and with greatness of mind his very severe trial of adversity; which only an innocent and elevated mind could give him.

“Lady Hester has been kind enough to communicate your letter to me, my dear Sir, and I have only to add, that I never had a doubt of the very great difficulty to settle that very intricate business in the most amicable and comfortable way for all parties; but if it should remain in your hands, I have all right to expect that the nation would do it with their usual justice and generosity. And believe me, my dear Sir, for ever with the highest regard and esteem,

“Yours,

“C. P.”

SIR VICARY GIBBS TO MR. ROSE.

“Hayes Common, Bromley,
“Sept 28th, 1806.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“The Answer is finished, and I only wish that his Majesty may be prevailed upon to give his personal attention to it, and form his own judgment upon the case. Perceval has done it most incomparably. Every guard is placed, as you suggested, against the renewal of the same sort of inquiry, which was a point that required some delicacy, as it was necessary, in many instances, to complain that the inquiry which took place was calculated to produce a false impression by being left short, and to cast suspicions upon the conduct of the party accused, which a few further questions must necessarily have cleared up. To avoid, therefore, any insidious offer of renewing it, that these defects may be supplied, there is a strong protestation against such a measure, pointing out the gross injustice, and throwing doubts at least upon the legality of it. Her Royal Highness desires Lord Eldon to present her answer to the King, and I shall be glad to hear that this is permitted by his Majesty. It was impossible to avoid making strong observations upon the conduct of the Commissioners; in truth, the justice of the conclusions which the Report adopts could not be effectually attacked without showing that they have been at least inattentive to many material facts which they either knew or had the means of knowing. The greatest respect is observed towards them in expression, and

their oversights are always attributed to their constant occupation in the business of their respective offices.

“It seems as if Lord G. did not acquire any addition of strength in the Cabinet by these new arrangements.

“I beg my best compliments to Mrs. and Miss Rose, and to Mr. and Mrs. G. Rose, if they are with you.

“Yours most truly,

“V. GIBBS.”

[Both Mr. Rose and Mr. Perceval felt the same interest at first in the Princess of Wales which the King and the whole country would have felt, if they had not been disgusted by the coarseness of her mind, and the indiscretion of her whole life. Mr. Perceval took up her cause warmly against her husband.—ED.]

MR. PERCEVAL TO MR. ROSE.

“Castle Ashby, Northampton, Oct. 3d, 1806.

“DEAR ROSE,

“I should be extremely sorry, indeed, if you had really thought that I had, as you express yourself, *snubbed* you upon the occasion of your very kind offer to call upon me on the Tuesday morning. In the substance of what I did, I can trust to my own feelings that there was nothing but what was consistent with the truest kindness and respect; and if there was anything in the manner of it, which was not sufficiently attentive, I only beg you will recollect how

I was circumstanced, just stepping into my chaise, with little more than half my work finished for her Royal Highness's perusal; and under the necessity of dedicating whatever time I could of the next morning to the completion of the remainder. For as it was all necessarily to be fairly copied over before it could be delivered to the Princess for her signature, and as I wished this to be so done as to enable me to leave town on Saturday last to attend my constituents at their Mayor's feast on Monday, I had no time to lose; as you will the better understand when I tell you, that notwithstanding all my exertions, I worked the whole of Saturday with Gibbs and Plumer, for whom I sent up to town in order to receive their final opinion upon the business. I could not, therefore, leave town till Sunday, and I was not without some fear of being recalled at the beginning of this week. But, however, the business is all finished, and by this time the letter is delivered either to the King, or, by his command, to some of his Ministers. Which course is to be pursued, I have not yet learnt; but it was apprehended, when I left town, that his Majesty would not receive it through any hands but his Ministers.

“With respect to the desire of preventing all further inquiry upon the subject of her Royal Highness's conduct, there is no difference of opinion amongst any persons that I have consulted; and we have kept in view that desire, in the execution of our more immediate duty,—that of setting her right, and doing her justice, on the subject of the present inquiry.

“It was extremely difficult, if not perhaps impossi-

ble, to do justice to her in the present case, without doing much which may provoke more hostility against her; but we were all satisfied, at least so I thought I collected the general sentiment, that the report was so framed that she could not acquiesce under it in silence without admitting its truth; and that, in fact, there was evidently so much disposition to be hostile to her manifested in the whole course of the proceeding, that looking forward to a new reign, there could be no possible security for her being permitted to hold her rank or station in this country, but from the existence of a strong sentiment in her favour throughout the kingdom; and that, therefore, her letter to the King should be so prepared, that if published, it should have the effect of producing rather than checking that sentiment. The copies of this letter, undoubtedly, unless it should be determined to publish it, ought to be kept very secret; but as soon as I conveniently can, I will endeavour to procure you a sight of one of them, as I really shall be very anxious to know your opinion upon it. In the stage to which we had advanced, when you were in town, it would have been extremely difficult, upon any suggestion, to have adopted any material alteration in our plan; and the materials which you must have been acquainted with to have enabled you to have formed a judgment, would have taken you more time to read, than you could possibly have employed, between your proposed call, and your visit on the next morning. On your business which interested you so strongly and justly as connected with your County, I

felt incapable of giving you any further opinion ; and, indeed, it seemed to me, that as the only useful effect that could be produced by anything that could be done, would be by its operation upon the general sentiments of the county, nothing very decisive could be determined upon till you met together, and had an opportunity of seeing how the subject would be received in the county. I am glad to see, however, that such sentiment seems to have been in the most happy state for the best impression ; and I can hardly conceive, that as this matter has been taken up at so respectable a meeting, there can be any doubt of Chute's success, and that of Sir Henry Mildmay, or of whatever other candidate (equally proper as he is) you may be able to prevail upon to stand. I am now in a house where this subject is a very anxious one (Chute married Lady Northampton's sister), and I find here that Chute's reception in different parts of the county has been most favourable. I am glad that my brother Drummond supports him ; and I find your neighbour, Compton, does the same. I cannot help thinking that Lord Temple's indiscretion will have a very strong effect, not only in Hampshire, but in other parts of the country. Lord Ellenborough called upon me the other day (if I had not had occasion to write to you upon other business, I should not have thought the circumstance of importance enough to mention it, but he called), and began by stating that now Fox was no more, probably the obstacle and objection which I felt to having any connexion with

the present Administration were at an end. And as a friend of mine, he wished to express his anxiety to do anything which lay in his power to promote my connexion with them. I told him, that I thought I ought, in candour to his friendship, to stop him immediately; saying, that if his idea was confined to me individually, I was so connected with others, that I could not possibly receive any proposal whatever, and therefore the conversation had better stop, before I even knew whether what he had to communicate was, or was not, in concert with Lord Grenville, or was merely suggestive of his own friendship to me.—And he said, that if I felt so, undoubtedly there could be no occasion for its proceeding any further; and therefore, though I own I was not without a little curiosity to have known how they fancied they could have reconciled me to what I should have felt such great degradation and disgrace of character, I was left quite in the dark upon that subject.

“I was in town all Saturday last, but heard nothing of your son; and as I shall not return till the end of this week, or the beginning of next, I imagine his business will not wait till my return. I should have had great pleasure in giving it any attention in my power.

“I am, dear Rose,

“Very faithfully and sincerely yours,

“S. PERCEVAL.”

SIR VICARY GIBBS TO MR. ROSE.

“ Hayes Common, Bromley, Oct. 5th, 1806.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ His Majesty has declined receiving the answer except through the same channel as the other papers had passed; but the manner of doing this, and the circumstances attending it, do not lead to so unfavourable a conclusion as the refusal itself would otherwise justify. It will be delivered to the Chancellor to-morrow, by Plumer. The observations which are made upon the conduct of the Commissioners will certainly provoke them to any hostile measures which it may be in their power to adopt; but it was difficult, if not impossible, to avoid this consequence, and at the same time give its full strength to the case. All asperity of expression is avoided, but certainly much of substantial blame is imputed to them, and with good reason, as you will say when you see the papers.

“ The papers contain a correct account of the horrid accident at Leatherhead. Miss Cholmondeley was, I believe, a sincere friend to the Princess, and is, therefore, a real loss to her at this time, though I have heard that there are some who think otherwise. The Princess, whom I saw yesterday, was a good deal bruised, particularly in her face, but not materially hurt. I beg my best compliments to Mrs. and Miss Rose, and Miss Dewar.

“ I am, my dear Sir,

“ Most sincerely yours,

“ V. GIBBS.”

[As a powerful electric magnet draws to itself a multitude of nails, and forms out of them a sort of iron cable, which, when its connexion with the source of that force loses all its cohesion, and falls to pieces ; so the party which was held together by the commanding influence of Mr. Pitt's talents, was broken up entirely by his death, and resolved into its individualities. Dissensions and jealousies sprang up immediately ; and they found it impossible to array themselves under any one leader, or to agree upon any common rule of action in opposition to the Whig Government. So much, indeed, of the Whig element was eliminated by the death of Mr. Fox, that the party was almost ready to split into two sections : the one quite willing to act with Lord Grenville, with whom they had been so long connected ; the other and major part vehemently objecting to it.

The objection, as it appeared upon the surface, rested on his desertion of Mr. Pitt in 1804 ; but, in reality, the strong feeling on the subject of the Roman Catholic question lay at the bottom of it. Mr. Canning, who on that and all other points of policy agreed with Lord Grenville, was only kept by party ties from joining him at once. In the letter which is here given he very plainly defines his position, and explains his views. Lord Eldon, on the other hand, followed Mr. Pitt much more closely in his attachment to the King, and was for many years at the head of the other party in the House of Lords ; and, therefore, it

is certainly strange that he should have been so little consulted by his friends. Mr. Rose seems to have been the only one who communicated to him what was going on ; and his answer breathes a deep discontent and mortification at such treatment. He says :—
 “ I lament upon, I hope, worthy grounds, that my obscurity was such as to keep me entirely ignorant of the proceeding at Lord Lowther’s till it was of no manner of use that I should ever have known of it.”
 The whole of his letter is in this strain, and, therefore, is not much to the purpose.

After reading Mr. Canning’s letter at the beginning of this year, and seeing how ready he was to desert his colours, no one can be surprised at finding him before the end of it again in office. But there is bitterness as well as sweetness in the cup of ambition ; and the importunity of friends sometimes alloys the enjoyment of high patronage. Mr. Rose, who never cared to aggrandize himself, was always eager to obtain something for his son ; and some disappointment on this subject is afterwards mentioned by him with feelings of resentment. But, on the present occasion, the apologetic answer of Mr. Canning probably falls within the experience of most official men. He says :
 “ Only be assured of my general disposition to gratify your wishes, and your son’s fair pretensions ; but pray have the goodness to bear in mind, at the same time, the limited means on the one hand, and the many unavoidable and powerful claims on the other

which I have to reconcile (if I can) at my first outset ; and do not, therefore, ascribe the want of *immediate* attention to any defect of real good-will."

It so happened, however, that he had an immediate opportunity of proving his sincerity by sending the late Sir George Rose on a special mission to the United States ; and the appointment is proved to be a wise one, by a letter from Mr. Munroe, the American Ambassador. "The appointment" says he to Mr. Rose, "of your son to the United States on a special mission is an event which gives me great satisfaction. It will, I trust, be productive of consequences honourable and advantageous to both nations. The sentiments which you are so good as to express of the relation which ought to subsist between them are such as might have been expected from one who had had such long experience in the great concerns of his country. They cannot fail to be highly approved by all who take an interest in the welfare of either. I have full confidence that those sentiments are entertained by your son ; as I have that he will be received by my government with the attention and consideration due to his acknowledged personal merit and to the public character of his mission. It is my sincere desire that the differences which have unhappily arisen between our Governments may be speedily settled, to the satisfaction of both parties ; and I beg you to be assured that, as I have long laboured to promote that very important object, I shall continue to take a deep interest in the accomplishment of it."

There are two other letters belonging to this year which deserve some little notice. In the first place, one from Sir John Macpherson, who had been Governor-General of Bengal, and is accused by Lord Cornwallis of having encouraged gross abuses in his administration. Nevertheless, he takes to himself credit for having devised plans by which India was saved, and which must be resorted to again, in order to save this country in India; and he declares, with an amazing degree of self-complacency, that when the Commissioners for the Carnatic Debt shall make their report to Parliament, it will not be a proud day for others, but must be for him, John Macpherson. Moreover, like the fly upon the wheel, he mentions his armed statistical account of a *parish* in Sussex, which was translated into French, and sent to all the foreign courts. “The late *armed Prussian manifesto* fully embraces all its parts.” In mitigation of this vanity, it may be stated that he had almost as high an opinion of his correspondent’s influence over Europe as his own, for he tells Mr. Rose, “It is essential that the new plan of finance (the present Lord Lansdown’s) should have your support to have the proper effect upon the Continent.”

The other letter is from a parliamentary supporter of Mr. Rose, in Hampshire, who endeavours to coax him into giving him a permission to see the Houses of Parliament by alarming him about a conspiracy against the Church, with which, however, he had been acquainted four years before without saying a word on

the matter. The conspirators were Mr. Miles and Earl Wycombe, afterwards Lord Lansdown. The former begged the latter to inquire what was the value of the Deanery of Durham and its prebends, and how many there were. His notions on the subject were of the vaguest kind ; for he seems to have supposed that they were all golden prebends, and that there was one officer in the Chapter called the Prebendary, who enjoyed a larger income than the rest. But he then proceeds to say, " If I could set men a thinking about the Chapters, I will answer for their dissolution ; and their dissolution will tend to the abolition of tithes ; and the abolition of tithes to the improvement of landed property." Now, this rapid excursion to the contemplated ruin of the Established Church, indicates a mind very much in harmony with the prediction attributed to Talleyrand, that Christianity would go into the grave without a struggle.

The unmitigated selfishness of the object which Mr. Miles proposed to himself is very characteristic of that class of men ; but the Power above, which never entered into his thoughts, and the religious principle which he ignored, have defeated all his speculations, and saved the Church of England, under the control of a superintending Providence. The landowners of England refused the glittering bait. They have reformed the Chapters, and commuted the tithes, but they have not abolished either ; and they have been rewarded by a

great improvement, not only in their property, but, what is of more importance, in those who cultivate it.

The correspondence of the next year (1808), though containing nothing of public note, is yet of great importance in the uneventful life of the subject of these Memoirs; for the few letters belonging to it show the high estimation in which Mr. Rose was held by those who were highest themselves in rank and office. The Duke of Portland not only assured him that his wishes would always have considerable weight with him in any decision he might take, but proved it by promising that General Hibbert, for whom he had shown some interest, should be recommended to the King for a baronetcy. And Lord Barham recommended to his care, as if he were the fountain of honour, two officers distinguished for their gallantry and good conduct (Captains Blacklock and Lambert), who, therefore, deserved some reward; at the same time disclosing a project of Mr. Pitt's, which, if he had lived, he would have carried into execution, of establishing an order of merit similar, it would seem, to the present Victoria Cross.

But it was of more importance to himself that he received the offer of two appointments, one from the Duke of York, who overruled his objections and insisted upon his taking the office of Deputy Warden of the New Forest, in the management of which he seemed to rely much upon his deputy's advice and assistance. The other was from Mr. Canning, who

wanted him to go out on a special mission to Brazil, to frame a commercial treaty. This is the subject of a long letter, in which Mr. Rose declines the offer, wisely and discreetly. If he had been sent there with a *carte blanche*, before the regular ambassador, he would have had a fair chance of making arrangements with the Court of Rio Janeiro beneficial to both countries; but Lord Strangford was already there, and if he was competent to the business, no one else was wanted. If he was not—if his errors had to be corrected, and his defect of experience had to be supplied, conflicts between them would have been inevitable, and the Brazilian minister would have been able to play off the one against the other. Despairing therefore of doing any good by being placed in such a false position, he would not accept the appointment.

MR. CANNING TO MR. ROSE.

“DEAR ROSE,

“Feb. 7th, 1807.

“I entirely agree with you that the communication which you have received from Lord Eldon entitles his Lordship to as explicit a declaration in return, from any person to whom he may allow you to report what he has said, and whose sentiments he may be desirous of learning,

“I can have no difficulty in stating mine to you freely, as you desire. I shall only be surprised if, with respect to my sentiments, Lord Eldon has anything new to learn. For I certainly have all along

supposed that the substance of a conversation, which passed between Perceval and Lord Castlereagh on the one part, and myself on the other, so long ago as in the month of February *last*, had been reported by them to their friends; as on my part I reported it, as soon as it had taken place, to those with whom I had previously ascertained my own entire concurrence of feelings and opinions. I reported it, as you will remember, to yourself; and I communicated it by letter to Lord Lowther, as furnishing (according to my view) a ground on which the co-operation in Parliament, between the two different descriptions of Mr. Pitt's friends, might be honourably and satisfactorily established.

"Perceval and Lord Castlereagh called upon me in Somerset Place (I think on the 8th of February), and began by stating their own intentions with respect to attendance and conduct in Parliament. They then expressed a desire to know mine. I had no scruple in saying plainly, "that I entertained great doubts (as did others with whom I was in habits of communication) of the probability of such an agreement with them (P. and L^d C.) as to the end and objects of any opposition in which we might engage, as would make our entire co-operation practicable.

"In everything that might relate to the defence of the measures and memory of Mr. Pitt (I said) there could be no question; but we should all cordially co-operate, without the necessity of any formal stipulation, or even of any previous concert.

"But, as to ulterior objects, I stated distinctly that

whatever causes of complaint there might be against Lord Grenville, I still thought him the fittest, indeed the only fit, man to be at the head of the Government ; that I saw no possibility of forming a Government, sufficient to carry the country through its difficulties, without him ; and that though nothing would tempt me to continue in office with him (if it were proposed to me) at that time, nor did I think it likely that I could ever be induced to join the Government, constituted precisely as it then was,—I yet had no desire to see it entirely overthrown. My wish would be to see it, at some fit opportunity, amended by the association with Lord Grenville of some portion of the friends of Mr. Pitt.

“I said that ‘I apprehended *their* views (L^d C.’s and P.’s) might be different. It was natural they should be so. *My* habits with Lord Grenville were those of constant and intimate private friendship, and (with the exception of his unfortunate separation from Mr. Pitt in 1804) of uninterrupted concurrence in political opinion and conduct. *They*, and their friends, had been long in direct political hostility with Lord Grenville, and never (I believed) in habits of private friendship. It would be nothing extraordinary, therefore, if in *their* eyes Lord Grenville should not even be the most favoured part of the administration. Nor could I blame them, if their first object should be (as it probably would) a complete change ; or if, finding that impracticable, they should look for a more partial change through Lord Sidmouth. But neither of these was an object for which I could consent to co-operate.’

“ In answer, Lord Castlereagh and Perceval disclaimed looking to Lord Sidmouth, in any way or for any purpose, in the most pointed terms. And to my great surprise, I confess, but to my great satisfaction, added, that with respect to Lord Grenville, their views and wishes coincided with mine. And they expressed these sentiments not on their own behalf only, but on that of others with whom they were most immediately connected.

“ Such was the distinct and express understanding under which I went into the House of Commons, after the formation of the New Government ;—and such are the opinions which I still retain.

“ I need not tell you that at the time when I first declared these opinions, I had had no intercourse with Lord Grenville of any sort. We did not even exchange the ordinary civility of a letter upon my quitting office. The course of the Session certainly did not appear to bring us nearer to each other ; and I was taken completely by surprise, by the overtures which were made to me at the end of June or beginning of July.

“ Of the manner in which I received those overtures, of my positive and repeated refusal to listen to them separately, and my persevering endeavour to turn what was addressed, in the first instance, to myself alone, into a general or comprehensive proposal, I need not here trouble you with any particular account. The inclosed copy of a letter to Lord Lowther, written on the 26th of September, contains a plain statement of the substance of my intercourse

with Lord Grenville, up to the 14th of that month (the day of Mr. Fox's death), on which day that intercourse terminated.

“ Lord Eldon will probably recollect a conversation which I had on that day, in *his* presence, with Lord Hawkesbury, in which Lord H. repeated, at my desire, the amount of those pretensions, which had been brought forward at a meeting held at Lord Lowther's in July, as necessary to be satisfied in any arrangement between Lord Grenville and the friends of Mr. Pitt.

“ What that amount was I see no advantage in recording. It was certainly sufficient to form an insurmountable impediment to any successful negotiation with Lord Grenville.

“ These pretensions were, as you know, professed to be founded on what Mr. Pitt was said to have been ready to offer to the Opposition in the summer of 1805, had he then been permitted to make an offer to them ; but it required very little sagacity to discover that they were not founded on any principle that was calculated to facilitate a junction ; but rather on the preference of *another*, which was considered as a better speculation.

“ From the period of the opposition to Mr. Windham's military plan, it had begun to be believed and inculcated, that the King meditated a change of Government ; and that particularly if a dissolution of Parliament should be proposed to him, he would take his stand upon that ground.

“ How or where these ideas originated I purposely

forbear to inquire. I certainly could be myself no judge of their solidity. I could know nothing personally of his Majesty's sentiments, and I had never received from any one member of the Administration which resigned in January, the slightest communication of the grounds of that resignation; of the footing on which they parted from the King, or of the King's feelings, views, or wishes, expressed at parting with them.

"Taking everything upon trust, however, I determined that this speculation, whatever it might be worth, should not be spoiled by any act of mine. Therefore it was that I offered no objection to the extent of the pretensions stated at Lord Lowther's, and therefore it was that in all my intercourse with Lord Grenville, though I never specified to him the extent of those pretensions (which could have done no good), I kept that statement constantly in view; sacrificing my own judgment as well as my own wishes, and therewith, I believe, what would have been (well understood) the true interest of the party (if party it could be considered), to what I had collected to be *their own* view of their own interests and pretensions.

"The loss of this opportunity has been followed by the dissolution; of the operation of which event upon the pretensions to which I have referred, and upon the calculation on which they were founded, I suppose there cannot be much difference of opinion.

"It remains only to speak of the second topic of Lord Eldon's conversation with you, that of the

necessity of more perfect understanding and concert in Parliament.

“ I am not aware that there has been any want of union or of activity in the House of Commons; and if there has been (as does appear to be the case) any such deficiency in the House of Lords, I confess I do not see how it is to be remedied, but by themselves. In truth I very much doubt, from the tone taken by some of their Lordships last year, whether our interference even with the expression of an opinion might not do more harm than good.

“ I need hardly say, however, that I am perfectly ready to listen with the utmost deference to any suggestion upon this subject.

“ Yours sincerely,

“ GEO. CANNING.”

CHAPTER IX.

1807.

MR. ROSE'S DIARY FROM THE 9TH FEBRUARY TO 3D MARCH.

[THE next part of Mr. Rose's Diary gives a succinct account of what passed between the King and his Ministers in this year on the subject of the restrictions upon the Roman Catholics. Though it contains nothing absolutely new, yet it presents the negotiation in such an intelligible form, as to show clearly enough the inaccuracy of Lord Brougham's account of their expulsion from the Cabinet. Nothing but his hatred of George III. can explain how the natural clearness of his mind could be so much clouded with error. He states that "the King, uneasy at being counselled by a Whig Cabinet, had resolved to change his Ministers, and to quarrel with them upon the highly popular ground of their having made themselves the confederates of the Prince, then in the *acme* of his unpopularity; and as such, having taken part against the Princess. Fortunately for that party, whose utter ruin this would have consummated, another scent crossed his Majesty while in that pursuit, and he dexterously turned aside to follow it. This was the theory of 'No Popery, and Danger to the Church.'"¹

¹ Historical Sketches of Statesmen, &c, vol. ii. p. 63.

Now there is no symptom of any disagreement between the King and his Ministers on the subject of the Princess. Those of the party who lived a few years longer were her fastest friends; himself the very foremost of them all. The only one who could be called a confederate of the Prince was Mr. Fox, but he was dead; and Lord Moira was the sole member of the Cabinet who lived on terms of confidential intimacy with the King. But the scent that crossed the King's path, as it were by accident, is a singular misrepresentation by Lord Brougham, for one so well acquainted with the facts. Any person ignorant of the contents of his preceding volume might suppose that this was a new cry of which the King availed himself, not on principle, but merely to gain his end of turning out the Ministers.

It is true, the popular cry supported him in so doing, but the whole current of the negotiation proves that they brought it upon themselves. They did not share the strong attachment to the Sovereign which prompted Mr. Pitt to sacrifice his character, in the eyes of strangers, by undertaking not only to refrain from moving a question so entirely repugnant to the King's conscience, during the remainder of his reign, but also, as far as he could, to prevent others; and, therefore, they merely temporized with him. They would withdraw the bill they had prepared, but they would not guarantee him from being tormented with it again another year if it were brought forward by

others : which, under such circumstances, was sure to happen. For being supported by the Ministers, which they would claim the liberty to assert, it would pass through both Houses ; and then the conscience of the King would drive him into this dilemma, of either opposing his veto to a law of Parliament, or of abdicating the throne. They were willing to make a concession for the present, but not a particle for the future. Their characters would be lost if they did not state their opinions freely ; but they might have promised to exercise no ministerial influence to carry the motion, and then there would have been no objection to the expression of their individual opinions. Or, if an emergency should arise, in which they thought the safety of the State indispensably required it, they might then have resigned their offices. In point of fact, no such emergency did arise before the establishment of the Regency ; but they would do nothing to calm the fears or tranquillize the mind of the aged monarch. It was the haughtiness of these Whigs that drove them out of office.—*Ed.*]

Diary, February 9th.—Lord Spencer sends to the King, in a note from himself, a minute of the Cabinet Council of this date—

Lord President . . . Lord Howick.

Lord Privy Seal . . . Lord H. T. Petty.

Earl Spencer. Lord Grenville.

Earl Moira. Mr. Secretary Windham.

Mr. Thomas Grenville.

This minute accompanies a despatch from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, respecting the Catholics there ; with the draft of an answer to be sent to his Excellency.

February 10th.—The King's answer, approving of the Lord-Lieutenant being instructed to keep back any petition from the Irish Catholics, and to prevent the renewal of the question on which his sentiments and the general sense of the nation are so well known,—expresses his most serious concern that any proposal should have been made to him for the introduction of a clause in the Mutiny Bill which would remove a restriction on the Roman Catholics, forming a most essential *feature of the question* ; and that he trusts his Parliament will never, under any circumstances, agree to it. His objections are strong. They arise from principles by which he has been guided through life, and to which he is determined to adhere.

Minute of Cabinet Council ;—the same ministers as before, except Lord Spencer, ill ; with the Lord Chancellor added, and Lord Ellenborough.

They had formed the answer so as to be free from the difficulties which might attend other parts of the subject on which his Majesty knew a difference of opinion prevailed among themselves ; it being confined to assimilating the law here to what it has within these few years been made in Ireland, as the latter will otherwise be illusory ; the measure will unite all his Majesty's subjects in military efforts for the defence of the empire. The Ministers would think themselves deeply criminal if they disguised this point from his

Majesty, or if they could neglect to offer to Parliament a proposal they respectfully conceive is not liable to the ground of objection which his Majesty appears at first to have felt to it, which in its principle is clearly sanctioned by a law long since passed and acted upon in many instances; it will avert the dangers they have represented, and effect the most probable means of preventing the agitation of those questions, on which the opinion of Parliament has been so recently pronounced.

February 11th.—A long note from Lord Grenville to the King, transmitting the last minute, urging his Majesty, from himself (in addition to the reason in the minute) to acquiesce in the measure proposed, as perfectly conformable in its principle to the concession therein alluded to. Nothing but a deep impression of the indispensable necessity of some step of this nature at the present moment could induce his Lordship to think himself warranted in recommending it with such extreme earnestness.

February 12th.—Note from the King. His Majesty is disposed to do full justice to the motives of Lord Grenville and his other confidential servants. However painful his Majesty has found it to reconcile to his feelings the renewal of objections to any proposal which may have had the least reference to a question which has already been the subject of such frequent and distressing reflections, he will not, under the circumstances in which it is so earnestly pressed, and adverting particularly to what took place in 1793, prevent his Ministers from submitting to Parliament, the

propriety of inserting the proposed clause in the Mutiny Bill. Whilst, however, the King so far reluctantly concedes, he considers it necessary to declare *that he cannot go one step further*; and he trusts that this mark of his forbearance will secure him *from being, at a future period, distressed by any further proposal connected with this question.*

Note from Lord Grenville (in the absence of Lord Spencer) to the King, with the following minute of the Cabinet Council, with a despatch of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to which it refers.

Minute.—The same Lords present as at the last, thanking the King for the concession, and expressing their concern that the Catholics presenting a petition will be unavoidable.

March 12th.—Note from Lord Grenville to the King, desiring permission to wait on him, in consequence of what his Majesty expressed yesterday; feeling the greatest anxiety and distress of mind from the idea that any misunderstanding, however unintentional on his Lordship's part, should have had the effect of creating uneasiness in the breast of his Majesty, on a point on which he had felt so earnest and peculiar a desire to avoid any such impression; and he hints, that what he shall have the honour of laying before the King to-morrow will at least evince the sincerity of these sentiments.

Lord Grenville was appointed at twelve on the 13th.

Note from Lord Howick to the King, stating that having learned from the Lord President, that

in the conversation he had had with his Majesty on the bill depending in Parliament for the admission of Dissenters from the Church of England into the army and navy, he had not accurately understood the opinion which his Majesty intended to convey on the subject; Lord Howick is most anxiously desirous to explain to his Majesty the conduct he has pursued under this misapprehension, and therefore solicits an audience. Till the explanation is had, his Lordship feels it would be unfit to proceed with the bill, and will, therefore, this afternoon propose to postpone it till Tuesday, the 17th; and will, in the mean time, endeavour to find some mode by which the measure (proposed from a sense of duty to his Majesty) may be rendered less objectionable.

Lord Howick appointed at one, on the 13th.

March 15th.—Note from Lord Grenville to the King, transmitting the following minute of the Cabinet Council, announcing the opinions of such of his Majesty's servants as are therein named, respecting the bill depending in Parliament; and requesting leave to wait on the King the next morning for the purpose of giving any explanation that his Majesty may deem necessary on this important occasion.¹

<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	. . . Lord Grenville.
Earl of Moira.	Mr. Secretary Windham.
Lord Howick.	Mr. Grenville.
Lord H. Petty.	

¹ This minute, and the one of the 18th, are *verbatim*; so are the King's answers.

Your Majesty's servants now present, being those whose opinions are favourable to the bill, humbly submit that, on a full consideration of all circumstances connected with it, they do not intend there shall be any further proceedings on it in Parliament. This determination rests entirely on the same motives which have induced them to abstain from bringing forward other and more extensive measures connected with the same subject, and which would, in their judgment, be highly advantageous to the public interests. They had flattered themselves that the present proposal might not have encountered the same difficulties which attended the measures to which they allude; but as this hope appears to have been founded on misunderstanding, they judge it on the whole more consistent with their public duty not to press forward any further the discussion of the present bill. They have thought this course of proceeding would be both more respectful to his Majesty, and more advantageous to the public interests, than any statement to alter the bill so as to bring it nearer to the strict letter of the Irish Act. The points of difference which exist between this law and the present bill, relate to matters, the consideration of which (as it appears to them) it is almost impossible to separate from the measure itself; and they have found the attempt impracticable to reduce the bill to such a form as would, on the one hand, be likely to obviate the difficulties which now obstruct its success, and as could, on the other hand, be at all satisfactory for them to propose.

In stating to Parliament their determination to make this very painful sacrifice to what they conceive to be their public duty, they trust your Majesty will see the indispensable necessity of their expressing (with the same openness by which their language on that subject has uniformly been marked) the strong persuasion which each of these individuals entertains of the advantages which would result to the empire from a different course of policy towards the Catholics of Ireland. Their opinions they have never concealed from your Majesty; they continue strongly impressed with them, and it is obviously indispensable to their public character that they should openly avow them, both on the present occasion and in the possible event of the discussion of the Catholic petition in Parliament: a discussion which they have all equally endeavoured to prevent; in which (if it should be forced upon them) there might not be a perfect uniformity of conduct between them, but in which an adherence in them all to their former opinions must naturally be declared.

They beg leave to add, that they cannot look without great uneasiness and apprehension at the present state of Ireland, which they consider as the only vulnerable part of the British Empire. The situation of that country is, as they fear, likely to force itself more and more on the consideration of your Majesty's Government and of Parliament; and it is essential not only to their own character, but also, as they sincerely believe, to the public interests, that the deference which they have felt it their duty to show on this occasion to the opinions and feelings expressed by your Majesty,

should not be understood as restraining them *from time to time*, from proposing, as their duty is, for your Majesty's decision, such measures respecting that part of your united kingdom as the nature of circumstances shall appear to require.

They have only further most humbly to assure your Majesty that, in discharging that and every other part of their duty, so long as your Majesty shall think fit to honour them with your confidence, nothing shall be omitted on their part which can best testify their invariable and respectful attachment to your Majesty ; and their sincere and anxious concern for your Majesty's personal ease and comfort, and for the prosperity and honour of your Majesty's Government.

March 17th.—Note from the King to Lord Grenville, with the following answer to the minute of the 15th : That his Lordship may communicate it to his colleagues, his Majesty trusting that Lord G. will see the propriety, *with a view to the prevention of all future mistakes*, that, when they shall have considered the latter part of his Majesty's answer, their determination should be stated on paper.

THE KING'S ANSWER.

March 17th.—The King having fully considered what is submitted in the minute of the Cabinet, which he received yesterday morning, desires Lord Grenville will communicate to those of his confidential servants who were present, his sentiments and observations on the contents of that minute, as hereafter expressed.

His Majesty has learned, with satisfaction, that they have determined not to press forward any further the discussion of the bill depending in Parliament, and he is sensible of the deference shown to his sentiments and to his feelings; but he regrets that, while they have felt bound, as his Ministers, to adopt this line of conduct, they should, *as individuals*, consider it necessary to state to Parliament opinions which are known to be so decidedly contrary to his principles; at a moment, too, when it is the declared object of his Government not to encourage any disposition on the part of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to prefer petitions to Parliament.

From the latter part of the minute the King must conclude that, although the bill now depending is dropped, they have been unable to make up their minds not to press upon him in future, measures connected with a question which has already proved so distressing to him; nor can his Majesty conceal from them that this intention on their part, unless withdrawn, will leave the matter in a state most embarrassing and unsatisfactory to him; and, in his opinion, not less so to them. The King, therefore, considers it due to himself, and consistent with the fair and upright conduct which it has been and ever will be his object to observe towards every one, to declare at once, most unequivocally, that upon this subject his sentiments never can change; that he cannot even agree to any concessions to the Catholics which his confidential servants may in future ever propose to him; and that under these circumstances, and after what has passed,

his mind cannot be at ease unless he shall receive a positive assurance from them which shall effectually relieve him from all future apprehensions.

March 18th. Half-past One, A.M.—Lord Grenville has the honour most humbly to lay before your Majesty the minutes of a meeting of such of your Majesty's servants as are therein named, which was held to-night at Earl Spencer's house.

March 17th, 1807.

<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	Lord H. Petty.
Earl Spencer.	Lord Grenville.
Earl of Moira.	Mr. Secretary Windham.
Viscount Howick.	Mr. Grenville.

Your Majesty's servants have considered, with the most respectful and dutiful attention, the answer which your Majesty has done them the honour to return to the minutes of the 15th. They beg leave to represent to your Majesty, that at the time when your Majesty was graciously pleased to call them to your councils, no assurance was required from them inconsistent with those duties which are inseparable from that station. Had any such assurance been then demanded, they must have expressed, with all humility and duty, the absolute impossibility of their thus fettering the free exercise of their judgment. Those who are entrusted by your Majesty with the administration of your extensive empire, are bound by every obligation to submit to your Majesty, without reserve, the best advice which they can frame to meet the various exigencies and dangers of the times.

The situation of Ireland appears to your Majesty's servants to constitute the most formidable part of the

present difficulties of the empire. This subject must, as they conceive, require a constant and vigilant attention, and a repeated consideration of every fresh circumstance which may call for the interposition of your Majesty's Government or of Parliament.

In forbearing to urge any further (while employed in your Majesty's service) a measure which, in their judgment, would have tended to compose the present uneasiness in Ireland, and have been productive of material benefits to the empire, they humbly submit to your Majesty that they have gone to the utmost possible limits of their public duty; but that it would be deeply criminal in them, with the general opinions which they entertain on the subject, to bind themselves to withhold from your Majesty, under all the various circumstances which may arise, those counsels which may eventually appear to them indispensably necessary for the peace and tranquillity of Ireland; and for defeating the enterprises of the enemy against the very existence of your Majesty's empire.

Your Majesty's servants must ever deeply regret that any difficulty should arise on their part in giving the most prompt obedience to any demand which your Majesty considers as indispensable to the ease of your Majesty's mind; but it is not possible for them, consistently with any sense of those obligations which must always attach to the sworn counsellors of your Majesty, to withdraw a statement which was not made without the most anxious consideration of every circumstance which could be suggested by their earnest desire for your Majesty's ease, comfort, and happiness; or to give assurances which would impose

upon them a restraint incompatible with the faithful discharge of the most important duty which they owe to your Majesty.

Principal Heads of the Despatches from the LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND, of the 17th February, transmitted to the KING, with the Minutes of the 9th.

A meeting of the Catholics had been held. His Excellency thinks they would be satisfied if the restrictions on the admission of Roman Catholic gentlemen into the *army and navy* were removed, and they were allowed to serve as sheriffs, and to be admitted into corporations.

The answer to that was, a request to the Lord-Lieutenant to keep back the renewal of the pretensions formerly preferred, but to suggest a proposal to remove the restrictions upon admission into the army, and the military promotion of the Catholics; with which view it is the intention of his Majesty's Ministers, with his Majesty's sanction, to introduce a clause in the Mutiny Bill *to that effect*. The Catholics to take an oath to be framed for securing their allegiance, referring the point respecting sheriffs, and suggesting that Catholics are now admissible to corporations under an old law.

The Lord-Lieutenant's Despatch, dated 10th February, referred to in minutes of February 12th, states that the Catholics meant to request everything but admission to seats in Parliament.

On the 14th, the King received from Lord Grenville (without any accompanying letter) a despatch from

the Lord-Lieutenant, of the 11th, transmitting an Irish newspaper containing an account of the proceedings at the Catholic meeting of the 9th. Keogh's speeches most violent and inflammatory. As the matter now stands, his Excellency doubts whether any concession will keep back the petitions; that, indeed, the Irish Chancellor conceives that if the three points mentioned in the first despatch were granted, and a fourth, viz., the capacity to be made King's counsel, their further proceedings would be stopped; but the Lord-Lieutenant declares his sentiments to be decidedly adverse to any unbecoming compromise, which *would only betray weakness, and give no security for the future.* If his Majesty's Ministers should be disposed to make any concessions on this occasion, his Excellency suggests the propriety of their merely stating generally that it was their intention to offer certain proposals, for the consideration of Parliament, which should afford the Catholics relief,—without entering into any particulars.

Mr. Elliott, in a private letter of the same date, thinks a resolution will be taken at the next meeting of the Catholics, to present a petition on the 17th.

On the 21st February, Lord Spencer sent to the King despatches from the Lord-Lieutenant, of the 17th, and 18th. Communications had been made to the Catholics that the admission respecting military promotion was not of the nature of a compromise, but one intended previous to any knowledge of their intentions to petition. Some conversation about corporations and the bank. Mr. O'Connor asked, whether it was intended that Catholics should be

employed as generals on the staff? Mr. Elliott replied he understood it to stipulate the admission to any military commission.

No further observations made; but the deputation said they would communicate what had passed to the committee.

Lord Spencer sent the above despatches without observation.

On the 28th of February, the King received despatches from the Lord-Lieutenant, of the 25th, in which was stated the result of the meeting of the Catholics in Dublin, on the 24th.

On the 3d of March the King received from Lord Howick (in the absence of Lord Spencer) a copy of the proposed clauses, together with a draft of a despatch to the Lord-Lieutenant, transmitting them. They were unaccompanied by any observations, although, upon reading them, *they appeared materially to differ from those originally submitted to the King*; inasmuch as they admitted of the employment of Dissenters of all descriptions, including Catholics, *in all ranks of the army and navy*.

His Majesty returned them without any observation, considering that to be superfluous, after having declared so positively in his letter of the 12th of February, to Lord Grenville, that he would not go one step further, &c. The King, however, repeated that declaration verbally to Lord Howick, in London, on the following day, the 4th, when it appeared that Lord Howick had, in the intermediate time, sent off the despatch.

CHAPTER X.

1800.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. ROSE, LORD MULGRAVE, SIR LUCAS PEPYS, LORD CLIFFORD, THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN, LADY HESTER STANHOPE, LORD WELLESLEY, SIR WALTER SCOTT, THE DUKE OF YORK, MR. STURGES BOURNE, LORD MALMESBURY, AND SIR ANDREW S. HAMMOND.

[THE letters of public interest at the beginning of this year are not very numerous. The first is from Lord Mulgrave, then First Lord at the Admiralty, to whom Mr. Rose and Mr. Canning had been suggesting an augmentation of certain salaries: a proposition which he firmly and reasonably resists. But his temper was much tried at a later period, by a complaint made against him by the querulous Sir Andrew Hammond, who chose to consider himself treated with marked injustice by the promotion of two officers as Commissioners of the Navy, and by what he called being deprived of his Flag. When the facts are explained by Lord Mulgrave, no one but Sir Andrew could wonder at the indignation excited by the charge; and the resentment which he displays only shows how ill qualified most men are to be judges in their own cause.

Then follows a lamentation that Dr. Jenner would

not accept the office of Director of the Vaccine Institution. It does not appear what was his reason for declining it. It might be that it would too much interfere with his practice ; or it might be some jealousy of him amongst his brethren, which perhaps the annals of the College could explain. But certainly it does seem a just subject of regret, that the author of that valuable system should not have directed its first operations. Lord Clifford gives some account of his ancestor who signed the secret treaty, by which the worthless Charles II. sold his faith to Louis XIV. for a sum of money. He also furnished a copy of the treaty itself, which was published for the first time by Mr. Rose, in his " Observations on the Historical Work by Charles James Fox." That profligate monarch had too much sense to attempt to compromise his people ; but to himself it was a matter of perfect indifference what religion he professed to hold.

At this time (1809), there were abuses going on in the disposal of ecclesiastical patronage, which go far to account for the lethargy which still entranced a large portion of the Church of England. The Bishop of Lincoln places at the disposal of Mr. Rose, for any suitable person, the curacy of Stony Stratford, without any explanation of what he meant by "suitableness," and without a hint of any anxiety for caution in the choice ; as if no other qualifications were required than such as might be needed for a beadle or a parish

clerk. In the next letter, Lady Hester Stanhope displays the fiery vigour of her character in her denunciation of the expedition to Walcheren, though commanded by her relation, Lord Chatham ; and of Mr. Frere, the minister of Madrid, for not co-operating more cordially with Sir John Moore, who died victorious at Corunna. The rest of the correspondence of this year illustrates the perplexities of the Cabinet, occasioned by the restlessness of Mr. Canning, who advanced through a covered way to spring a mine under the feet of Lord Castlereagh, and seriously shattered the Administration. The most remarkable events noticed are the resignation of the Duke of Portland, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Sturges Bourne, the vain attempt to form an alliance with the Opposition, and the offer of the important office of Chancellor of the Exchequer to Mr. Rose, which he declined.—Ed.]

LORD MULGRAVE TO MR. ROSE.

“ Admiralty, Feb. 4th, 1809.

“ MY DEAR ROSE,

“ It must be ever unpleasant to me not to accede at once to any measure proposed by you and by Canning ; more especially as I find the Memorial is in the hands of the clerks of the Council before I had an opportunity of answering your note.

“ Since I came into office I have proceeded on all questions of augmentation of salaries, on a strong impression of the importance of public economy, and

on a full conviction that the advance of any one salary does not rest there, but raises a cry of claim, founded upon relative duties and rank, with an air of justice from precedent; which involves either an excessive increase of charge to the public, or an imputation of harshness and injustice, against the person in authority, who rejects the authority of the precedent, and refuses the increase demanded. I feel how impossible it is for me to follow up the principle I have set out upon either with comfort to myself or advantage to the public, if I alone pursue it. Upon all the demands of clerks for increase of salary, I have consulted Perceval, to ascertain how far the general charges upon the funds of Government would be influenced by such increase; because I know that the advance in one department must be followed by a similar advance in every other. I relinquished, on the representation of Perceval, a most important, and almost necessary, measure of increasing the appointments of the *Naval* Lords of the Admiralty. I rejected the recommendation of the Commissioners of Naval Revision for the addition of £200 per annum to the Commissioners of the Navy, because I did not think that increase necessary, whilst so many eager candidates were pressing for the situation. If the Paymaster to the Treasurer of the Navy has his salary raised, will not the Commissioners of Victualling and Transport Boards, whose duties are so constant and laborious, especially the former, have a claim to a similar advance? I have refused the advance to the Commissioners at the Cape, as recommended by the Commissioners of Naval Re-

vision ; and in short I have consented to no increase of salary without being persuaded that proper persons could not be found without such increase ; and therefore, as far as my consent is required, I cannot give it, but upon that persuasion, in any case. I am aware that I have created much dissatisfaction by holding the public purse strings so close ; but it is from an apprehension that without very rigid economy we can neither retain the goodwill of the public, nor hold out against the perseverance and resources of the enemy.

“ Ever yours, sincerely,

“ MULGRAVE.”

MR. ROSE TO SIR LUCAS PEPPYS.

“ March 1st, 1809.

“ SIR,

“ I cannot return the enclosure to you without expressing my sincere regret at finding that Dr. Jenner has declined to accept the situation of Director of the National Vaccine Institution, which, in my conversation with him, he appeared to be anxious to obtain, that he might render the best possible service in his power to the public, in return for the liberal bounty bestowed upon him by Parliament ; and I will fairly own that the ground assigned by him for his determination has added considerably to my concern on the subject.

“ In proposing the address to his Majesty respecting Vaccine Institutions, I hoped to obtain the establishment of an institution in which the confidence of the public might be placed, for a fully satisfactory investigation of the benefits or dangers of that practice ; as well

as for the purpose of an immediate supply of proper vaccine matter being at all times afforded to every part of the kingdom.

“ In this view of the subject, it appears to me, that if Dr. Jenner had been allowed to guide the measure of the Board, however highly I think of his skill and integrity, it could hardly be expected that the public would have been as well satisfied with this decision as to the merits of the practice of which he was the first promoter, as they are likely to be, if the eminent members of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons who compose the Board shall have the direction in their own hands; although Dr. Jenner would probably have been extremely useful in assisting practitioners with his advice, and in bringing cases of an extraordinary nature properly and scientifically under consideration.

“ Under the disappointment arising from Doctor Jenner’s refusal, I am sure you, and the learned gentlemen who are acting with you, will take the best possible measures for repairing the inconvenience arising therefrom; it would therefore be presumptuous in me to attempt to afford you any advice for your conduct.”

LORD CLIFFORD TO MR. ROSE.

“ Hinchinbrook, April 11th, 1809.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I have compared the extract with the original treaty, and it appears to me to contain the substance with sufficient accuracy. I have added such passages, with pencil in the margin, as I conceived might be useful to you to form a more accurate judgment of

the whole. I am happy I had it in my power to assist in clearing up a transaction which has been much misrepresented, owing to the mystery with which it was conducted. The confidence my father placed in you entitled you to the same from me, and you had a further claim on me as a historian. I hope I may be allowed to add, that I am quite satisfied with the impartiality with which you have stated it to the public, and I beg you will accept my acknowledgments for the manner in which you have mentioned my ancestor. The prominent measure of his short administration was the subjugation of Holland; he looked upon the Dutch as our natural rivals in trade, and our most dangerous enemies at sea. Subsequent events have proved how far he was justified in his opinion. He embraced the Catholic religion in Holland when he accompanied the King, who seemed desirous of following his example, but was deterred by political considerations. To enable Charles to follow the dictates of his conscience was the object of the private article of the treaty in question. A friend of Mr. Fox applied to me, in his name, to know if I had any papers relating to the reign of James II. I told him I had not, but offered to let Mr. Fox see the treaty of 1670. He answered that his history did not go so far back, but, as a matter of curiosity, he should be glad to see it. He died, however, before I had an opportunity of showing it him.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your obedient humble servant,

“ CLIFFORD.

“I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you soon in London, when I will show you the original, and you may then judge whether it can be of any further use to you or the public. As I think I have not been sufficiently explicit in the abstract I have given of the preamble, I send it you at full length, that you may shape it to your own ideas.”

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“Buckden Palace, May 12th, 1809.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“In consequence of information which I have this morning received from Mr. Archdeacon Heslop, in addition to what I knew before, I had thought it my duty, and a very painful one it is on many accounts to my feelings, to write to Mr. Strutt to say that I am ready to accept his offer of resigning the perpetual curacy of Stony Stratford. My secretary, Mr. Hodgson, will send him the form of resignation from London by to-morrow night’s post. I am anxious that the business should be completed before my visitation at Newport-Pagnell, which would be his place of appearance on the 23d. I will not dwell upon this subject for your sake, as well as my own.

“As this vacancy was not expected, the preferment is, of course, at liberty; and allow me to say that if you have any friend suited to the situation for whom you wish to make a provision, I shall have great pleasure in accepting your recommendation.”

LADY HESTER STANHOPE TO MR. ROSE.

Sept. 13th, 1809.

“DEAR MR. ROSE,

“Have not events proved how just was the abuse I bestowed upon Lord Chatham and upon Ministers, and what a day of judgment to them will be the meeting of Parliament? I always say to you, if I speak at all, just what I think, just what I wish, and you never take anything ill; therefore, I shall tell you at *once*, that after deep consideration, I cannot help feeling uneasy at the prospect of your suffering in the eyes of the world for the faults committed by your party. They must fall, ere long, branded with infamy; and I wish to God, as you have no love for office, that you would not disguise your disapprobation when a proper opportunity offers to publicly demonstrate it. I can have no interest in what I am advising, but your welfare. If I am wrong, it is you who are to correct me, but do not blame the feeling which dictates these opinions.

“I must now thank you for having relieved the mind of the poor fidgety old man who was the subject of my last letter, which you must have received some time after date, as I find it missed one day’s post, being too late, and in the part of the world I was then in, it only comes in and goes out three times a week. Upon General Clinton’s mission being at an end, James came down to see me. We spent some time at home, and since then we have been to Swansea. He has just left me to relieve Lord A. Somerset, and I am again

become a wanderer. I am now writing from an inn, a stage from Margam, the most beautiful place I have ever seen ; though the house has been pulled down, if the new one Mr. Talbot talks of building equals the grounds in beauty and magnificence, Margam will certainly be the most delightful residence in his Majesty's dominions. As Mrs. and Miss Rose are so fond of plants, it would be almost worth their while to take a journey on purpose to look at those at Margam. Some of the old orange-trees were wrecked upon the coast in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and are now so hardy, that they stand out from May till the end of October ; and one might almost fancy one-self in a grove in Italy, for I think there are more than six hundred of them : tulip-trees as large as fine oaks, and all the other flowering trees in proportion. I suppose Miss R. would tell me that a bay-tree was a *shrub* ; but when they grow *fifty-six* feet high, I think they can no longer be called so.

“I suppose you have read James Moore's book. It is interesting, because authentic ; but most shockingly written, to be sure. Two things he never should have done,—published Napier's conversations with the French generals, or left out one word in his brother's letters ; for all he said was *just*, and events will prove it to have been so.

“We already see that Sir A. Wellesley, who is famous for indulging his troops, speaks very harshly of the conduct of several officers ; and we shall also see, if we have not already seen *enough*, how useless it is to send more troops to Spain. Frere is certainly dis-

graced for ever. His birth was always, in my opinion, a sufficient reason against sending him ambassador to the proudest nation in the world. Nobody who knows him can deny he has talents; but conceit and indolence prevent their being turned to account: and since his conduct towards General Moore, I shall never be able to endure the sight of him. But Canning and he have both equally forgotten the respect due to those Mr. Pitt thought highly of; for had General Moore been General Don, they ought to have been the *last* persons in the world to have treated him as they did during his life; and to have forgotten the respect due to a soldier's memory, who lost his valuable existence endeavouring to repair their *most infamous blunders*. When I began, I meant only to write a short letter; but I have ceased to recollect I was writing, not speaking.

“ Believe me,

“ Yours, most sincerely,

“ H. S. S.

“ I cannot tell you at this moment where to direct to me.”

LORD WELLESLEY TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“ Donegal, at Sea, July 26th, 1809, lat. 49 N.

“ long. 6.30' W. 1 P.M.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I was highly gratified by your kind invitation to Cuffnells, of which I most readily should have availed myself if I had taken the route by Torbay;

but as I embarked at Portsmouth, it was not in my power to wait on you. I sailed on Monday, and we are proceeding very well. I find that the sea has been rather advantageous to my health. With a strong sense of your constant kindness to me, and with the most sincere respect and esteem,

“ Believe me to be,

“ My dear Sir,

“ Always your most faithful and humble servant,

“ WELLESLEY.”

MR. (*afterwards* SIR WALTER) SCOTT TO MR. ROSE.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I regret to observe from your note that a letter which I had long ago written to my friend, Mr. William Rose, had miscarried. The purport was to say, that the manuscript was quite at your service, and that I had it from the Buccleuch family, to make any use of I thought proper; and I know none so proper as placing it at your disposal. The grammar, &c. of the copy sent you seems to be inaccurate, but is exactly according to the original, which is still in my possession. Had I received the letter you mention, I would have brought the original to town with me.

“ I am, with great respect,

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your very faithful and obliged servant,

“ WALTER SCOTT.

“ Piccadilly, Tuesday.”

*Memorandum of a Letter to MR. ROSE respecting the
DUKE OF KENT'S Income.*

The Duke of Kent originally proposed to Lord Grenville, through Lord Melville and Mr. Adam, that the Parliamentary incomes of his brothers, and his own, should be made 15,000*l.* a year, clear of all deductions; and to those who had *not* the table, an allowance of 6,000*l.* per annum in lieu thereof, which Colonel Dalrymple intimated to be the corresponding value; and also to retain, as at present, the allowance of fuel, oil, and candles from the Lord Steward's department. And that a sum should be allowed to provide plate, china, earthenware, glass, household and table-linen, culinary utensils, &c. for those who had *not* the table, as a compensation for all the advantages enjoyed by those who had it. However, the present expectation falls short of *that*, for the utmost Lord Grenville seems disposed to propose, is an addition of 6,000*l.*; and it was even doubtful whether that may not be reduced to 5,000*l.* should the income of the late Duke of Gloucester, exclusive of what was granted him for the maintenance of his children, appear to have been only 17,000*l.* instead of 19,000*l.* or 21,000*l.* as it was conceived to be. As such, all that is to be done now, seems to be to ground the precedent on that income, and to urge its being granted to its full amount, free of deduction, be that what it will; and as the allowances are to be struck off, *that* would seem a fair plea for remitting the Income Tax. If the friends of the

old Administration, especially Mr. Rose, who is fully master of the subject, will urge this, and the outfit, which he always felt an unanswerable claim, no doubt it would be carried; *yet* it must originate with *them*, for with *Ministers* it will not.

THE DUKE OF YORK TO MR. ROSE.

“Stable Yard, July 29th, 1809.

“DEAR SIR,

“I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, and return you many thanks for the return of the number of deer fit to be killed this year in the New Forest, as likewise for the information relative to Burley Lodge, and the walks, late in the possession of the Duchess of Bolton, and which are now to be disposed of, for the remainder of her lease, by auction.

“It would be very desirable that the Treasury should make this purchase, as the greatest damage might be done to the New Forest, if it were to fall into improper hands; besides that it might be given as a lodge to the Warden instead of Lyndhurst; and I will not fail to make the necessary application accordingly.

“I have been credibly informed, to my great surprise, that Princess Sophia has let her lodge in the New Forest, and that the Duke of Gloucester means to do the same with Bolderwood, for which he asks 400*l.* per year, but will take 200*l.* if he cannot get more.

“I can suppose that they have the power to grant leave to their tenants to meet in their respective walks

without the consent of the Warden, but if they have not, I beg that it may be known that I will upon no account grant it.

“ I am ever, dear Sir,

“ Yours, most sincerely,

“ FREDERICK.

“ P. S. I cannot but highly approve of your proposal of sending a buck to Lord Morpeth.”

THE DUKE OF YORK TO MR. ROSE.

“ Stable Yard, August 20th, 1809.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Nothing but a severe indisposition, which has confined me for the last week, should have prevented me from acknowledging sooner the receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, by which I am very happy to learn that the Treasury has purchased Burley, and I am only waiting for the return of Mr. Adam to town, to apply for the possession of it, instead of Lyndhurst.

“ It seems very essential to enter into some agreement with Mr. Jenkinson, in order to prevent his shooting the deer which may stray upon his manor, and I shall most readily consent to any composition you may enter into with him.

“ I am so little in the habits of intimacy either with the Duke of Gloucester or his sister, Princess Sophia, that I do not know through what channel to endeavour to make them sensible of the impropriety of letting any lodge in the Royal forests. Indeed, one

might imagine, that a moment's reflection would point out to them the indecency of it.

“ Believe me ever, dear Sir,

“ Yours most sincerely,

“ FREDERICK.”

MR. W. STURGES BOURNE TO MR. ROSE.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ Holywell, Alton, Sept. 17th, 1809.

“ When I learned the miserable state of affairs in Downing Street, I anticipated the difficulties it might impose upon you; and I was glad to have an opportunity at Bedford, of preparing you for what you were to hear, that you might have some little time for reflection before it was disclosed. Till our meeting there, I knew not how far you might have been informed on the subject, or how far you had pledged yourself to Canning. With respect to myself, I owe to him my introduction to Mr. Pitt, Parliament, and public life, and have been attached by long intimacy, and generally confidential friendship. To no one of his colleagues have I the smallest obligation, nor for more than one or two, any particular respect, and to the King I am scarcely known. My feelings therefore (and in my unimportant situation, I have nothing else to consult) would at all times have prompted me to relinquish my post under such a Government, whenever Mr. Canning ceased to be one of its members, and on that principle I determined to follow him in the spring, when he announced to me the probability of his resignation. Not then, however,

thinking myself quite sufficiently informed to judge of the wisdom or propriety of his conduct, I should have acted quite in confidence, thinking him alone capable of deciding how far he ought to act with one of his colleagues. To the course he has now taken I was a perfect stranger till I heard it from Perceval, and though I have no scruple in saying to you, that if I had been on the spot, and thought worthy of being consulted, I should on many accounts have deprecated that course; yet consulting the feelings I have before stated, and being of no consequence to the Government, I cannot hesitate to abandon office, and perhaps Parliament, rather than be suspected by him, or even by my bitterest enemy, of having sacrificed obligations and friendship to the love of place.

“To you I also feel obligations which I am most anxious to consult; and if you should remain in office, and I should find myself prompted by any motive, which I do not now anticipate, to act inconsistently with those feelings, I should then be anxious to quit the House of Commons; and I feel, I assure you, without regret, that my public life (if I may dignify myself by such a term) is perhaps near its end. For I hate the rumour of party, and I see much of management in political matters which disgusts me. I need only instance that ruinous appointment by which the safety of a large army has been hazarded, the success of an important enterprise, and the credit of the country sacrificed, by selecting, from indirect motives I am sure, a man to conduct an expedition whom *all* those who consented to his appointment must have

felt to be the most unfit for that special service. Would that Canning had made his stand then ! Ill, however, as I think of an Administration that has so acted, I deeply regret that it should be *so* broken up ; and after deploring the situation of the King and country, I lament sincerely the predicament in which Perceval is placed ; his conduct being perfectly consistent in this transaction with the strict honour and integrity with which it has always been marked.

“ I have thus explained to you, with perfect openness, my own conduct and feelings, and I hope they may be sanctioned by your more experienced and sound judgment. With regard to yourself, it would be in me the most ridiculous presumption to offer you advice. There certainly is nothing in common in our situations, though I hope there may be in our feelings. You owe no obligation, but such as you have imposed on yourself, to any member of the Administration ; your station in the Government, your consideration in the country, your obligation and attachment to the King,—all distinguish your case as widely from mine as possible ; and you, I am sure, alone can judge what your own conduct ought to be, either with reference to your duty or inclinations.

“ That any Government which is to be formed from the ruins of that now dissolved, will stand in the utmost need of your assistance, I cannot doubt, who believe, that even unbroken, they could scarcely have defended themselves from the attack to which they have wantonly exposed themselves. But I confess I cannot conjecture where the materials are to be

found of which any fabric of an Administration can be constructed, and I fear it must ultimately fall into those hands which we least wish. In the mean time, I see the certainty of much distraction and the probability of much evil. I wish our fears may be visionary.

“At the proper time I shall be anxious to ascertain that my motives for quitting office are not misunderstood, particularly by Perceval. And I shall be happy to hear that you have come to that decision which will best satisfy yourself, and at least relieve you from the misery of a state of perplexity arising perhaps from a conflict between duty and inclination.

“Believe me, dear Rose, in all situations,

“Yours most truly,

“W. STURGES BOURNE.”

MR. ROSE TO MR. STURGES BOURNE.

“DEAR BOURNE,

“There is not a syllable in your letter that I did not expect to hear from you: and when I wrote on Friday to you, indeed till late in the day on Sunday, the inclination of my mind was so strong towards quitting office, that if I had been compelled to give a decisive answer then, it would certainly have been that I would do so.

I told you, I think, what passed on Friday with Perceval and Lord Bathurst. I heard nothing of Canning that day except a note, desiring me to dine with him the day following; which, under the existing

circumstances, I thought odd. I went, therefore, to Gloucester Lodge the next morning, when I had a full conversation with him, which was not *satisfactory* to me, as to the ground of his resignation; but my disposition to act with him was so earnest, that I left him with my desire to quit office very much the same as before. I conveyed that to him in a manner he could not mistake. He gave me the correspondence which had passed between him and his colleagues to read, which I brought away with me; and I got as low in it as Perceval's first communication (I think the 28th of August) respecting the Duke of Portland's resignation before I returned to the lodge to dinner. No alteration in my opinions, or rather in my feelings, had taken place then. Mr. Bagot dined with us, and the conversation during the afternoon must have led Canning to expect there had been no change in those; but I told him expressly I would not decide till I should see my son, who I thought would be likely to come up the next day (Sunday).

“ He allowed me to take back the remainder of the papers, from the end of August, that I might read them attentively. George arrived on Sunday morning, to whom I repeated the substance of what I had before written to him respecting the state of my mind. I then finished reading the correspondence; on which subject it is unnecessary to go into a long detail with you of *all* that has passed in the course of my reflections upon it, between my son and me; it is sufficiently distressing and painful to state the results. With the most anxious and earnest wish, manifested as you know in repeated

instances beyond all possibility of doubt, to act with Canning, I do feel it quite impossible to be a party to breaking up the Government, because he failed in obtaining the situation of First Lord of the Treasury, when Perceval (the other competitor) would have acquiesced in Canning's naming a third person; for in substance, though not positively in words, his concession went that length. I do wrong, indeed, in describing Perceval as a competitor, for, in truth, he disclaimed from the beginning the remotest intention of looking to the situation; admitting that such a pretension on his part could not be acquiesced in by Canning. How deeply is it to be deplored, that in a crisis like this, when ardent attempts are making by the Jacobins to break in upon all Government, that those whose first duty it is to protect it, should sacrifice that sacred duty to views of personal ambition; which views are in more danger of being defeated by the common enemy than by rivals for power!

“ My decision, I most solemnly declare, is one of judgment against strong feelings; and having taken it, I will neither look prospectively nor retrospectively, but rest myself contented with a full conviction that I am acting upon principles which, if known, can neither discredit me nor those who are to come after me. I am writing, however, with an aching heart, arising from convulsed agitations, such as I never experienced on political matters.

“ You know me well enough, I am sure, to believe me when I say, that the first hour in which I can

retire will be infinitely the happiest of my life, as connected with political matters ; and I think *it very likely* that *that* will occur in the course of a week.

“ I am, dear Bourne,

Very truly and faithfully yours,

“ G. ROSE.

“ Old Palace Yard, Sept. 19th, 1809.

“ Concessions were made to Mr. Canning by the King and the other ministers, such as I verily believe were never made before to any subject in this country. I have not to this moment mentioned my determination to a human being except to George ; but am going to the painful and distressing task of communicating it to Canning.”

LORD MALMESBURY TO MR. ROSE.

“ Bath, Oct. 20th, 1809.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I received very sincere pleasure from your letter of the 17th, which found me just as I was leaving for this place, where I propose remaining a week for the purpose of bathing.

“ At any period of my life, and with the principles on which I have endeavoured to regulate my public conduct, I could not act or think differently from what I said to my good friend your son.

“ I lament extremely the loss of Canning’s abilities, and still more the idea, after that intimate and friendly intercourse, which from his earliest days has subsisted between us, that there should be even a shade of difference in our political conduct. It is my anxious wish,

that time and reflection may bring him to view the state of public affairs in a different light from what he now appears to do, and restore him to that set of friends with whom he has already acted, and who know how to value his talents and character. I feel convinced Mr. Pitt would have entertained the same sentiments as those I express, and this conviction confirms me in them.

“It is amongst one of my first wishes to see you, my dear Sir, fill a higher situation in his Majesty’s councils than the one you now hold. There is one for which you, and perhaps you alone, are peculiarly fit, and which they ought to *solicit* you to accept. Since the conclusion of the Austrian peace with France, we must look to even more arduous times than any we have yet experienced. The great burden of the war is now coming on us, and every individual in the country is called on and bound to exercise his power, small or great, in support of a contest the issue of which will be as important to his individual well or ill being as it will to the preservation, safety, and security of the community at large.

“Believe me, my dear Sir,

“Most sincerely and faithfully yours,

“MALMESBURY.”

LORD MULGRAVE TO MR. ROSE.

“Admiralty, December 2d, 1809

“DEAR ROSE,

“The reproaches which you have transmitted to me from Sir Andrew Hammond are an additional and

pre-eminent proof of the impossibility of finding a candid and dispassionate consideration of his own case, from any man, however capable of a sound and discreet judgment in other matters. Anybody, not informed of the actual state of the affair, and reading Sir Andrew Hammond's address to you, would suppose that the promotion of Admiral Hamilton and Sir Charles Thompson had been given as matter of personal partiality and favour, and under the pretence of their peculiar and distinguished merit as Commissioners of the Navy, and that thereby a *marked injustice* had been done to the meritorious services of Sir Andrew Hammond, by *depriving* him of his flag. Such is the charge, if it is anything. What is the fact? On the event of the 50th anniversary of the King's reign a promotion is made, not on the score of merit, not on the ground of selection, not on the principle of claim, but as a mere act of grace; taking without exception the senior officers of each rank *on the Navy List*. Admiral Hamilton and Sir Charles Thompson had a right to make their option, in an *ordinary* promotion, between their professional rank and their official situation. Such an option would have been no act of grace. An act of grace was intended to the senior *officers on the List*, of each rank. No inquiry was even made whether officers had served during the two last wars, but the name *on the List* at that peculiar time, and at that unexpected celebration of the event, was the passport to promotion. Sir Andrew Hammond, under other circumstances, had put it out of my power to *deprive* him of his flag, by having *voluntarily relinquished* it for his civil situation.

Nay, he had put it out of my power to *give* him his flag. His name being removed from the List of the Navy, an order from the King in Council could alone place him on the List of Admirals. No such list was made for others because they were actually on the List and eligible for promotion. And this is the 'marked injustice'—this is the way in which Sir Andrew Hammond 'has been deprived of *his* flag.' Of all the unreasonable complaints, of all the unjust reproaches to which I have been exposed by the unreasonable expectations of over-rated claims, this is the most groundless, harsh, and offensive, that I have ever had to digest; and I leave *you* to judge of the impression it must make, coming to *me* in the guise of the *first complaint* of a tried friend of Mr. Pitt.

"The knighthood of Captain Staines I have mentioned to Mr. Perceval, and it will be submitted to his Majesty.

"Ever yours, sincerely,

"MULGRAVE."

SIR ANDREW S. HAMMOND TO MR. ROSE.

"Terrington, 6th December, 1809.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have had too much experience of your friendship and regard not to be perfectly certain, that whenever you move in any matter that concerns me, it is with a hearty and sincere wish to render me service. I therefore beg you will accept my best thanks for your late communication to Lord Mulgrave (whose letter to you I herewith return). At the same

time I cannot help expressing my regret in the present instance, that what was meant as a private statement to a friend, of my feelings at being deprived of my flag when others were in possession of it, under circumstances which had been a bar against me, should have drawn from Lord Mulgrave such a tirade of invective against me. I never meant to charge *him* with having deprived me of my flag, or to have conceived that it was in his power to have given it to me in the ordinary course of things; knowing perfectly well that if I thought proper to move in the matter, the only road was by a memorial to the King in Council. I knew enough of Lord Mulgrave's hasty and petulant disposition not to put a question of that sort into his hands until his brother Cabinet Ministers had been canvassed, and the King prepared for it by Lord Chatham, who is well aware that he was the cause of my allowing the first promotion to pass by me.

“I, therefore, shall be glad if you have an opportunity of undeceiving his Lordship, and explaining that all he has said was perfectly unnecessary and unprovoked on my part; but at the same time, if I am allowed by you to consider his letter as a public communication to me, I shall certainly tell him how indignant I feel at the charge of ‘*over-rated*’ claims more groundless, *harsh*, and *offensive* than he has ever before had to digest,’ being applied to me.

“You must allow, my dear Sir, that I cannot fail of being hurt at these expressions. As to the thing itself, it shall never give me a thought more, I mean the flag. But why the occasion of the late promotion

could not have been stated without venting abuse upon me is quite extraordinary, and ought not to pass over.

“Ever, my dear Sir,

“Your faithful and affectionate humble servant,

“A. S. HAMMOND.”

[Mr. Rose was always anxious to obtain employment for his eldest son, the father of General Sir Hugh Rose. He had more than once before enumerated his qualifications and described his early training for office; and he now shows how those qualifications were appreciated by former Ministers, and grounds thereon a fresh application to Lord Wellesley, who was at the Foreign Office, for a mission to some foreign court.—ED.]

“MR. ROSE TO THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

“Old Palace Yard, December 19th, 1809.

“MY DEAR LORD,

“I have forbore to break in upon you since your arrival, knowing that Lord Bathurst had most kindly suggested to you his intentions respecting my son, and what his objects are, thinking it much better to leave him in your hands, with a full knowledge of these, than to pester you with any specific application. My sole motive for troubling you now is, that I think it desirable on my leaving town for a month, to entreat your attention to a further short statement relative to my son, as I shall not have an opportunity of making

any personally in the event of anything occurring during my absence. You have already the account of his education to qualify him for any business in the Foreign Department.

“ Lord Grenville, from the account he had of him from Lord Auckland (under whom he became conversant with all the details and forms of business, as well as initiated in all the confidential correspondence of Europe), sent him at two-and-twenty to Berlin as *Chargé d’ Affaires*; where Lord Malmesbury being for a month or two on a special mission, contracted a friendship for him, and gave him the highest commendations; though just before that time I had succeeded in an important political struggle against his Lordship. My son returned from thence, after a residence of thirteen months, in a dangerous state of health. Some time after that, Lord Bute proposed to him to go as Secretary to the Embassy to Spain, from character only, for he had no personal acquaintance with him; but he was then on the point of marriage, and declined it.

“ Circumstances, of a private nature, not worth troubling your Lordship about, prevented his being employed till the change of Government in 1801; when Mr. Pitt applied to Lord Hawkesbury, who in the kindest manner offered him the mission to Copenhagen or Stockholm immediately, or to Naples when it should be vacant. His health prevented his hesitating a moment about making his election for the latter, as a northern climate would have been fatal to him. But before there was an opening at Naples, the discussion

on the peace took place, and on that question neither my son nor myself voted with the Government : after which he thought he could not honourably accept a favour from a leading member of it. He, therefore, went to the Continent and resided at different Courts for nearly two years, to qualify himself further for the line in which he had engaged. Two years ago, Mr. Canning sent him to America on a special mission ; who was so well satisfied with his conduct, that he requested him last winter to return there on another special mission, which he had agreed to do, and was prepared to embark, when the account of the confusion created by Mr. Erskine arrived, which rendered it necessary to send a permanent embassy.

“ In agreeing to return to America, at the instance of Mr. Canning, my son suppressed the feelings which were excited in his mind by the selection of Mr. John Villiers for Lisbon, whose merits were certainly not conspicuous, and who had quitted Mr. Pitt in a manner altogether unaccounted for.

“ I will only add Lord Malmesbury’s expression respecting my son in January last : ‘ He is indisputably better qualified than any one who has lately been selected for the Foreign Duties.’ And that his Majesty condescended to express himself quite as favourably about my son years ago. I believe, indeed, he mentioned him with approbation to Lord Bathurst. When you have thrown your eye over the enclosures, pray let them be returned to me, directed Cuffnells, Hants, where I go on Thursday morning.”

CHAPTER XI.

1809.

MR. ROSE'S DIARY FROM SEPTEMBER TO DECEMBER, 1809—HE REFUSES
THE OFFICE OF CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER—CHANGE OF
ADMINISTRATION.

[IN passing from the correspondence to the diary of this year, we find the same ground travelled over again with respect to the plot against Lord Castlereagh, but with more minuteness of detail, especially in the notes which are appended to it—notes which were taken by Mr. Rose from the correspondence placed in his hands by Mr. Canning himself, though contrary to the intention of the lender. They determined him to take an unfavourable view of that gentleman's conduct, and, instead of sharing his fortunes, to separate from him and support the Government. It may be thought that his whole family combining to urge him to retain his office may have had more than its fair share of influence in that determination. But it is certain that his own feelings were strongly enlisted on the side of Canning, to whom he had been linked by a long community of friendship with Mr. Pitt; and it is scarcely possible to read these notes without coming to the same conclusion that Canning preferred his own

ambition to the good of his country. But since the editor of the Castlereagh papers, published only ten years ago, imputed all the blame, though he abstained from expressing it in all the gravity which he thought it deserved, to Canning, and seemed to think his brother quite justified in challenging him to fight a duel on that account, it is but due to truth and to the memory of that eminent man to say, that the concealment of which the other complained was not his fault, as the correspondence plainly shows. It was the effect of mistaken kindness on the part of his other colleagues, who were unwilling to lose him, and so little understood the character of Canning, that they could not perceive the necessity of sacrificing either the one or the other. In vain they devised scheme after scheme to bring about an accommodation ; in vain they postponed their decision till after the expedition to Walcheren, in the hope that a successful issue would render it impossible to remove the ministers who had conducted it ; in vain they prevailed upon the Duke of Portland to resign, in the hope that a vacancy in the Cabinet would give room for ample accommodation. But they reckoned without their host. The failure of the expedition strengthened the argument against Lord Castlereagh ; the resignation of the Duke only gave rise to new difficulties, for Canning would not give way to Perceval. And on the other side, the long concealment became a grave offence when it was no longer possible.

The procrastinating policy, however well intended, was disastrous to the Government, and in their fear of losing one of these statesmen they lost both. But the duel was quite unjustifiable. All duels indeed are unjustifiable; but even judged by the low standard of the code of honour, this duel was unjustifiable; for it was proved to the challenger that the alleged cause of offence had no existence; that the concealment was not to be visited on Mr. Canning; that he might with better justice on that ground have fought Lord Camden or Perceval, or the Duke of Portland. But his resentment got the better of him, and he would not be pacified. The mischief, however, of giving way to it did not end there. The Christian maxim was too sadly verified, that "he who hateth his brother is a murderer."

The code of worldly honour used to demand that each of the combatants should risk his life; but a single exchange of shots satisfied that demand, and he who persists in fighting contrary to the advice of his seconds betrays a thirst for blood. He seeks not to display his courage but to obtain a sanguinary revenge. If the second bullet had pierced Mr. Canning's heart, who could have acquitted his adversary of murder? Amidst many revolting features in the complexion of these times, it is some consolation that that wicked folly is now exploded.

The opinion about this quarrel in the Cabinet expressed by Mr. T. Grenville, a popular person, and

living in the first society of London, shows how much the best-informed men, not in office, may be mistaken in their conjectures of what is going on, though they may be correct enough in their estimate of character. He writes to his brother in the month of July thus:—“There are dissensions in the Cabinet of a very serious nature, so much so that my opinion is that resignation will be the result immediately, and that Lord Liverpool and Perceval are amongst those who will resign. The alleged cause of all this fracas is said to be Canning’s enterprising spirit, who will have everything his own way.” The same writer observes afterwards, that if Mr. Canning would have been satisfied without turning out his rival, the assistance of Lord Wellesley might have been obtained, and the clashing of the departments obviated by the generous offer of Lord Camden to resign the Presidency of the Council to him, and the proposal to combine the War Department with that for Foreign matters; thus transferring it to Canning from Lord Castlereagh, who was to be left in possession of that for the Colonies. But Canning refused to accede to that arrangement; and this was afterwards attributed to an unaccommodating pertinacity in dictating to his colleagues, and a close attention to his own personal consequence.

But the best and most impartial character of Canning is that given by one of the most eminent of modern statesmen, M. Guizot.¹ He describes him as

¹ *Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel*, pp. 24, 32.

“a man of free and noble mind, full of impulse, and but little troubled with scruples respecting principles, or traditions. Skilful in discovering what concessions must be made to the liberal feelings of the people, in order to gain their favour, he was far better adapted for movement than resistance; and the flexible innovator was always perceptible behind the eloquent conservative. He stood in the midst of his colleagues an isolated and suspected man.”

The Diary goes on to relate the ineffectual attempt made to fill up the gap made in the Cabinet by this defection (which left them very defenceless in the House of Commons), by an alliance with the Whigs; but that party had taken the Roman Catholics under their protection, and would not unite with those who differed from them. Lord Grenville, who had more real tenderness for the King's feelings than his outward manner indicated, might have consented; but Lord Grey's brusque refusal to move from Howick was an insuperable obstruction. Then follows a long review of the financial position of the country, which makes it unnecessary to print a separate treatise upon the same subject, which was presented to Mr. Perceval. Mr. Rose was much gratified by Lord Wellesley calling on him as soon as he returned from Spain and promising to befriend his son.—ED.]

Diary, September, 1809.—In the month of April, soon after Easter, Mr. Canning made a confidential

communication to me, under the strictest injunction of secrecy, respecting what had passed between the King, the Duke of Portland and himself, relative to a part of the business of the War Department, mixed to a certain extent with diplomatic matters, being transferred to the Foreign Office, on account of serious inconvenience having been experienced lately on the subject; or that Lord Wellesley should be appointed to the former, in lieu of Lord Castle-reagh. And in consequence thereof, I had assured Mr. Canning that if that arrangement was not made satisfactorily to him, I would resign with him.

A correspondence took place between Lord Bathurst and me in the latter end of August, continued to the second week in this month, in which an anxious wish was expressed, in the name of the Cabinet, for my going to Walcheren, in order to settle measures which should be immediately taken, and to advise future ones for making that island as available as possible for carrying on an extended commerce to all the northern parts of Europe; and I having agreed to go there, the *Nyaden* frigate was ordered to the Nore, to receive me on board. But on the 7th, I received a letter from Mr. Canning expressing much anxiety to see me; and in a day or two afterwards, one from Lord Bathurst, in the same style; the latter suggesting that the Walcheren business did not now press.

Thursday, September 14th.—Having therefore settled the election for mayor, at Christchurch, satisfactorily, and finished the business of the Swanimote Court at

Lyndhurst ; this day, I left Cuffinells in the afternoon, and slept a few hours at Bagshot.

Friday, September 15th.—In the morning, very early, stopping to change horses at Bedfont, I saw Mr. Bourne in the inn, returning from London, where he had been called by a letter from Mr. Perceval. From him I learned, for the first time, that Mr. Canning had resigned, or was determined immediately to do so, in consequence of the Duke of Portland having retired, from the necessity he found himself under on account of irrecoverable ill health, and of the difficulties arising from that in making any arrangement which could be satisfactory to Mr. Canning, who thought he should lead the House of Commons. My conversation with Mr. Bourne was very short ; but, in the course of it, he told me his determination was to give up his seat at the Board of Treasury, as his introduction into office was through Mr. Canning, to whom also he owed his first seat in Parliament, through the friendship of Mr. Pitt ; which determination was accompanied, however, by expressions of obligations to me for the liberal way in which I had repeatedly brought him in for Christchurch, without putting one guinea into my own pocket.

I arrived in town before nine o'clock, and found on my table notes from Lord Bathurst and Mr. Perceval, desiring to see me. Not a line from Mr. Canning ! I saw the former first, from whom I learned that for some time past the Duke of Portland's health had declined so fast that, although he had recovered from a severe attack upon him lately, it was thought by his

family, as well as by his Grace, to be quite impossible for him to go on in office, and that he had therefore given in his resignation to his Majesty on the 6th of this month; previously to which a correspondence had taken place between Mr. Canning and Mr. Perceval respecting an arrangement to be made for filling the Duke's place; in which was mixed the business of Lord Castlereagh and the Foreign Department; namely, a new arrangement of that, or for Lord Wellesley to succeed to it. That, in order to avoid, as far as possible, any inconvenience from a rivalry between Mr. Perceval and Mr. Canning, the former had proposed a third person, in the House of Lords, to be at the head of the Treasury, and himself to remain Chancellor of the Exchequer. With this Mr. Canning was not satisfied, and had determined to retire; which naturally led to an anxious wish on the part of the remaining Ministers to ascertain what line those more closely connected with the Government would pursue. Having listened attentively to his Lordship's statement, I told him I had in no instance in my life been taken more entirely by surprise than in that; as, with the exception of the short conversation I had with Mr. Bourne, at Bedford, I had not heard one syllable on the subject, nor, indeed, had entertained the remotest suspicion of any change in the Government, beyond that already alluded to in the War Department; and a successor being found for the Duke of Portland, whenever he should retire, which, on the ground of his health, I had lately thought could not be far off; and that, on talking with my family on the latter event, before I

left Hampshire, I expressed a decided opinion that the best thing that could possibly be done would be to place either his Lordship or Lord Harrowby at the head of the Treasury. But that, in the present state of things, for myself, having been in confidential intercourse with Mr. Canning (not then suggesting that it had been confined entirely to one specific point), the strong inclination of my mind was towards resigning; but that, in a case of so much importance, I would take some time to consider of it, and would not ultimately decide upon it till I could advise with my son, whose future prospects in political life might probably depend upon the line now to be taken by me, and to whom I had written in a manner likely to induce his coming up.

I then went to Mr. Perceval, from whom I had the same sort of narrative, somewhat more in detail. I learned from him that Mr. Canning had an objection to a third person, from the House of Peers, being at the head of the Treasury, as Mr. Perceval admitted that, in such case, he, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, must have more power, as derived from patronage, than he has hitherto had, which would give him a more decided lead in the House of Commons, and leave him (Mr. Canning) in a more inferior relative situation there than he ought to be placed in. In the course of the conversation, I understood Mr. Perceval that Mr. Canning had given him an expectation that he would not oppose the Government on his retiring from office. Mr. Perceval then expressed great anxiety to know what I should do, to which I answered exactly

as I had done to Lord Bathurst. He seemed affected, and lamented in strong terms that he had lost Mr. Bourne, and was likely to lose me.¹

On my return home, I found a letter from Mr. Canning, desiring me *to dine with him the next day*, at Gloucester Lodge.

Saturday, September 16th.—Being desirous of learning all I could, that ought to influence my conduct, before the post went out, in order to make a full communication to my family in the country, I went out to Mr. Canning in the morning, who, in the course of two hours, went through everything that had passed from the spring, referring to former conversations on the subject of the War Department, and Lord Castle-reagh and Lord Wellesley as connected therewith; complaining much of the delay that had taken place in that arrangement. But the principal ground of complaint made by him was, that Mr. Perceval had prevailed with the Duke of Portland to resign without any previous concert with him, which had produced the present embarrassment, partly by mixing the other arrangement with it, which ought to have been settled some time ago, separately and unconnected with anything else, but principally from the difficulty of filling the Duke's place. That he (Mr. Canning) was persuaded there should be *a Minister*, not an *elective* one,

¹ At this time he certainly knew nothing of Mr. Huskisson's intention of quitting the Secretaryship of the Treasury. In the conversation, I told him distinctly that in any arrangements he could make for a strong Government, my office (even in the event of my not resigning now) would most cheerfully be given up to his disposal.

and that *that* Minister should be in the House of Commons ; that he was aware Mr. Perceval would not, indeed could not, yield that situation to him ; and, on the other hand, it could hardly be expected he should yield it to Mr. Perceval. That in such a dilemma, therefore, the only resource was for him to resign. I first mentioned to him what I understood from Mr. Perceval yesterday, respecting his (Mr. Canning's) intention of not opposing the Government, thinking it material there should be no misconception on that point between them ; and he assured me he had held out no such expectation, having confined himself to general assurances of good-will towards Mr. Perceval, and of taking no offensive course in matters which *personally* interested the King. I then told him plainly that I thought he had taken a very wrong course, reminded him of conversations, in the last two years, of mine, dissuading him from thinking of placing himself at the head of the 'Treasury, and related to him the opinion I had expressed to my family in the country of my opinion as to Lord Harrowby or Lord Bathurst being at the head of the Treasury, to avoid the consequences of rivalry between himself and Mr. Perceval. I assured him, however, that my inclination was to take my line with him, and, at his desire, I took away with me all the papers which had passed in the correspondence between himself, the Duke of Portland, Lord Liverpool, and Mr. Perceval. I stated to him, however, in the clearest and strongest terms, my attachment to the King, for favours received and kindness repeatedly

experienced, and the reluctance I should feel in doing anything that would in any degree distress his Majesty; who, independently of all personal considerations, was entitled, in the present state of things, to the steadiest attachment that could be manifested to him. Mr. Hammond, the Under Secretary of State, brought me in his carriage, and was the bearer of a letter to Mr. Perceval, explaining his intentions as to his conduct out of office, in the manner he had done to me, with respect to parliamentary support.

In the interval, between my return from Gloucester Lodge and going there again to dinner, I read as many of the papers as my attendance at the Committee of Trade, and writing letters, would permit me, which carried me down to the letter of Mr. Perceval to Mr. Canning, of the 28th of August, which was the commencement of the correspondence relative to the Duke of Portland retiring from office. When I went back to dinner, I carried the whole of the papers with me, but Mr. Canning insisted upon my keeping them subsequent to where I had left off in the earlier part of the day. Mr. Charles Bagot, the Under-Secretary, and Mr. Planta, Mr. Canning's private secretary, dined with us. Soon after dinner, the latter withdrew, and Mr. Canning showed me Mr. Perceval's answer to his letters respecting his intended parliamentary conduct out of office, about which there had been some misunderstanding by Mr. Perceval. The conversation was confidential to a certain extent, but led to no disclosure of who Mr. Canning expected to act with him, as I repeated my determination not

to decide on my own conduct till I should see my son, and my desire of reading the remainder of the papers.

Mr. Canning, and the two gentlemen who dined with us, walked on with me to Hyde Park Corner, where Mr. Bagot and I separated from Mr. C., and Mr. P. and I walked on to the top of St. James's Street with Mr. Bagot, who seemed desirous of learning whether the King had any disinclination towards Mr. Canning; to which I answered that, as far as I was capable of forming a judgment, I believed he had not; and I repeated to him, what I had said to Mr. Canning, that I would take no determination till I should see my son. He would, however, I am persuaded, infer from my conversation that the inclination of my mind was decidedly towards Mr. Canning.

Sunday, September 17th.—I read the remainder of the correspondence from the 28th of August through with the most careful attention; and the impression left on my mind strongly was as follows:—That the Duke of Portland's resignation was become necessary, and that his family would not have been satisfied with his longer continuance in office; but that it had been brought about without sufficient communication with Mr. Canning, who had, some months ago, had some discussions with his Grace on the subject; some assignable difficulty also appeared to have interposed as to an increase of power to Mr. Perceval under a new First Lord of the Treasury, which would necessarily give him some further pre-eminence in the House of Commons. But the important point to which the breach that had unhappily taken place was

to be imputed, was the claim of Mr. Canning to be the leader of the House of Commons, attainable only by his being First Lord of the Treasury. Just as I had finished reading these papers, and taking full notes from them, my eldest son came into my room from Southampton, into whose hands I put these notes, and afterwards gave him as faithful a narrative as I could of all that had passed with the different ministers I had seen. He had formed an opinion, previously to his having left the country, that I should not resign, in which Mrs. Rose, my younger son, my daughter, and Mrs. George Rose, all concurred heartily, from the statements made to them in letters from me of the 15th and 16th; in which opinion he was not shaken by having read the papers now, or rather the notes I had made from them, which were very full. My judgment coincided with his; but the partial confidence I had been in with Mr. Canning, though on a matter entirely distinct from and unconnected with this, put my feelings in a painful state of conflict with my judgment. In this state, without having had as full and satisfactory a discussion with my son as I wished, I went to dine with Lord Bathurst, to settle finally our official letters to Mr. Canning on the subject of the Brazil Treaty which I had written yesterday. Lord Harrowby came in to dinner; and the only conversation about matters depending was my saying that if I followed the dictates of my inclination it would be, that having had the misfortune (one I hoped never to have witnessed) to see a division of Mr. Pitt's friends,

to retire altogether, and to take no part with either. They carried me to Downing Street in the evening, where there was a Cabinet, on my way home.

I found my son at home, and went through with him every circumstance that had occurred, and all the bearings upon it; which more and more satisfied my judgment that I was not at liberty to indulge my feelings by a resignation of my office.

Monday, September 18th.—Having reflected most seriously, with the most attentive care, during a sleepless night, on the whole subject, giving the fullest consideration in my power to what line Mr. Pitt would have wished me to take if he had been living, and in a state unable to mix in political concerns, *I decided against resigning my office*; and then set out to communicate that to Mr. Canning, but in the Green Park was overtaken by a violent storm of rain, my son with me, that compelled us to take shelter under the trees between the wall of the Queen's garden and Constitution Hill, till near twelve o'clock, when it was too late to expect Mr. Canning would be found at home; I therefore determined to give up seeing him till to-morrow.

At the Board of Trade I met Lord Bathurst, who expressed some anxiety to know whether I had made up my mind on the point about which he and his colleagues were so anxious; and my answer was, that I would first communicate that to Mr. Canning before I did to any one else. We then transacted the ordinary business of the Board, and I returned home. Some time after that, his Lordship called upon me, to

say that it was of importance the Ministers should know my determination *then*, pressing me closely to decide ; on which I said, if I must *then* do so, he would take my determination for resignation ; that I was aware it might be material to them to be at a certainty about all persons nearly connected with the Government, but that no consideration should induce me to declare my intentions until I should see Mr. Canning. His Lordship then asked me if they might hope it was favourable to their wish ; and I replied I would not drop a hint even of what it was : consequently, I should have not the slightest ground of complaint if Mr. Perceval acted as if he had my resignation.

Tuesday, September 19th.—I went out to Mr. Canning at Gloucester Lodge, and communicated to him my purpose of not sending in my resignation, at which he was a good deal affected, but much more so at parting. The point on which I principally rested, was the impossibility of my being a party to his breaking up the Government on motives of personal ambition,—throwing the King, as far as depended upon him, on those who would be likely to deal hardly with him, to afford cause of triumph and exultation to the Jacobins, &c. ; detailing my reasons on each head, and assuring him most truly that I had taken my line with infinite reluctance. He again attempted, unsuccessfully, to justify his conduct to me ; observing, that if he had acquiesced in the appointment of a third person, he should have given up the lead in administration almost for ever, as Lord Bathurst or

Lord Harrowby were very little older than himself :— that he had no desire to suppress Mr. Perceval ; on the contrary, he had proposed his being made a peer and President of the Council, with the Duchy of Lancaster for life ; and still insisting that the latter, by driving on the Duke of Portland to a resignation,¹ had produced these difficulties, as his Grace might just as well have continued their nominal head, as he had for some time past. At the close of the conversation we parted, without a syllable having fallen from him in the course of it that conveyed the slightest shadow of blame on me for any part of my conduct ; but he took leave of me in the most affectionate manner possible. I should have observed that he for the first time expressed some surprise at the Ministers having taken it for granted that he had resigned ; though his letter to the King by no means expressed that, but submitted propositions to his Majesty on which he had not received any communication of his pleasure, either from himself or from the Duke of Portland.

¹ It will be seen in Lord Bathurst's letter to me, of Wednesday, the 20th, that he says,—“ That after the Duke's fit had shown how impossible it was for him to continue Minister ; and, after the explanation between Perceval and Canning, in which the latter gave him to understand that he would admit of no third person, Canning, without communication with Perceval, wrote to the Duke, calling upon him to execute *immediately* the change in the War Department. The Duke sent that letter to Perceval, asking his advice, and it was in answer to that letter that Perceval advised him to resign, as by that measure it was possible the change in the War Department might be made palatable amongst other arrangements incidental to the Duke's resignation. And the next day when the Duke came to town, he explained to his Grace what might possibly be the consequence of his resignation. It was not until after this explanation, and having seen Canning also, that the Duke resigned.

That he did not consider himself out of office ;—so far from it, he should call a Cabinet this day, and meet his colleagues as usual. That it was not his inclination to oppose the new Administration, but that he had heard it was the intention of the present Ministers to run at him, and that if they should do so he would make inveterate war upon them, which he had the means of doing, from the Convention¹ of Cintra (resting much upon that) downwards. That he had refused seeing Lord Chatham, who he supposed had grievances against the Ministers, till after the meeting of the Cabinet, and he had seen the King.

On my coming to town, I met Lord Bathurst at the Committee for Trade, and then communicated to him my resolution not to resign ; at which he expressed his own satisfaction in terms and in a manner that astonished me, and said he knew that his colleagues would feel not less delight at it. I explained to him that I had not delayed till then to do it from a wish to conciliate Mr. Canning to the measure, as I had stated to that gentleman my fixed determination to that end, at the very opening of the conversation with him ; and had acquainted my own family with it by yesterday's post ; but that I had a feeling towards

¹ Respecting that transaction itself, he certainly had just and strong ground of complaint against his colleagues. He was in Leicestershire when the account of it arrived, and, without waiting for his opinion on the subject, they sent off the son of Sir Hugh Dalrymple, who brought the account, with an unqualified approbation of the measure ; and Mr. Canning arrived in town just in time to have Captain Dalrymple stopped by telegraph on the road to Plymouth, and brought back to London, when a qualified censure was expressed on the Convention.

him which induced me to be desirous of making the communication to himself before I did to any one else whatever.

After the strongest and warmest expressions of satisfaction on the part of his Lordship, he went on to say, that as a proof of what he felt on the occasion, he would no longer have any sort of reserve with me; and then told me, that finding Mr. Canning bent on breaking up the Administration, they had turned their attention in every direction as to how they might strengthen themselves, and mentioned an overture to the Speaker, which he had declined. On which I observed that I was confident that *that* would not have done, and was persuaded that nothing short of a junction with Lord Grey and his friends, with whom I feared must be joined Lord Grenville and his friends (as the two would not be separated), could afford a hope of a strong Government. In this he concurred, and told me it was meant to be tried; for which purpose Mr. Perceval was going to Windsor, to ascertain whether the King could be brought to approve of the attempt being made; of which there was some doubt, as his Majesty entertained an insuperable dislike to Lord Grenville, though he would not object to Lord Grey. I observed, that unfortunately the King had no choice, but to decide whether he would permit Mr. Perceval to try what he could do by treating with Lord Grenville, or wait to be compelled to treat with his Lordship in his own person. Lord Bathurst consulted me in the most confidential manner on several points likely to arise in the progress of the discussion

between the parties—and mentioned many things that had occurred in the intercourse with Mr. Canning. Amongst others, that the latter had suggested to the Duke of Portland, by way of satisfying Mr. Perceval, that he should be made Lord Chancellor; which the Duke, in the simplicity of his heart, had accordingly proposed to the Chancellor, who was outrageous at it. That the King said he had made such concessions to Mr. Canning, unprecedented to any subject, *as would be highly uncreditable to him if they should ever be known*: and was therefore certainly not likely to make any more. That Mr. Huskisson adheres to Mr. Canning; and that Mr. Long had desired his office might be considered as at their disposal, under a conviction that they could not make a Government. That he (Lord Bathurst) considered himself out of office, as he was persuaded his would be wanted in the arrangement. That Lord Liverpool was desirous of giving his up to Perceval if the latter should not continue Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Castlereagh being out of office, I conjecture there will be disposable three Secretaryships of State, Secretary-at-War, and probably the Presidentship of the Council, Lord Camden, and the Privy Seal, Lord Westmoreland. Why not the Admiralty, Lord Mulgrave?—Wellesley Pole very firm, but doubtful about his brother the Marquis; who most likely will attach himself to Mr. Canning, in consequence of the stand he has made for him. Mr. Yorke extremely eager, but still restrained by his brother Lord Hardwicke.

Lord Bathurst told me that Mr. Canning's letter

to the King last week was not a resignation, but conveying an intimation that if he had his Majesty's approbation he could form an Administration !! Which explains his expressing surprise at his having been considered to have resigned.

Wednesday, September 20th.—In the *Morning Chronicle* of this day they say confidently that the only changes in contemplation are of persons in the Cabinet to new situations; and that Mr. Canning is to go to the Admiralty, which has long been the object of his ambition.

Lord Bathurst did not come down to Whitehall to-day, as he was to go to the levée at the Queen's house. He therefore wrote to me to say that the proposition for treating with Lord Grenville was received *less ill* than was apprehended; that nothing decisive was said; from whence it was conceived to be clear that the advice would be accepted. Perceval was very graciously received, and the overture to Mr. Canning wholly rejected.

I saw Mr. Long on a Pay-Office business, who confirmed to me the account I before had of his resignation, and said he had had no communication whatever with Mr. Canning.

Thursday, September, 21st.—On going to the Office for Trade, Sir Stephen Cotterell told me, there had been in the morning a duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, and that the latter was wounded, not dangerously, in the upper part of the thigh.

Lord Bathurst acquainted me that he had yesterday communicated to the King my determination, to

which I was greatly influenced by personal attachment to his Majesty, and that I had been very much led to and supported in that decision by my eldest son, warmly countenanced by the rest of my family ; at which his Lordship assured me his Majesty had expressed the highest sense of gratification, dwelling with peculiar satisfaction on the attachment of my son and family to him. The King has not acceded to any overtures being made to Lord Grenville, under an impression that a Government may be formed by Mr. Perceval and his remaining colleagues : a visionary expectation certainly, but not an unnatural one for his Majesty to entertain, from his extreme dislike to Lord G., and still more from having had positive assurances from Mr. Canning that *he* could, and would, undertake to form a Government without having recourse to Lord Grenville ; in which I can hardly conceive it possible he could be sincere,¹ because he could not expect any of his present colleagues to make a part of it, and he had no other quarter to look to, except Lord Sidmouth's friends, with whom he was at irreconcilable enmity, as Lord Grey is inseparable from Lord Grenville. These particulars the King could not have entered into ; and Mr. Canning having made such an offer, it is not surprising that it should produce an effect on his Majesty's mind ; and the mischief occasioned by it may be difficult to be removed. The King, however,

¹ This may have been to get the negotiations into his hands ; and then to have made that available to his views,—by being a principal in it.

put aside entirely that offer of Mr. Canning's, and treats Mr. Perceval with the most perfect cordiality.

In the Park, as I was getting on horseback, I met Lord Lonsdale, who arrived in town only half-an-hour before, having travelled from Lowther in two days on hearing of the breaking-up of the Government from Lord Camden, Lord Mulgrave, and Mr. Long. I mentioned to him the immediate cause of the mischief, leaving him to collect particulars from others. The conversation lasted full three-quarters of an hour, walking up and down the Mall, and he coincided completely in my view of matters. I then went out to Mr. Canning's, where I saw Mr. Charles Ellis, who had been his second in the duel, on Mr. Henry Wellesley having declined to go with him, who told me that Lord Yarmouth had brought a letter to Mr. Canning yesterday morning, in which Lord Castlereagh recapitulated all that he had lately learned had passed relative to his removal from the War Department, and resting his ground of complaint principally, and almost exclusively, on the concealment from his Lordship of the whole transaction and everything connected with it till after the expedition to Walcheren was over ; concluding with a positive call upon him for the only satisfaction he could receive. In the afternoon, Mr. Ellis went to Lord Yarmouth, and in a conversation of an hour and a half explained all the circumstances that had occurred, to show that the concealment (the only important ground of complaint insisted upon) was not in the remotest degree imputable to Mr. Canning. On a report of which, however, to

Lord Castlereagh, the meeting was still insisted upon. Accordingly the parties met this morning. When the parties reached the ground, Mr. Ellis explained a further circumstance, to show that Lord Camden (the near relation of Lord Castlereagh) had undertaken positively to explain to the latter all that was necessary respecting the arrangement connected with the Foreign Department; but it was ineffectual; Lord Yarmouth attending Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Charles Ellis Mr. Canning. The second of the latter said to the other, that as the principals could not be there to seek each other's blood, it would be desirable to take the usual distance, to which Lord Yarmouth agreeing, twelve paces were measured; and it was then settled the parties should fire together. On the first fire both escaped. Mr. Ellis then said to Lord Yarmouth he supposed enough had been done, but that it must be as Lord Castlereagh wished, as Mr. Canning came there only to satisfy him. Lord Yarmouth then talked with Lord Castlereagh, and addressing himself to Mr. Ellis said there must be another shot, after which he should leave the ground, as he would not witness any further proceedings. The parties then fired together a second time, and Mr. Canning was wounded in the flesh of the upper part of the thigh, the ball passing through; after which he walked to a cottage near the spot, where Mr. Home, the surgeon, was waiting, having been engaged for that purpose by Mr. Ellis last night—and then went home.

Having been informed fully of everything that led

to the proposal by Mr. Canning of a part of the business in the War Department being transferred to the Foreign, or for Lord Wellesley to succeed to the former, I have as clear a conviction as I can have on any point, that Mr. Canning is absolutely blameless on any point that should have given ground of offence to Lord Castlereagh. He had long, and repeatedly, urged a communication of all that was in agitation to his Lordship; and no delay respecting it could be fairly imputed to him.

In the Park, on my return, I met Lord Westmoreland, who expressed great satisfaction at having heard that I did not mean to resign. And he congratulated himself very much on his good fortune in not having heard a syllable till last week of the intended arrangement of the War Department, which had led to this breach in the Government; *which, in truth, had nothing whatever to do with it*, except in hastening the resignation of the Duke of Portland, which could not have been delayed much longer; indeed, not many weeks, as his Grace could not have met Parliament again as Minister.

On returning to the Board of Trade I learned from Lord Bathurst, that the Duke of Portland, in perfect simplicity of heart, had communicated to Mr. Canning all that his colleagues had been doing to strengthen themselves by applications to the Speaker, &c.; which he will, of course, not fail to communicate to Lord Grenville. The natural consequence will inevitably be, his Lordship turning upon his heel if any proposition shall be made to him, with an

observation that no application was thought of to him till every other had failed ; and so the formation of the new Government will probably fall exclusively into his hands. In which event it is perfectly clear that I shall be within no possibility whatever of being included in the new arrangement : but I am so entirely satisfied with the determination I have taken, that no human event can shake my mind upon it ; nor would I alter it now to secure the quiet possession of my office for life. The approbation arising from my reflections on all that has passed,—sanctioned, supported, and strengthened by the concurrent opinions of all those most dear to me,—will support me under severer *political* trials than I can meet with, and will be a comfort to me under any discipline.

Friday, September 22d.—Nothing of any importance occurred this day ; but Lord Bathurst told me he dined yesterday with the Cabinet at the Duke of Portland's, where he stayed three quarters of an hour with his Grace after the others went away, in the hope of learning from him how Mr. Canning had proposed to form a Government, but without much success ; as he could get no further than Lord Moira and Mr. Huskisson !—the latter of whom the Duke thought was to be brought forward to some considerable station. Lord Bathurst is persuaded the Duke had been no further intrusted with Mr. Canning's secret. But it is entirely certain that a regular offer was made by him, as before observed, to form an Administration without Lord Grenville :—a most unequivocal

proof that he had not treated me with the smallest share of his confidence respecting what has occasioned his resignation.

I rode out to Mr. Canning's, and learned from his servant that he is doing perfectly well.

Saturday, September 23d.—Went in the morning to Woolwich, and embarked in the “Trinity Yacht” for a sail down the river, or wherever the wind and tide would take me.

Monday, September 25th.—Returned in the evening from Sheerness, where I went in the Trinity yacht, accompanied by Mr. Pelly and Mr. Lewin, two of the Elder Brethren; a strong gale of wind and very foul weather having prevented our getting either to Harwich or to the Downs.

I found on my table a letter from Lord Bathurst, dated on Saturday, saying that Lord Liverpool and Perceval were gone to Windsor that day, and that he had little doubt, from what had passed yesterday after he left me, but that the King would authorize Perceval to write to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, to propose forming an Administration on an extended basis. That part of the Cabinet (those who have not resigned) have concurred in advising a letter to be written to that effect, the draft of which is to be submitted to the King, and that there were two messengers to go down to the King, in order to convey the letters without delay. That it was his Majesty's letter of yesterday which leaves little or no doubt that the message will be sent by authority to-day; but as it is possible some fresh difficulty may be attempted from other

quarters, his Lordship desired I would not mention the substance of this communication. If the message goes, the substance of it will be notified, he hoped, in the papers on Monday (this day), as the public ought not to be kept longer in suspense.

Found also on my table, on my return, a letter from Mr. Bourne. Lord Malmesbury had been with him, and left him on Saturday.

Tuesday, September 26th.—'The King has agreed to applications being made to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, and letters were sent to them accordingly; but his Majesty has declared that he will have no personal communication with either of them till the arrangements shall be finally settled; to which determination he will, I am persuaded, not be able to adhere. Those two Lords very well know that the present Government cannot go on without considerable additional strength, and they cannot be ignorant that *such* strength is to be looked for in no other quarter. They will, therefore, almost to a certainty, make their own terms, and Lord Grenville will, I dare say, insist upon settling those terms with the King himself; or that Lord Grey shall do so, which, after some ineffectual struggle, must be conceded. Whatever shall happen, I am for a strong Government; which no personal consideration of any sort shall induce me to throw any difficulty in the way of. I wish, for the sake of the King, he may not be forced into an arrangement that will be odious to him; which, if made by Lord Grenville, it will be, as his Majesty has repeatedly told me in the course of the

last two years that his Lordship is even more offensive to him than Mr. Fox ever was. I am anxious, also, for the sake of the country, that the King should not be severely pressed on this occasion, from a conviction that, if he should, the new Administration can have no chance of being a permanent one; and I am persuaded that nothing can be more hazardous to the public quiet and tranquillity than frequent changes and weak Administrations.

Wednesday, September 27th.—Lord Lonsdale having called in Palace-Yard while I was out in the yacht, and expressed an earnest desire to see me, I went to Charles Street, and learned that he left town on Sunday last. Lord Bathurst told me, however, that his Lordship thought exactly as we did respecting the necessity of forming a strong Government by a union with Lord Grey and Lord Grenville; to attain which he hoped there would be no hesitation in making sacrifices on both sides. And on talking of the probable line that would be pursued by different persons, Lord Bathurst mentioned Henry Wellesley as fixed to Mr. Canning's, by the latter having appointed him some weeks ago to succeed Mr. Villiers at the Court of Lisbon!! Such an appointment might be necessary, considering the situation of Marquis Wellesley at Seville, and Lord Wellington in Portugal; but some statement or explanation to me was surely necessary, after what passed on the nomination of Mr. Villiers, who was named for the mission without one single requisite quality for it, against the fair and strong pretensions of my eldest son.

This, although it would not have influenced the determination I have lately taken not to resign with Mr. Canning, certainly does not make me regret that determination.

Thursday, September 28th — Letters received this morning by Mr. Perceval from Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, the former declining, in very gentleman-like terms, but very positively, to come up for the purpose of entering into a negotiation with the present Ministers for forming an Administration; but adding that if the King had commanded his attendance, to consult him independently of his present servants, he should have felt it his duty to obey the command. The persons to whom his Lordship wrote by return of the messenger, were Lord Grenville, Lord Holland, Mr. Ponsonby, and Mr. Tierney. Lord Grenville's answer was, saying drily, but civilly, that he should come up immediately. His Lordship wrote to Lord Grey and Mr. Freemantle. Mr. Thomas Grenville is coming up with him; and from the persons he wrote to, combined with other circumstances not likely to be mistaken, there is the greatest reason to believe his Lordship was desirous of endeavouring at least to form a strong Government. It is not likely he can be pleased or satisfied with Lord Grey having refused all intercourse on the overture made to him without any communication whatever with him; because coming to London himself, he must naturally have wished to meet Lord Grey here, and to communicate with him. But it is beyond all doubt that, whatever his feelings may be in that respect, he will not treat separately from

Lord Grey. Thus they will ultimately constrain the King to come into their terms, as I have been persuaded from the beginning, but in a manner very different from what I conjectured; for I certainly imagined Lord Grey would have been found much the most practicable of the two. It is understood (perhaps only supposed) that he has said to Mr. Tierney, that by holding back they shall obtain the conditions they wish; which is very likely to be the case, but their prospect of making a permanent Government cannot be a flattering one.

Friday, September 29th.—Lord Grenville arrived in town; and wrote a second letter to Mr. Perceval, stating that he had come up in consequence of his Majesty's commands, but that he thinks it impossible to treat with the remainder of the present Cabinet to form a Government, having in his recollection the principles on which they came into the Administration; but in making that declaration, he wishes it to be distinctly understood that he has no feeling whatever of personal hostility. It is, however, beyond all doubt, that the inducement for writing that letter must have been the one he found on his arrival in town from Lord Grey. If he had entertained the sentiments now expressed; or rather if he had formed the determination he is now acting upon, when he was in Cornwall, he would certainly not have taken the trouble of coming up 250 miles, merely to write from Camelford House, in Oxford Street, what he might just as well have written from Bocannoch.

Lord George Cavendish expressed this morning great

regret at the rejection of the overture, and added that he thought his two friends had acted very *unwisely*.

Saturday, September 30th.—I saw Mr. Perceval for the first time since I took the determination not to resign. He showed me the letter written to him by the King, of the 22d, a very long one, authorizing him to make the overture to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville; very full, reasoning on the difficult and critical situation in which he is placed without any blame upon himself; referring generally to the past difficulties in his reign, and how he had met them; with solemn protestations that throughout he had never had anything in his view but the good of his people, whose real interest he had studied; lamented in very expressive language his misfortune in being driven to have recourse to those from whom he had received injurious treatment, in terms of strong displeasure against the leaders of the Opposition, referring more particularly to the two peers; and speaking in language of the highest regard of the Duke of Portland, for the manly part he had acted in coming forward at his time of life, and in his state of health, to assist in forming the present Government for his protection; but admitted the absolute necessity of *his* resignation. His Majesty, in giving the authority to Mr. Perceval and Lord Liverpool, to treat with Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, stated his determination not to mix personally in it; but reserved to himself, when the persons negotiating should have settled particulars, the right of approving of, or dissenting from, any of those he might think material. In more than one part of

the letter he pointed strongly at the danger of his being pressed by the new Government on the Catholic question. The whole letter, which, of course, was dictated to Colonel Taylor by the King, was written with great energy and spirit, as the King's own used to be on great and interesting occasions ; with much fairness as well as firmness ; and, upon the whole, would, if published, do incalculable good, except as to the manner in which he speaks of the Opposition.

Mr. Perceval told me that, in the conversations he had with the King, he dissuaded him earnestly from calling upon his new Ministers, if they should come into his service, to give any pledge against bringing forward the Catholic question, as it would be utterly impossible for them to do so without an absolute abandonment of character with the public. That the best security his Majesty could have in the present state of things against that question being carried, would be the mixture of those who must continue to be against it being a part of the new Government. On which hope the King at length agreed to rest ; but gave strong assurances that he would rather abandon the throne than consent to Catholic emancipation.

I had not much confidential information from Mr. Perceval, except on the heads I have stated ; but I conjecture, from some hints that dropped from him, they are treating with Lord Melville, who, it seems, has expressed his strong disapprobation of Mr. Canning's conduct, on the statement made to him by Mr. Huskisson, who, having resigned with Mr. Canning, would not put things unfavourably for him ; Lord

Melville at the same time professing a partiality for Mr. Canning personally.¹

Mr. Perceval represented to me strongly the necessity he felt we were under of standing by the King in the situation in which he is placed ; and the persuasion he had that it was infinitely better we should wait to be beat in the House of Commons than to run from our situation now as we did on the death of Mr. Pitt :—on which subject I am not so certain as he is, entertaining some doubt whether retiring now we could not afford the King a better protection than on being driven out by a majority against us in Parliament, especially considering the extreme difficulty of filling the vacancies in the Cabinet. I know not even how a successor will be found for Mr. Huskisson in the Treasury.

Lord Bathurst and Lord Harrowby called on Mr. Canning, coming in from Wimbledon, he having desired to see the latter. The former probably accompanying him to avoid any private conversation, though it does not appear there could well have been any.

Sunday, October 1st.—This day I have neither seen anybody nor heard anything, as I remained quietly at home, closely employed in arranging some matters respecting prize agency likely to be of most important use to the officers and men in the navy ; on which I mean to make a representation to the Admiralty to-morrow.

The freedom from all interruption afforded me

¹ Mr. Canning married Lord Melville's niece.

further opportunity for reflection on recent occurrences, and on such as may be expected.

I have no information whatever, nor can form even a probable conjecture of the intention of Mr. Perceval and others, of the means they have in contemplation for acquiring such additional strength as can enable them to carry on the Government, or afford a probable chance of their doing so. It does not, indeed, occur to me that any such are within their reach. This persuasion fixes more deeply in my mind the painful regret arising from the refusal of Lord Grey and Lord Grenville to treat, or to have any intercourse, on the formation of a *new* and a strong Government; especially as I am quite sure there would have been concessions to them beyond any they can have formed an expectation of.

The vacancies of the First Lord of the Treasury and two Secretaries of State they know of. The Chancellorship of the Exchequer would necessarily have been immediately conceded to them.¹ One Secretary of the Treasury vacant, and the other (the confidential one) would certainly follow. Lord Liverpool's Secretaryship of State was, I know, agreed to be given up; that might, perhaps, have been expected for Perceval. Lord Harrowby would have at once

¹ Of this concession Mr. Perceval never entertained a moment's doubt. It would, indeed, have been quite impossible for him to have held the office under Lord Grenville as the head of the Treasury; as he would certainly have brought back Mr. Wickham to that Board, who had his confidence so entirely in his former administration, that Lord Henry Petty, who was his Chancellor of the Exchequer, was absolutely a cipher at the Board.

given up the India Board, and Lord Bathurst, the Mint. The Privy Seal held by Lord Westmoreland would have been made free with, without hesitation. Lord Mulgrave would not, *I suppose*, have resisted giving up the Admiralty.

Of Lord Chatham's intentions, and the Chancellor's, I know nothing; but suppose they would adhere to their offices as long as possible, under any circumstances. Lord Granville will, of course, vacate the Secretaryship-at-War, to follow his intimate personal friend, Mr. Canning, at whose instance solely he occupied the situation. One Paymastership of the Forces is vacant by the resignation of Mr. Long; and my office of Treasurer of the Navy, the best in the King's gift out of the Cabinet. Mr. Perceval knows that the one from me is most entirely at the King's disposal, in any arrangement he can make for his Majesty's service. Here is a tolerably abundant crop for the Opposition; but I am quite certain that further sacrifices would have been made without difficulty, to almost any extent that could have been called for.

If Lord Melville and Lord Sidmouth shall be taken into the Administration to give strength to it, my situation will be a most painful and distressing one. I cannot *now* quit the Government, however it may be formed, for the purpose of affording support to the King; at least, until it has taken a settled form; and not even then without a fixed determination to give it every assistance in my power, in aid of the cause in which they are embarking. But my dislike to the two Viscounts last mentioned is insuperable; for reasons of

a public nature, well known to my family, utterly unmixed with any personal consideration whatever.

Monday, October 2d.—A paragraph in the *Morning Chronicle* of this day, respecting Mr. Canning's appointment of Mr. Bartholomew Frere to take charge of the British interests at the Court of Spain, on the departure of Lord Wellesley, led Lord Bathurst to mention to me, that on Wednesday, the 20th of last month, when Mr. Canning went in to the King on his resignation, he acquainted his Majesty that the Marquis, on his leaving this country, had left in his hands a letter, desiring his recall in the event of Mr. Canning retiring from office; which he notified to his Majesty in form, and obtained his permission to appoint Mr. B. Frere to succeed him, *pro tempore*. Of which circumstance, so intimately connected with measures of the highest importance to the national prosperity, and the carrying on of Government from day to day, he said not one word to any one of his colleagues; nor would they have known anything of it at all, but from the fact of Mr. Perceval accidentally going in to the King after Mr. Canning. But that was not all. Mr. Canning actually despatched the letters of recall to Lord Wellesley the next morning, and they would have reached his Lordship without a syllable from any other human being—at least, from any one connected with the Government—but for Mr. Perceval's discovery above alluded to, which induced Mr. Wellesley Pole, brother to the Marquis, and Secretary to the Admiralty, to detain the vessel going to Spain for twenty-four hours; and then Lord Bathurst wrote

to the Marquis (and, perhaps, others also), to express a hope that he would *not suddenly* quit his mission at so critical a period as this.

It is impossible here to avoid expressing the utmost astonishment at this proceeding of Mr. Canning, keeping the secret of Lord Wellesley's retiring from his mission to the latest moment, then communicating it to the King *only*. Having met his colleagues in cabinet the same day, before he went to the Queen's House, and endeavouring to send off his despatch to his Lordship, without giving any of the other ministers an opportunity of writing by the same opportunity, appears to be irreconcilable to the plain duty of a public man. Such a general delegation seems extraordinary on the part of Lord Wellesley, to give in his request to be recalled in case of Mr. Canning's resignation, *whatever might be the ground of that!!* The manner of Mr. Canning availing himself of such a delegated power, and the exercise of it, are no less extraordinary. To recall a foreign minister in *the crisis of a negotiation*, is a very different thing from the retiring of a minister at home. The place of the latter may be supplied at once, and being only one of a Cabinet, no serious inconvenience would be likely to result from the change. But the case is very different where the whole weight of responsibility rests on a single individual; especially where the mission is to a fluctuating and precarious authority, like that of the Junta at Seville. In the present instance there is another powerful objection, in addition to these considerations, to the measure of Mr. Canning; that

it is the brother of the Marquis who is in the command of all the British forces in Spain, the supplies and succours for which must depend in a great degree upon the talents and energy of the British Minister with the Junta.

In the *Morning Post* of this day, and in other papers, varying a little in words but not in substance, is an account of the circumstances which occasioned the duel between Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh ; not accurate in all the details, but sufficiently particular to make it certain that it has been inserted by some one informed of all that has passed on the subject, giving a favourable turn to Mr. Canning's conduct *throughout*. As to the *immediate* occasion of the duel it was blameless. But this statement, perfectly uncalled for, is likely to occasion further discussions, which may be mischievous.

Tuesday, October 3d.—Mr. Long saw Mr. Perceval to-day, and agreed to remain in office. What has induced him to this change of resolution I know not ; possibly the declared opinion of Lord Lonsdale, who brings him into Parliament. In his conversation with Mr. Perceval, he deprecated the introduction of Lord Melville into the Cabinet, as a measure likely to be attended with the very worst consequences, both in and out of Parliament ; by loss of support, in the first case, and the public, in the latter, going the length of meetings, addresses, &c. I think the mischievous effect out of doors, by the impression on the public mind, would be deeper and more felt than in Parliament ; but I certainly have no wish to see the experiment made.

Mr. Samuel Thornton (Bank Director) called on me in the evening, on coming in from the Quarter Sessions in Surrey. I discussed fully with him all that was passing, and he approved entirely of the course that was pursuing. He mentioned his relation, Mr. Mills, member for Pontefract, as a man likely to be useful in office: a remarkably eloquent young man, certainly.

Wednesday, October 4th.—Mr. Perceval kissed hands as First Lord of the Treasury.

Mr. Perry, editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, said Mr. Canning was fixed with the Opposition, and that to-morrow he should have his full statement *in his paper*. No other arrangement settled to-day.

Thursday, October 5th.—Consultations going forward about filling the different offices. An offer has been sent to Lord Wellesley, either to continue in Spain, or take the Foreign Secretaryship; some one to hold that situation till the Marquis's determination shall be known. Lord Harrowby's health will not allow him to take it even for that time. Lord Liverpool very averse from taking it, on account of the run made at him when he held the situation before. Lord Bathurst strongly disinclined to it. And the point not settled to-day. Lord Hardwicke has relaxed from the positive prohibition he put on his brother Charles Yorke's taking office a few months ago, when the Secretaryship-at-War was offered to him on Sir James Pulteney quitting, which he would then have accepted; and it is now in contemplation for him to be Secretary for the Home Department. Mr. Robert Dundas to have the War Department.

Lord Chatham, yesterday, told Mr. Perceval that Lord Sidmouth was determined to support him, in the present emergency, without office; which encouraged the latter to think of making overtures to Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Bragge Bathurst; on his mentioning to do which this morning to Lord Chatham, he told him drily he believed the Opposition had got hold of him.

I dined with the Elder Brethren at the Trinity House, and found only one sentiment prevalent there approving of the exertions making to maintain an Administration.

Mr. Canning had written a very strong expostulatory letter to Mr. Dundas, on his taking office, having considered him as committed to make common cause with him.

The Duke of Portland, who has been long ill, thought to be in danger.

Received a letter from Lord Lonsdale, in flattering terms to myself, warmly approving of what is doing.

Friday, October 6th.—Settled to-day that Lord Bathurst shall take the Foreign Office till it is known whether Lord Wellesley will accept it; and Lord Harrowby to come to the Board of Trade.

From conversation with an intimate friend of Lord Wellesley, there is good reason to believe he will take office, which may appear extraordinary after the account of the letters he left with Mr. Canning, authorizing him to desire his recall from his mission whenever he (Mr. Canning) should resign. But from the account given by the friend alluded to, who is in

the most entire confidence of Lord Wellesley, it is quite clear that the letter was obtained from him by management, and that he was not at ease respecting his having written it; and that, on leaving England, he was uneasy on the subject, and even quitted the kingdom with considerable reluctance.

The Prince of Wales has written to the Marquis, for the purpose of fixing him in a determination to return home, and act with the party, from his Royal Highness' wishes to form a Government. His Royal Highness asked the friend of the Marquis already alluded to, how to forward his letter safely and quickly, who advised him to send it to his brother, Mr. Wellesley Pole; to which the Prince replied that he would not trust him with it. Colonel Sydenham, lately appointed a Commissioner of Excise, a gentleman very particularly in the confidence of the Marquis, is despatched to him for the purpose of delivering letters from Lord Bathurst, sent to him with offers of the Foreign Secretaryship, &c. and of explaining personally the whole state of matters at present.

Mr. Canning has sent to Lord Wellesley the letter, often referred to, which he had deposited with him, desiring to leave him at liberty to act as he should think right; but not till he had given a degree of publicity to it, by having shown it to a number of persons, and probably kept a copy of it. It now appears, from the account of the Marquis's friend, that Mr. Canning had communicated to his Lordship the whole of the intercourse he had with the Duke of

Portland, and the King, respecting the removal of Lord Castlereagh from his office ; or the lopping from it much of its efficient business ; enjoining the Marquis not to allow Lord Bathurst to know that the communication had been made to him ;—Mr. Canning having told him (Lord Bathurst) that nobody but himself was intrusted with it. [The whole, to the minutest detail, had been stated to me by Mr. Canning, from the time I had dined with him at Mr. Huskisson's, about Easter].

Saturday, October 7th.—Mr. Carthew breakfasted with me, who was Mr. Pitt's Private Secretary in his first Administration, and told me an intimate friend of his assured him that Mr. Huskisson told him, on his first coming to town lately, that he meant to take no part in the disputes going forward, but to remain quietly in his station at the Treasury, and do his duty ; which was certainly not true, as he wrote from Sussex to Mr. Perceval, stating his determination to resign.

Lord Sidmouth will give no encouragement to his friends to accept office, unless he is himself taken into the Administration ; which resolution is not much to be wondered at, considering Lord Chatham was the person who was to make the overture to him, devoted as he is to his Lordship.

Colonel Sydenham, the person deputed by Lord Bathurst and others to Lord Wellesley, lost his trunk on his journey to Plymouth. Fortunately, his letters were not in it.

Monday, October 9th.—Mr. Perceval offered me a seat at the Board of Treasury for my son, accompany-

ing that with an assurance that he made the proposal with a view to his being a useful and active member of the Board, and relieving him, to a certain extent, from the pressure of business there.

Immediately afterwards, Lord Bathurst, aware of Mr. Perceval's offer, told me that from the first mention of his being Secretary of State, he had decided (in the event of his taking the office) to propose to my son to be his confidential Under-Secretary; that he is, as before, noted, to hold the office only till it is known whether Lord Wellesley will accept it or not; that he has appointed Mr. Hamilton, a first courier of Lord Harrowby's, to be his official Under-Secretary, who was *précis*-writer under his Lordship when Secretary of State, and acted for Mr. Hammond while he was on a special mission to Berlin with Lord Harrowby. That he is willing to appoint my son directly as the confidential one, leaving it to him and me to judge whether that should take place now in the state of uncertainty of his own situation; and whether, in the event of Lord Wellesley accepting, my son's appointment might not be the occasion of some embarrassment to that noble Lord, who would feel uncomfortable in removing a son of mine from a situation of confidence, although he might have some one who has been intrusted by him that he would be glad to have with him again.

These offers, both very flattering to my son, and comfortable to me, I have communicated to him, with such observations as occurred to me, and advised his coming up.

Mr. Perceval's difficulty in filling Mr. Huskisson's place in the Treasury seems not likely to be well got over. Mr. Vansittart not attainable for it. He has, it seems, declared that he would never return to that secretaryship, conceiving that, as a Privy Counsellor, he ought not to hold it. It is nearly certain that he no longer considers himself as belonging to Lord Sidmouth. It is therefore extremely probable his father-in-law has transferred him to Lord Grenville, as a better speculation, his Lordship having long since declared his firm opinion that Lord Grenville was more likely to be long Minister of this country than any other person in it. Mr. Perceval has decided to offer Mr. Vansittart the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, to induce him to take office, and assist him constantly in finance—a bribe that cannot obtain him, if he has given himself up to Lord Grenville, and much more than he is worth, either from talents or experience; and the very offer, if known, would afford a most unequivocal proof of weakness.

Tuesday, October 10th.—Explained to Mr. Ryder what had passed since my coming to town.

Suggested to Mr. Perceval the release from confinement of as many of the Crown debtors as in prudence should be thought advisable; as exertions are making in many counties to release persons confined for moderate debts, on the 50th anniversary of the King's accession, the 25th of this month.

Wednesday, October 11th.—Mr. Canning resigned the seals of the Foreign Secretary to-day, and Lord Bathurst received them from the King.

Previous to the latter going to Court, he proposed to Mr. Canning to call on him at Gloucester Lodge ; which Mr. C. declined, by saying he would receive Lord B. at the Foreign Office, which he did very coldly, and in the most distant manner.

Mr. Wellesley Pole appointed Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Croker to succeed him at the Admiralty ; the last appointment not a desirable one at all. He is an honourable man, I believe, and certainly has talents, but there is a something belonging to him that makes me much regret the selection.¹

Mr. Arbuthnot, Secretary of the Treasury, tells me that if his colleague, Mr. Huskisson, had not retired from office, he is quite sure he would not have been content to remain at the Treasury !! He looked to a higher situation. Mr. A. thinks to the Irish Secretaryship.

Thursday, October 12th.—Received a letter from my son, in answer to mine of the 9th, conveying the offer to him from Mr. Perceval and Lord Bathurst, stating his disinclination to the seat at the Treasury Board, for reasons obvious to myself, and lamenting that he had suffered so much in his health from his attendance in Parliament in the last session, as to convince him of the utter impossibility of his con-

¹ Mr. Arbuthnot says, it was positively made by Lord Mulgrave exclusively. Captain Smith, of the Navy, whom I met at dinner, assured me Sir Rd. Richeston told him the nomination originated with the Treasury. Lord Bathurst since assured me that the nomination was Lord Mulgrave's.

tinuing that in the next session, and performing the official duties of an Under-Secretary of State also.

In the afternoon he arrived in town, and confirmed personally what he wrote, which I communicated to Lord Bathurst by a letter in the evening.

I find Mr. Yorke's acceptance of office is again uncertain; that Lord Hardwicke is not yet entirely consenting to it, and perhaps some doubts are hanging in his own mind.

Friday, October 13th.—This morning, my son stated to me that, upon reflecting upon the offer which had been made to him, he was disposed to try whether he could go through the double duty of an attendance in the House of Commons, and in the Secretary of State's office; on which I said not one word, either to encourage him to such a trial, or to dissuade from it. I carefully concealed from him also the deep mortification I felt at the doubt in his own mind, utterly unexpected by me, *painful and distressing in the extreme*, on account of the cause which led to it; and as disappointing the expectations formed of some advantages he would derive from the long and arduous labours I had undergone, to give him some political consideration in his country. In a long conversation with him at breakfast, he expressed to me an intention of saying to Lord Bathurst, that if his answer might be deferred for a few days, he would think more maturely on the subject, and consult his wife upon it, after which he would communicate his decision to his Lordship; which, in an interview with his Lordship, he told him accordingly, and was assured

by him that it would not put him to the slightest inconvenience if he did not receive the answer for eight or ten days.

This morning appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* Mr. Canning's statement of the occurrences respecting Lord Castlereagh, the insertion of which in that paper first, is strongly symptomatic of Mr. Canning's future intention as to the part he will take; especially as the editor said, a few days after Mr. Canning's public declarations of his intention to resign, that he should have the narrative to insert in his paper.

We dined at the East India Dock, with Lords Bathurst, Liverpool, Harrowby, and Mulgrave, and Mr. Perceval.

Saturday, October 14th.—My son returned to Hampshire; and I went to the Attorney-General (Sir Vickery Gibbs) at Hayes Common, where I stayed till Monday; riding on Sunday through and about the grounds, at Hollwood, which again brought to my recollection many scenes that had passed there; but led me to reflect seriously and maturely on what Mr. Pitt's opinions would have been, had he been living and disabled from taking a share in public business; the result of which was a complete approbation of the course I have pursued.

Monday, October 16th.—Lord Harrowby reluctantly declined, from positive necessity, the Presidency of the Board of Trade; the whole labour, therefore, must unavoidably fall upon me. An attendance *daily* of some hours, with a load of business, greatly

exceeding what fell to the lot of the Board of Treasury in my time.

I dined at Lord Mulgrave's with the Board of Admiralty, to discuss some points respecting my plan for ensuring regular adjudication and speedy distribution of the proceeds of prizes.

Wednesday, October 18th.—Nothing worthy of notice occurred yesterday. At the Levée to-day, Mr. Wellesley Pole kissed hands as principal Secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Croker as his successor, as Secretary to the Admiralty. I continue to think this last appointment, without any impeachment of the gentleman's character, very much to be regretted. Mr. Dundas did not kiss hands, as was expected, for the situation of Secretary of State for the War Department. And I heard, by mere accident from a private friend, that Lord Melville is immediately coming to town, which has the appearance of his throwing difficulties in the way of his son's acceptance, unless he can be included in the arrangement!

Thursday, October 19th.—I sent over to Lord Bathurst, at the Foreign-Office, a letter from my son to him, agreeing to accept the office of his Under-Secretary, in the event of his Lordship continuing to hold the Seals of that department; which cannot be ascertained till an answer is received from the Marquis Wellesley.

In discussing political matters with my son lately, he agreed with me that if the present Government should be broken up (which has from the first attempt to form it after the secession of Mr. Canning, &c.,

seemed utterly unavoidable), it would, for the sake of the country, be highly desirable to give our best support to any Administration that can be appointed to succeed, except Mr. Whitbread should have the formation of it. My son, therefore, on enclosing his letter sealed to Lord Bathurst to me, very naturally requested that if his acceptance of Lord Bathurst's offer was to occasion any embarrassment on his future conduct in that respect, I would in that case not let him be committed by his acceptance. To which I answered distinctly, that no restraint of that sort, or to that extent, could possibly be created by his taking the office proposed to him, or indeed any other.

Saturday, October 21st.—Dined with Lord Harrowby, and met Robert Dundas, but not a word passed about political arrangements.

Monday, October 23d.—Soon after my coming home from the Committee of Trade, I received a note from Mr. Perceval, stating that he very much wished to see me *upon particular business*, at my earliest convenience. I felt an alarm, at the moment, that something unfortunate had happened to the King; but, on going to Downing Street, Mr. Perceval informed me he was commanded by the King to propose to me to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a seat in the Cabinet. Taken thus most completely by surprise, I did not hesitate to say, that if I was expected to give an *immediate* answer, it would most certainly be in the negative; and that I did not mean to convey to him, that there was the remotest

probability of that inclination of my mind being altered by reflection in the interval between this and to-morrow. At the same time, I felt it due to the importance he chose to annex to my accepting the office, not to refuse it abruptly; not leaving out of sight, unquestionably, the duty I owed to his Majesty in the present crisis, especially having in view the gracious offer, in addition to all his former acts of kindness, and adding, what I most sincerely felt, a strong impression on my mind of what is fairly and justly due to himself, in the arduous struggle in which he is engaged.

If either Lord Bathurst or Lord Harrowby had been placed at the head of the Treasury, and Mr. Perceval removed to the Secretaryship of State, I should not have declined the offer, because in that case (however conscious I was of deficiency in public speaking), I think I could have been most essentially useful in the situation; principally in the reduction of the public expenditure, which I am persuaded is become of *absolute and indispensable necessity*. Not in the reduction of paltry places and pensions, the futility of which I shall show after Christmas, in a short pamphlet I have already written, and shown to Lord Harrowby, but in the great branches of public expenditure. But in that respect, with Mr. Perceval at the head of the Treasury and in the House of Commons, I can perhaps be more useful than if the matter was in my own hands. Effectual measures of that description, I am most decidedly sure, are positively necessary, and essential to the security

and peace of the country, and even to the *existence of the Government* in whomsoever it may be vested.

To begin a new political career at my time of life, now in my sixty-sixth year, by taking a Cabinet office, without being sure I should be able to prevail in having such measures adopted as those to which I have alluded; with a certainty therefore of responsibility without adequate means of acting upon it, would alone have decided me; but various other considerations crowd upon me, every one of which is adverse to accepting the offer. I am certain too, without assuming improperly any merit to myself to which I am not justly entitled (not from talents, but from long experience and most assiduous attention), that unless Lord Bathurst shall return to the Committee of Council for Trade, my place there could not be supplied without most serious disadvantage to the public; and that infinitely more would be lost by my removal from the department of Trade, than would be gained by my assistance in that of the Revenue. After having stated thus much on public grounds, it is quite unnecessary to enter on private inducements, every one of which has the same tendency.

Tuesday, October 24th.—I communicated to Mr. Perceval personally my determination not to take the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, assigning to him the reasons which operated in my mind to lead to that; assuring him, at the same time, of my fixed resolution to give him every possible aid in my power,

to which I thought him most justly entitled, both on public and on private grounds; considering the highly honourable and moderate manner in which he had conducted himself from the very beginning of this unfortunate schism.

He told me that Lord Palmerston is to be Secretary-at-War, and that Vansittart had refused to accept any situation unless Lord Sidmouth is taken in. This proves I was mistaken in supposing that Lord Auckland had attached him to Lord Grenville; knowing, however, *that Lord* as entirely as I do (I mean Lord A.) I am persuaded he thinks he has a double security himself with Lord Grenville; which interest I know from himself, he thinks the best in the country (for which he left Mr. Pitt, who saved him from absolute want,) and also his son-in-law with Lord Sidmouth, from which something may come.

Mr. Perceval is not yet sure that Lord Melville will allow his son to accept the situation of Secretary of State for the War Department!!

And no successor is yet found for Mr. Huskisson as Secretary to the Treasury.

Wednesday, October 25th.—The reflections I have been led to make on the offer to me of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, have induced me on this FIFTIETH anniversary of his Majesty's accession to the crown of these kingdoms, to state in these notes, as a record to those who shall come after me, what I am persuaded is the true situation of the finances and resources of this country, without exaggeration on the one hand or concealment on the other.

The total expense of Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland, comprehending interest and management of debt, sinking fund, collection of revenue, and all expenses for the service of the year, exceeds . . .	£83,000,000
And amounts, including the charge for Ireland, to . .	93,500,000
The supplies voted by Parliament for the current year were, for Great Britain	£47,587,000
And for Ireland	6,273,000
	<hr/> 53,860,000

The existing means of Great Britain to meet this expenditure consist of the ordinary disposable revenue and the war-taxes.

The former, or in other words the revenue, which remains unappropriated, after providing for the permanent charges, may be estimated at the very utmost, at	£7,500,000
The war-taxes, at	18,000,000
	<hr/> £25,500,000

The latter cannot be estimated higher after the appropriation that has been made of a part of them. There will therefore remain to be supplied by a loan, £22,057,000, in order to provide for the next year's expenses at the rate of the present year, viz., £47,587,000.

The interest and sinking-fund on a loan of £22,000,000, cannot be reckoned as less than £1,320,000 or £1,330,000; so that, if the war is to be carried on at the present rate of expense, there will be a necessity of raising new taxes to the amount of that sum annually, so long as such expenditure shall go on; supposing even, sanguinely, that the existing taxes continue as productive as they are.

The loans may, no doubt, be contracted for: but can taxes to such an amount be found and forthcoming? And is the present Government strong enough to carry them through, if they could be found? These are questions which should, *at this moment*, be attentively considered by the Cabinet.

Mr. Perceval has seen a paper of Mr. Pitt's:—

Husbandry horses	£150,000	Overstated.
Tobacco	325,000	War-tax, new.
Cotton, 1s. per lb	230,000	Do.
Coals, 1s. at the pit	500,000	Tried and failed.
Candles	200,000	Impracticable.
Hides	80,000	Do.

Private brewing ¹	£500,000	Unproductive.
Broadcloth ²	500,000	

Having finished what occurred to me to turn my thoughts and attention to, on the offer made to me of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, I went to the Abbey (where I had not been for a great number of years), to hear the Dean of Westminster. In a sermon remarkable for eloquence and energy, he touched on our domestic state; and speaking of the heavy *taxes* to which the people are subject, stated the distinction between those which were imposed on them, from the necessity of the case, by their own representatives; and the *tribute* they must have paid on the demand of a foreign Prince, if they had not been saved by great exertions, attended unavoidably by privations. Then alluding to *expenditure*, he said he had nothing to do with *that*, which must be accounted for to the proper tribunal.

A whimsical coincidence with what I had been employed upon to the last minute of my going into the church.

I saw Mr. Perceval after the service, and hastily suggested to him my general view of the matters I had been reflecting upon.

¹ I convinced Mr. Pitt this would not do; and prevailed to make Lord Henry Petty give it up.

² Would do perfectly well when the price of foreign wool shall fall, if the unpopularity of the measure would admit of it.

War-taxes to be made permanent :—

Wine	£500,000
Malt, half war-tax	1,200,000
Customs, twelve and a half. . . .	500,000

Having a fixed purpose to enter fully upon this subject, and to be useful upon it,—if I shall find a hearty disposition in Mr. Perceval and the Cabinet to act upon my view of it,—I have written to Sir Andrew Hammond, the late Comptroller of the navy, who now lives near Lynn, to express a wish to communicate with him confidentially on the Naval Estimates. And it is my intention to talk to Mr. Steele about those for the army.

I learn from Lord Bathurst, that Lord Melville has positively refused to consent to his son taking the office of Secretary of State for the War Department!! And this after the most plain, positive, and unequivocal declaration from his Lordship in writing, on Mr. Canning's secession, that every one ought to stand by the King, and give the most strenuous support to his government; expressing at the same time his complete approbation of his son's acceptance of the office above mentioned. What an instance of the extent to which a desire for office and *personal* distinction may go! Utter indifference about the disappointment of his son in an object of fair and honourable ambition; and as to the effect of what might and would have been produced to the Administration by taking his Lordship into it. Respecting this it is impossible to say more, even in these notes, which are to be seen only by those who are most dear to me; at least while the parties mentioned in them are living, and likely to be in any manner affected by them.

The crowds of people walking about the streets the whole of the day, after service time, were beyond

anything I ever saw ; but perfectly quiet, decent, and looking very cheerful.

Lord Bathurst carried me to the dinner at the Merchant 'Taylors' Hall, on the invitation of the Bankers and Merchants of London. The number of people in the street, from Charing Cross the whole way to the Hall, was immense, and the illuminations remarkably beautiful ; the Mansion House equal to anything I had seen, but the Bank most superbly magnificent : and the India House, as well as could be judged of from the distance at which we saw it, not less so. The crowd, great as I have described it on our going, was become so immense as completely to fill the whole of the streets we passed through from side to side, and the carriage could only move at a foot's pace through the people ; but all most perfectly quiet and civil ; not an offensive word or insulting gesture,—not even a squib or a cracker thrown by a boy which might frighten the horses. I can truly say I never saw before such a collection of people to give an idea from sight of the population of the metropolis ; nor ever witnessed such perfect order and decorum in any great assemblage of the middling and lower order of the inhabitants of it.

Before the dinner I found Mr. Canning in the room and gave him my hand, which I thought he received coldly. Lord Granville Leveson, Mr. Bagot, and Mr. Hammond were with him. He did not say one syllable to me, but talked easily with Lord Liverpool, and for a short time with Lord Bathurst. I did not perceive him in conversation with Mr. Perceval, but I

am not sure that he was not. It is *barely possible* he might think me cold towards him, but not *probable*. Separations sometimes happen from mutual misconception, but I think that is not so in the present instance.

Nothing remarkable passed at the dinner; the attendance was very great considering the number of other public entertainments there were: at the Mansion House for the whole of the Corporation; at the Sessions House for the Magistrates and Gentlemen who usually attend County business; the City Light Horse, which consists chiefly of opulent Bankers and Merchants, &c. Perfect unanimity prevailed.

Lord Erskine was present, and Lord St. Vincent. The latter, full of civility to me, talked much of having given his *whole attention* to farming, and pressed me to visit him in Essex.

Mr. Sheridan was at the dinner also, and I had a good deal of conversation with him after it was over. He blamed the conduct of Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, and said they had given the Government very great advantage by it; lamented that Lord Grey had not asked an audience of the King; and expressed a most decided opinion of the folly and madness of again stirring the Catholic question during the King's life, as well as the cruelty; adding, that the two peers had had a pretty good assurance of the feelings of the country upon it.

Thursday, October 26th.—Lord Camden having expressed a great anxiety to talk with me, I called on him this morning, when he entered fully into the

history of Lord Castlereagh's business as far as he had been concerned in it; and after going through his narrative, showed me some letters which had passed between him and the Duke of Portland respecting the arrangement pressed for by Mr. Canning, either for a new division of the departments, or for the Marquis Wellesley to be named for that of War. Which statement, supported by evidence that would be decisive in any court of justice, established beyond any possibility of a doubt, that his Lordship is free from the slightest degree of blame in not having made a disclosure to Lord Castlereagh of anything intended respecting him.

Lord Camden admits the communication to have been made to him as early as Mr. Canning states, the end of April; but so far from his being at liberty to acquaint Lord Castlereagh with it, it was made to him under the most solemn injunction of secrecy; respecting which he was so uneasy, that on the 29th of June he wrote to the Duke of Portland to know whether he was in any mistake about that, to which the Duke answered the same day, he was not: stating that he had most strongly enjoined him to secrecy, in the hope that matters might be so arranged as to avoid the necessity of anything being said to Lord Castlereagh on the subject; his Grace taking upon himself, in the clearest terms, whatever blame might attach to the concealment. A further correspondence took place between Lord Camden and the Duke of Portland in July, begun by the latter on the same subject; his Grace continuing to press for silence

on it till the end of the Walcheren Expedition, on the same ground as before. And at length, when the disclosure became indispensably necessary, Lord Camden made it to Lord Castlereagh on the 7th of September; without, however, letting him know how early the matter had been decided on, not conceiving it necessary that his Lordship's feelings should be wounded by a knowledge that his removal from office had been acquiesced in by his colleagues before the expedition had been set on foot, and that he had been allowed to conduct the whole of it when his official death-warrant was in their possession.

Lord Castlereagh thus having been led to believe that the measure was only now adopted to strengthen the Government, agreed to resign, and declined to accept any other office offered to him, Lord Camden having pressed his own upon him, the Presidentship of the Council: and it was not till Lord Castlereagh was shown the correspondence of Mr. Canning by Mr. Perceval that he expressed any resentment or uncomfortable feeling on the subject. It was from *that* he learned how early his removal had been consented to by his Majesty and by his colleagues, and it was in that he met with passages which induced him to challenge Mr. Canning; a proceeding which, I still think, even admitting some misconception on the part of Lord Castlereagh, his Lordship was utterly unjustified in adopting. If he had determined to call out any one, the Duke of Portland was the only delinquent to whom he should have resorted; and he had no motive whatever but an anxious desire to reconcile matters in the best

way he could, and, if possible, to prevent any breach amongst the Ministers; constantly hoping that an accommodation might be accomplished in some way or other, and at last thinking his own resignation would afford an opportunity for such an arrangement as might, to a certain extent at least, be satisfactory to Lord Castlereagh. That was however defeated by Mr. Canning urging a separate arrangement, as is proved by the extracts of the correspondence which I made from the papers Mr. Canning put into my hands on the 16th of September.

Lord Camden told me he understood Mr. Canning to have an intention of publishing further, in consequence of the very short statement he inserted in the newspapers of this month.

He told me, also, that the friend alluded to in Mr. Canning's statement in the newspaper of the 13th (with whom his letter to the Duke of Portland and his Grace's answer was deposited in the month of July, respecting the concealment from Lord Castlereagh) is, Mr. Perceval. I certainly believed it was Lord Camden himself; and so did every one with whom I had conversed.

Friday, October 27th.—Lord Bathurst pressed me most urgently to take the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, as of very serious importance to the Government, with so much earnestness, in truth, as to be seriously distressing to me. I am at a loss to know what leads him and his colleagues to think thus; for I am most positively sure they would lose more by my removal from the Board of Trade than they would

gain by having me at the Treasury ; because, without being at the latter board I can be of very essential service in matters of finance ; to which I am entirely disposed. In addition to which, I feel an invincible repugnance to taking upon myself a severe responsibility in a department where I should not be the head ; and without influence enough in the Cabinet (unconnected as I should be there) to carry the measures of retrenchment which I alluded to in my notes of yesterday, as essential to the existence of the country. In taking the situation too, it would fall to me to lead the House of Commons in the absence, from illness, of Mr. Perceval ; of which, from the weakness of his constitution and the incessant pressure upon him, there is real ground of apprehension. To this most important duty I feel myself, from want of eloquence, quite unequal.

I omitted to mention, yesterday, that from the time Mr. Perceval showed Lord Castlereagh the correspondence, from whence he learned how early his removal from the Secretaryship had been acquiesced in by his colleagues, he had broken off all intercourse with Lord Camden, notwithstanding the very near connexion between them ; and that the latter had originally introduced him into political life, by making him his principal secretary in Ireland, and most closely uniting himself with him ever since. Indeed, during the course of the transaction which now creates the separation, he had repeatedly expressed his anxious desire to resign the Presidency of the Council to him ; or, to make his resignation of that high office subser-

vient to some other arrangement that might better suit his Lordship's views or wishes.

The Duke of Cumberland joined me on horseback to-day in Hyde Park; very inquisitive about what is going forward, but appeared to be but little informed of matters. He gave a most favourable account of the King's health and spirits.

Saturday, October 28th.—Mr. Fanshawe told me that he carried Sheridan home from the dinner in the City, who informed him that he sent a message to Mr. Canning, who was in the room with him there, by Lord Granville Leveson, "that this proceeding would not do; he must, therefore, try something else." If he was sincere in that, it does not look like his having been the agent to bring about an intercourse between Mr. Canning and the Grenville and Fox parties. But in the conversation with Mr. Fanshawe he said, if his friends are to come in they must be allowed to talk with the King about the Catholic question; which is unlike what he said to me, though not absolutely contradictory.

A matter at this time occurring which may lead to consequences of a public nature, I think it right to make a memorandum of it here; though not immediately connected with the subject of these notes. I received a letter from my eldest son yesterday, in which was inclosed an accurate statement of the substance of a part of Mr. Clapham's sermon at Christ Church (Hants) on the 50th anniversary of the King's accession, Wednesday last. "A future historian, perhaps partially informed, might say of this reign (here various misfortunes occurring in it, or attributed to it,

were cited), that, beginning with a debt of one hundred millions, it now had one of six hundred millions : that the middle class, by far the most respectable, was annihilated : that wars, begun without necessity, had terminated in failure and disgrace : that the blood and treasure of the nation had been fruitlessly lavished in expeditions professed to succour nations, who either asked it not, or would not contribute to the deliverance we pretended to offer them : that the people were loaded with a weight of taxes absolutely (or hardly) supportable : and, that we were to be told of the financial prosperity of the country ! And we were to judge by it of the happiness of the people ! ” He then said, “ Kings were, however, more to be pitied than blamed, being often (or generally) surrounded with designing and selfish men : that they could not sometimes avoid being mischievous : that we must recollect they were men and liable to err.” He then proceeded to say, that “ however these matters might be, submission to the higher authorities was a duty ; that factious and designing men would mislead to mischief ; that there were discontented men, who would be such even in the kingdom of heaven.” In the letter in which the preceding was inclosed, my son told me that the captain of the Horse Artillery (MacDonald), a sensible and temperate man, was so disgusted that he walked out of the church before the sermon was ended, and declared that his men should never enter the church again when Mr. Clapham preached.

The permitting a clergyman to go on preaching

sedition sermons, especially to such an uncommonly numerous congregation as that at Christ Church, appeared to me so utterly unfit, if a remedy can be applied to prevent it, that I prepared a case for the opinion of some eminent civilian, to know whether the Vicar can be silenced or removed, or what measure can be adopted to correct the serious evil. When I put the case into the hands of Mr. Frere, the solicitor, he told me that Mr. Clapham had been lately with him, venting most abusive language against me, and declaring, that as he could get no more preferment, he would take no care of the parish. I have, for a very long time, borne with this man's infamous and detestable conduct : falsehoods of the grossest kind, contradicted in the plainest terms under his own hand ; threatenings to publish private letters, about which I was perfectly indifferent, except from a general dislike to appeals to the public on matters of a private nature ; in short, everything that was most offensive. To all which I opposed not even a justification to any person in the place, except one, two, or three sentences to an individual, much less any recrimination, from an unwillingness to give a bad impression of him to his parishioners. But further forbearance would have an extremely bad tendency, by endangering the corruption of those who hear him in that pulpit ; and I am inclined to think any deprivation of income, within my own reach, would be proper in order to mark the sense entertained of his conduct.

Monday, October 30th.—Wrote to the Chancellor,

with a statement of Mr. Clapham's business, to learn from his Lordship, as patron of this gentleman's Yorkshire living, whether the Vicarage of Christ Church cannot be opened to a new presentation as *voidable* but not *void*, on a public remonstrance being made to him of the offensive passages in the sermon. I forbear applying to the diocesan, the Bishop of Winchester, till I have the opinion of the civilian.

Mr. Ryder called on me, to tell me he had agreed to accept the office of Secretary of State for the Home Department, and that Lord Liverpool was to go to the War Department. Mr. Manners Sutton, son of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to succeed Mr. Ryder as Judge-Advocate. I thought the appointment of Mr. Leycester to that situation might have been considered judicious; but Mr. Ryder explained to me that the office of a Welsh judge, and the business of the Attorney-General in the Court of Exchequer, considering the durability of the former, are more desirable.

The Duke of Portland died this day, after an operation for the stone. A perfectly amiable man, and with an honourable mind; but from the entire neglect of his own affairs, he was considerably embarrassed, with a princely fortune, and so was in the hands of his servants and people about him. His death is now not likely to create any sensation whatever in the state of parties. As Master of the Trinity House, he will, I think, be succeeded by Earl Camden, who, I suggested some weeks ago to the Deputy-Master (Mr. Caton), and through him to the Elder Brethren, and

was assured his election would meet with little or no opposition.

Tuesday, October 31st.—The Duke of Cumberland again rode up to me in Hyde Park, and talked of the probability of the Government going on, of which he expressed rather a sanguine expectation; but very much disliked Lord Liverpool being at the War Department. He saw Mr. Canning, and read all the papers he put into his hands; after which he said he had a strong impression that that gentleman's conduct is utterly unjustifiable, and that he was persuaded he *now* repents of the step he had taken; of which I entertain no doubt. His Royal Highness desired me to read Cobbett's paper of last Saturday, in which he attacks Mr. Canning's conduct with great severity;—this, however, I feel no disposition to read.

Wednesday, November 1st.—The persons who kissed hands to-day were Mr. Ryder, Lord Liverpool, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Manners Sutton, for the offices before alluded to.

Addresses were presented to the King at his levée, from the two Universities, and the City of London: the latter remarkably loyal and very well expressed.

Thursday, November 2d.—I dined with Lord Camden. Met Lord Bathurst and Lord Harrowby. The Chancellor too ill to be there; and Lord Mulgrave prevented by Lady Mulgrave being dangerously ill. No account yet from Lord Wellesley. A conjecture entertained that he may endeavour to effect a reconciliation between Mr. Canning and the present Government, from a difficulty he may find himself under

to choose, between them, which side he will take. But I am persuaded that whatever his wish may be, he will hardly make an attempt so desperate. It is not to be expected, that if Mr. Canning would not go on with the Government under a First Lord of the Treasury, who he might have chosen himself, because Mr. Perceval would lead the House of Commons with a little more consideration than he had before, that he would now reunite himself with it *under* Mr. Perceval at the head of the Treasury.

The terms of the peace between Austria and France not yet known. The Tyrolians are determined not to be parties to it, whatever the conditions may be. Two of them are come here in the hope of getting some succour by private subscriptions. They are very little in want of arms; powder is their most important need. The account Lord Bathurst gives of them, which he believes, appears almost fabulous. That they are now nearly 120,000 armed; that they have given up to the Emperor of Austria 20,000 prisoners they had made, French and Bavarians, and have 25,000 still in their possession. The two persons at their head are a publican and a peasant, under whom nobles are serving.

The deputies state that they received from the Emperor of Austria solemn assurances, on the 20th of September, that he would not abandon them; and on the 25th, it is understood, he signed the treaty, leaving them at the mercy of Buonaparte.

Saturday, November 4th.—Lord Bathurst desired me to inform my son that he had seen letters from

Lord Wellesley, which induced him to be persuaded that the Marquis would accept the seals of the Foreign Department, although in these letters he had not expressly said that. His Lordship is certainly on his way home; but without knowing one syllable of what he has actually written, or to whom he has written, I entertain very great doubt whether he has decided what he shall do. I am strongly inclined to believe he will not take his final determination till he informs himself on the spot of the state of things. In any event, my son's claims are strengthened in every way by the offer made to him. Lord Wellesley must feel that his acceptance disappoints my son of the situation of Under-Secretary, which, combined with his own just pretensions, Mr. Pitt's earnest wish, expressed under his own hand, and the Marquis's friendship for me, must, I think, insure to my son almost any opening in the foreign line that can offer. On the ground of public good, I must rejoice if the Marquis shall accept; which at any time, but most peculiarly at the present, should supersede all considerations of private advantage.

Wednesday, November 8th.—Mr. Wharton is appointed Secretary to the Treasury, who is likely to fill that situation extremely well and usefully; wanting, of course, experience in the business of finance and of the office, as most persons have done when first appointed to that office.

Saturday, November 11th.—I gave Mr. Perceval a long paper on Finance, to prove the absolute and indispensable necessity of a reduction in our expenditure;

showing distinctly and plainly that the expense of this year greatly exceeds that of 1800, the last year of Mr. Pitt's first Administration, when I was Secretary of the Treasury. That after allowing a very large sum for necessary increased expenses since that time, for Mr. Windham's plans, the local militia as exceeding the volunteer expense, the additional price of naval stores, and other charges, our expenditure might be brought so low as to bring the amount of the necessary loans considerably below the sum annually paid off of the National Debt. Showing, in the strongest language in which I could express myself, the infinite importance of the sole controlling power of the public purse being in the First Lord of the Treasury; who alone has the responsibility; while at present the heads of each department dip their hands into it without mercy; each anxious to have the service under his management performed effectually, without considering the evil brought upon the country by the expense of the whole. In the Transport Branch the charge for ships for stores alone is more than for the whole service in 1800, when there were foreign expeditions. The paper at length will accompany these notes; and I tell Mr. Perceval in it that unless the proposed reduction is zealously set about, I shall certainly make the same statement in some shape or other publicly that I have done to him privately.

Thursday, November 23d.—Between the 11th and this day, nothing worthy of notice occurred.

Mr. Perceval, this morning, received a letter from Marquis Wellesley, dated Seville, the 30th of October,

expressing in terms of the utmost cordiality his cheerful acceptance of the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, rendered more agreeable to him by being to act with persons with most of whom he had long been in the habits of the closest friendship; and adding, that nothing could have been more agreeable to him than Lord Bathurst having been the person to hold the Seals in the meantime, from the affection he had for him in particular. This acceptance of the Marquis before his arrival, in so very unqualified a manner, somewhat surprised me, at the same time that it gratifies me, as well on his own account, as on that of the public. It is a decided and manly conduct, and will give strength to the Government; but whether sufficient to carry it through, remains to be seen. Of that, from my ignorance of the line several Members of Parliament will take, I can form no opinion in the least degree to be relied on.

Saturday, November 25th.—Lord Bathurst having gone to Brighthelmstone, yesterday, I sent the statement of finance, which I had given to Mr. Perceval, to his Lordship, with a desire that he would show it to Mr. Steele, who is there, for his opinion, principally, on the subject of the increase in the army and ordnance.

Sunday, November 26th.—The Marquis Wellesley arrived at Portsmouth, in the *Donegal*, after a passage of fifteen days from Cadiz; and in the afternoon he went to meet Lord Bathurst.

Tuesday, November 28th.—Lord Wellesley arrived in town, from Sussex. The King did not come to

town the next day, Wednesday, the 29th; so that the Marquis could not kiss hands for the Seals.

Tuesday, December 5th.—Lord Wellesley called upon me to-day, to say that although he did not think it right to return any visits till he had seen the King, he could not resist calling upon me, to say how much gratified he was on hearing the line I had taken, and to assure me of his intention to show the most marked kindness to my son.

Wednesday, December 6th.—The Bishop of Lincoln (who is now in habits of the strictest intimacy and confidence with Lord Grenville) dined with me alone. His manner was quite as it had been in Mr. Pitt's time, free and unreserved. I avoided carefully everything in conversation that could bring politics forward; but he led to them, to a certain extent, first by alluding to the contest for the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford, and afterwards to the prejudice Lord Grenville had to meet by rejecting the overtures made to him for forming a strong Government, as well as what he had to encounter on the subject of the Catholic question. From what fell from the Bishop, I am most entirely certain that Lord Grenville repents seriously not only of not having formed his Government by taking into it a part of Mr. Pitt's friends, in January, 1806, instead of Lord Sidmouth's; but that, if he had *alone* been sent for by the King on Mr. Canning's secession, in September, he would have proposed to include in the new Administration several of the present Ministers. And it is perfectly clear to me, that his Lordship would have been infinitely

better pleased to have been sent for alone than with Lord Grey.

The Bishop gave me a copy of Lord Grenville's letter to the Head of Brasenose to read, about which much conversation has taken place; as it was meant as a sort of statement of his opinions and conduct respecting the Catholic question, as it may affect his election for the University. His Lordship desires that the Principal of Brasenose will acquaint the President of Magdalen (who had expressed himself civilly about his Lordship, but objected to the line he had taken on the Catholic question), that he had a real anxiety to stand well in his opinion, but that he could not endeavour to gain that, or even the election for the Chancellorship, at the expense of abandoning what he had refused to do, to remain in office. That no man living was a warmer friend to the Church Establishment of this kingdom than himself. That Mr. Pitt and himself were completely in unison as to the propriety of the measures which had been intended respecting the Catholics: the only difference between them was as to the time in which they should be carried into execution. That it had always been his fixed determination, whenever they should be adopted, that these should be combined with other measures which should completely and effectually secure the Church of England. That previously to the union with Ireland it had never entered his mind that there ever could be any further relaxation of the laws against Papists; but that from that time he had been convinced that everything necessary for them might

have been granted without the slightest danger to the Protestant interest ; and that in the late overture to him nothing had been said on the subject, but that he had no security against his being immediately called upon for such a pledge as he refused when he went out of office.

CHAPTER XII.

1810—1811.

RECOLLECTIONS RESPECTING SELLIS'S ATTEMPT ON THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND'S LIFE, MAY 31ST, 1810; BY A MEMBER OF THE ROSE FAMILY—MR. ROSE'S DIARY FROM OCTOBER 30TH, 1810, TO FEBRUARY 9TH, 1811—THE KING'S ILLNESS, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REGENCY.

THE account of the attempt to murder the Duke of Cumberland, cannot even at this time be devoid of interest; for some false stories in connexion with it were in circulation at the time, injurious to his Royal Highness, and the impression still lingers in some quarters that he was more or less in fault. This statement of facts therefore is due to his memory.

The plan of the Duke of Cumberland's apartments will recall them to your recollection. I will as clearly as I can, and shortly, state the circumstances we heard at the time, which made an impression on my mind; and also some particulars relating to the coroner's jury, which we learnt from a person to whom the foreman stated them.

The page in attendance always slept in the room marked on the plan *Neale's room*. Neale was at that time page in attendance. His wife was housekeeper, and lived in the apartments, but on another floor.

The room marked Sellis's, Sellis slept in, when in

occasional attendance (to be in readiness for a journey, &c.). He had a wife who did not belong to the household, and he usually inhabited, with her, apartments the Duke had procured for them, in another part of St. James's palace, within the same court.

The housemaid stated, that she had as usual placed the cushions, &c. removed at night, from the Duke's bed, in the closet adjoining the water-closet; laid the pull of the bell over the end of the bed, and closed all the window-shutters of the state apartments adjoining the Duke's bedroom. The Duke's sabre lay on the sofa in his room. Some time before, Sellis had observed it wanted repair. He had, by permission, had it repaired and sharpened; and when it came home, instead of replacing it in the wardrobe, threw it on the sofa, in the bedroom.

When the Duke felt himself wounded in the head, and by the feeble light from the shaded lamp saw only the glitter of the sabre, he put out his hand to pull the bell, but could not catch the tassel, which had been dropped behind the raised head of the bed. He then sprang from the bed to the door of the ante-room, communicating with the page's room. Whilst endeavouring to open that door he received a wound in the thigh, and the door was marked by the point of the sabre, which remained bent; and a picture near the door had a splash of blood on it.

Neale, on hearing the Duke's voice, sprang from his bed, and from his room barefoot, and trod on the sabre where marked, in the ante-room; which it appears must have been thrown forward towards this

room by the assassin, when the Duke opened the door.

Neale supported the Duke towards the principal staircase, and called for help. Some servants came, and Neale's wife ; and they called in the sentries and the serjeant on guard, who began to search the house below for thieves.

The Duke earnestly asked for Sellis, and a servant went across the court to his separate apartments to call him. One of his children replied, that her father slept in the Duke's apartments. On the return of this messenger, the steward went to the door of Sellis's room, opening from the passage and staircase : it was locked, and no answer returned to their calls. One of the soldiers observed that he heard a gurgling noise in the room. On repeated messages from the Duke for Sellis's attendance, Mr. Neale recollected that there was another door to his room from the state apartments. They went to those rooms from the principal staircase, and as it was then light, observed that the upper shutters of the windows were open. The door to Sellis's room was unlocked ; they found him as he was afterwards seen lying, or rather sitting, on his bed, dead, half undressed. On a chest of drawers, near the bedside, lay a razor, and a basin, with water tinged with blood, in which it was supposed he had washed his hands before he began to undress, or was disturbed by the knocking at his door. I have repeated shortly what was I believe printed in the newspapers at the time, supported by authentic accounts, to make what was otherwise obscure more clear.

It was noticed, that there was a smear of blood on the *left*-hand side of the door case, from the Duke's bedroom, to the state apartments,—between four and five feet from the floor;—and some unfavourable inferences seem to have been drawn from it.

Sir Thomas Dyer told us, that he saw Sellis's body and the room, exactly in the state it was found in; that he sat, lying back upon the bed, his hands on each side, and his face composed, with rather a smiling expression. That his coat was off, and hanging on a chair, as far as it could be from the bed in so small a room. He observed that it gave proof of the blood that had gushed from the wounds given while it was worn; for that the *left* sleeve, between the shoulder and the elbow, was *soaked* with blood, which must have streamed on it from the sabre blade held by the right hand. One of his half-gaiters was off, the other, half unbuttoned; in short, he had the appearance of having been interrupted in undressing, and of having thrown himself hastily on the bed. Sir Thomas described the basin with the bloody water and razor by the bed-side, as before stated. I observed that the blood on the sleeve accounted for that on the door-case;—he said, he had not seen it, nor heard it noticed; but afterwards remarked, on inquiry, that Sellis *could not* have taken his coat off, and placed it where it was after having cut his throat. It seems clearly to have appeared, therefore, that Sellis was undressing when every one else in the house had long been in their beds (for the Duke, and afterwards the household,

had gone to rest at an early hour, and it was then just daylight); and that he was found in the state Sir Thomas Dyer saw him in, by the servants who were awaked by the Duke's and Neale's voices, and by the soldiers called in by them. On inquiry why Sellis slept in his room in the Duke's apartments that night, it appeared, that he told the housemaid, before some livery servant in the kitchen in the evening, to prepare the room for him; that the Duke would go to Windsor early in the morning, and that he must be in readiness to attend him. He gave his wife the same reason for leaving her that night. The Duke had not intended to go the next day to Windsor, and no other servant had understood that he had. You will have recollected the circumstances I have omitted of the appearance of a person having been concealed in the small closet adjoining the water-closet, where the dress-cushions from the Duke's bed were thrown; and of one of Sellis's slippers and a bottle of water (not there when she placed the cushions) being found there, and the injury that the tassels that hung from the drapery above the bed had received from the sabre.

We had heard from undoubted authority a general account of the coroner's jury, and of the extraordinary tone that appeared in their dispositions, after they had investigated all the circumstances of the case. The people summoned for the jury were the principal tradesmen about Whitehall, Charing Cross, &c., who were then chiefly supporters of Sir Francis Burdett and his politics; and such, from suspicion and curiosity,

were more ready to engage in the painful duty than indolently loyal men. Several we knew by name and character, particularly Place, the tailor, whom my father saw occasionally respecting journeymen's wages, benefit societies, &c. &c., and was struck with him as a strong and clear-headed man, well-meaning, though warped by politics.

Mr. Wakefield, the land-surveyor, was at Cuffnells on business at Christmas, 1815. He is in the first employment in his line, and is steward to many persons of great property; appears extremely intelligent, very conscious of it, and to be just saved from being a democrat by the power of his judgment and integrity over his presumption. He stated, that Place, the tailor, told him, that when he received his summons from the coroner, he did not know what he ought to do, never having been summoned on such a jury before. That he went immediately to Clifford, the barrister, Sir Francis Burdett's friend, to be instructed by him in the duty and privileges of a coroner's jury. Clifford told him that a certain number must be assembled to form a jury, twelve, I believe, but that it might be extended to twenty-four; that the doors must be open; and further informed him on several points of law and custom. Place admitted that his mind was prejudiced, but that he resolved to do his duty. This visit to Clifford had consumed so much time, that when he reached St. James's a jury was already formed, and he was refused admittance by the people without. He inquired how many the jury consisted of, and insisted on seeing the coroner, who came immediately, and

admitted that although there were enough to form the jury, more might be still added, to the number of twenty-four. Place was then added to the jury, who found him so well crammed by Clifford, and so intelligent, that they chose him for their foreman.

He told Mr. Wakefield that it was impossible that better evidence could have been given, or more full and fair means of information than what was before them. That there was not an appearance of the thing having been managed, or in any way withheld from them. That, as foreman, he had stated his perfect conviction of Sellis having been a murderer in intention, and a suicide; and that no doubt of both facts appeared to exist in the minds of the jury. He expressed great regret, that the Duke of Cumberland had prosecuted the editor of the *Statesman*, saying, if the Duke had not done so, as foreman of the jury he should; since the libel, in fact, accused that jury of perjury. That if the assertion made in the *Statesman* had been founded on truth, they must have had the means of ascertaining it from the evidence before them.

Place mentioned a circumstance that was curious, though unconnected with this matter. Thomas the *Butcher*, at Charing Cross, a jurymen, turned sick when he went into the room where Sellis's body lay, and could not assist in examining it.

Other circumstances, ascertained after the first examination, were, that Mr. Harvey Combe, the Alderman, found that his housekeeper said, she had formerly lived in the same service with Sellis, and

that she also named some matters reflecting on his character. On her master's inquiry, she stated that it was in the service of Mr. Chant the American. That frequently in the servants' hall Sellis used language so disrespectful to the royal family, and so irreligious, that it was offensive to her and to others of the household, and that she had expressed her surprise when she heard of Sellis being in the Duke of Cumberland's service, to a former housemaid and groom of Mr. Chant's, then married and keeping a shop in London. These people confirmed her statement. It was found too, on further inquiry, that when Mr. Chant returned to America, he carried Sellis with him to New York. While there, a chest of Mr. Chant's was broken open and a considerable sum in cash taken from it. A strong suspicion fell on Sellis, from a hammer being found in his possession which fitted the marks made by the instrument with which the chest had been forced open. When that was discovered, Mr. Chant recollected having fallen asleep while alone after dinner, awaking suddenly, and seeing Sellis start back and close the door; he was at the moment scarcely conscious whether he was awake or dreaming, and it passed from his mind, till the discovery of the hammer revived the recollection with so unpleasant an impression, that though he had no proof against the man, he parted with him, paid him liberally, and sent him back to England. Whether Mr. Chant refused a character, or that Sellis believed he should not benefit by it, I do not recollect to have heard; but I understood he returned to Piedmont, where he

was met with and engaged by Lord Mount-Edgcumbe, in whose service he was when the Duke of Cumberland lived much with Lord Mount-Edgcumbe. When the Duke's income was increased and he formed his household, he asked Lord Mount-Edgcumbe to let him have Sellis, who had often waited on him.

After a time, Sellis grew weary of constant attendance; for though the other pages took their turns of waiting, the Duke preferred Sellis's assistance in dressing, &c., and he usually travelled with him. He was married, and wanted an appointment that would enable him to quit service, and secure him a maintenance for life. The Duke refused to ask a favour for him, but gave him apartments for his family, to whom he was very liberal. He complained heavily that the Duke would not solicit some employment for him, and stated his grievances, amongst others, to a German page of the Duke of Cambridge, a man of excellent character. That man asked him why he did not quit the Duke's service for a private one? He replied, if the Duke would not ask for a place for him, he had no resource, for that no private gentleman would like to take a servant from a royal household. He attributed the Duke's refusal to a selfish wish to retain a useful attendant.

Sellis had nothing marked in his countenance. His face and figure were mean, but his intelligence and attention attracted notice even in his waiting at table.

[MR. ROSE's diary of this period, comprising the end of 1810 and the commencement of 1811, gives a minute detail of the varying symptoms of the King's illness, with respect to his mental derangement; the ever-shifting rumours of the Prince's intentions during the establishment of the Regency; and, when that was finally effected, the disappointment and rage of the Opposition, when, under the influence of right and dutiful feelings, for which the world gave him little credit, and which are still attributed to Mrs. Fitzherbert's advice, he determined to retain his father's Ministers in office, because the physicians spoke so confidently of the Monarch's recovery. One of those Ministers, Lord Wellesley, obtained the Regent's sanction for sending Mr. Rose's son as ambassador to the Court of Constantinople,—the same Court at which his grandson has since obtained so much diplomatic distinction at the beginning of the Crimean war,—but he declined.—ED.]

Diary, Tuesday, October 30, 1810.—This morning Lord Bathurst, who was sent for from Worthing, came in to me, lying on the couch with the gout, and mentioned that the King is again unhappily in a state of derangement in his mind. The first symptoms, he said, appeared on Wednesday last, at Windsor, by talking very fast and loud to those about him; since which time they have considerably increased.

Dr. Baillie thinks the malady is likely to last some months; Sir Henry Hallford thinks not so long;

and Dr. Heberden that it may pass over in a short time; and he appears to be the most confident of the three.

The King broke out, as in former instances, in most unfit language to the Princesses; and was giving away to them and others about him, many very valuable little articles, such as gems, &c., and turned away some of his pages capriciously. But Dr. Heberden had influence enough with him to prevail on him to lock up all his valuables in a drawer, and to give the key to the Queen; and also to reinstate the pages he had removed.

This happens at a most unfortunate crisis, as the commission for proroguing the Parliament (pursuant to the Order in Council of last week) to the 29th of next month, has not been signed; and the physicians were yesterday of opinion that his Majesty was not well enough to put the Royal signature to it.

The Chancellor and Mr. Perceval went to Windsor yesterday, and the physicians thought, upon the whole, it was most desirable the latter should go in to the King, which he did accordingly, and found his Majesty considerably deranged; but he talked to Mr. P. very affectionately, spoke with much regard of his family, and with great earnestness about the Government, declaring his fixed determination to give them his utmost and most cordial support as long as they would be firm, and stand by him; and expressed a conviction that if that should be made known, it would fix many people in their politics who would otherwise be likely to waver.

The three physicians agree that the King's constitution will carry him through this afflicting complaint; and they concur also in the certainty that it has been brought on entirely by his anxiety and grief at the Princess Amelia's illness and sufferings, whose name his Majesty has not, however, even mentioned since his illness.

A bulletin is intended to be given out to-day of the state of the King's health.

I had not the remotest suspicion that there was any ground of apprehension respecting that, till Lord Bathurst came to me. He had dined with Mr. Perceval at Ealing yesterday, where he was joined, at half-past seven, by that gentleman and the Chancellor, on their return from Windsor, who were overset in their chaise coming back, in the dark, near Brentford.

A Cabinet is to be held to-day to deliberate on what shall be done in the event of the King not being well enough to sign the commission for the prorogation before the Houses meet to-morrow.

It appears to be most extraordinary that the King should have been deranged to such an extent, as he certainly has been for six days, without the public having had the least intimation of it. Not an allusion of the most distant kind in any of the newspapers of to-day. In the *Morning Chronicle* it is stated that the King has had a cold, but that last night he was better. Government have not (at one o'clock) had the account from Windsor.

Surprising as this secrecy appears, and although

Government had no information of any symptoms of derangement before the 24th, I think there must have been a strong suspicion earlier than that in the minds of those immediately about his Majesty; because I had urgent letters from Lord Walsingham, who lives near Windsor, and is much with the King in private, desiring me to search for precedents (to which he referred) in the reigns of Elizabeth and George II., of the Great Seal having been put to Parliamentary commissions without the signature of those monarchs. His Lordship's first letter was dated the 18th of the month.

Mr. Perceval saw the Prince of Wales at Windsor, who talked a great deal, but entirely in general terms. The Duke of York told Mr. Perceval that the Prince of Wales said to him he should be very moderate and guarded in all his proceedings, in the event of a continuance of the calamity.

The Chancellor called upon me at three o'clock, from the Cabinet, and read Colonel Taylor's letter to me, in which he tells his Lordship that the physicians thought it utterly unfit that he (the Colonel) should give the commission to his Majesty to be signed, which the Chancellor had left with him, for proroguing the Parliament; in consequence whereof, the Cabinet had decided to get Members enough of the Commons to make a house on Thursday, and thus, on the meeting of the two Houses, adjourn for a fortnight. I therefore wrote to my son, and to Mr. Sturges Bourne, to come up for that day, if they should find it practicable to do so.

The Chancellor told me that Dr. Baillie had named three months to him as the probable period for the King's recovery; but admitted that he was not at all familiar with the sort of case. His Lordship was very strong against putting the Great Seal to the Commission without the King having previously signed it. I showed him one in the 28th of Elizabeth *for opening* the Parliament, when the Queen was ill, without the royal signature.

The Prince of Wales observed, on Monday, to the Duke of York, that he conceived the King was not in so perfect a state of mind as he should have been in, last Wednesday, the 24th, to transact business of any importance, when the Council was held on that day for deciding on the prerogative of Parliament, but that he did not believe the Ministers were aware of it.

Soon after the Chancellor left me, Lord Bathurst returned. From him I found that Mr. Perceval had apprised Lord Sidmouth and Mr. Canning of the King's situation; and that from the former he had received the most cordial assurances of every support in his power to see him through the difficulties consequent on his Majesty's illness. From the latter no acknowledgment of the communication had come to hand.

The Prince of Wales was in town two hours to-day. The servants told Sir Walter Farquhar, when he called at Carlton House, that the Prince would see nobody.

Wednesday, October 31st.—Nothing interesting to-day. Lord Bathurst told me that the private account

of the King, though written by Dr. Baillie, was more favourable than the public bulletin. He said the King talked sillily last night, but that there had not been any unusual excitation.

Thursday, November 1st.—The King not having been well enough to sign the commission for proroguing the Parliament this day, the two Houses met, and adjourned themselves to the 15th. In the House of Commons there were more than a hundred members, and in the House of Lords about fourteen or fifteen. Very few of the Opposition attended in either House.

Friday, November 2d.—Very little variation in the state of the King's health. In the course of yesterday, while talking to himself, he enumerated the causes of each of the derangements with which he had been afflicted, and concluded with saying, "This was occasioned by poor Amelia."

At twelve o'clock to-day the Princess Amelia died !

Mr. Canning's answer to Mr. Perceval was, thanking him for the communication, and adding that he should be in his place in the House.

Sir Walter Farquhar told me to-day, that the Prince of Wales's disposition was strongly towards Lord Grenville; but that his Royal Highness had left off talking to him (Sir Walter) for some time past. This partiality to Lord Grenville is somewhat singular, as the Prince complained loudly to Sir Walter and others, on Mr. Fox's death, that from that event the Ministers had left off making any confidential communications to him, which he took exceedingly amiss.

Lord Eardley's account of Mr. Davonport Sedley's success in attacking his Royal Highness, and other anecdotes of the same sort.

Saturday, November 3d.—The King was in so irritable a state during a part of the morning of yesterday, that the physicians in attendance were induced to send for Dr. Symonds, whose practice is in that line; who went accordingly, but refused to be in attendance on his Majesty, unless his son should be allowed to attend him also; and that being refused, the doctor left Windsor; and no other resource occurring, a person at Kensington, who has the care of insane patients, was sent for. And a Cabinet is to meet this evening, to decide whether Dr. Symonds's *demand* about his son, shall be acquiesced in or not.

No other alteration in the state of his Majesty's health. The physicians say, that when they communicated to the King the account of the Princess Amelia's death, he not only *understood*, but *anticipated* it.

I have a letter from Lord Walsingham to-day, in which he seriously assures me, that when he first wrote to me to inquire about the Great Seal having been put to commissions without the King's signature, he had not the most distant idea or expectation of the King's illness; adding he had never seen the King better in health, and in all respects, than he has been during the whole summer.

Sunday, November 4th.—Mr. Perceval told me that the King yesterday mentioned the Princess Amelia's death, without any appearance of increased agitation.

Monday, November 5th.—Sir Walter Farquhar told me he heard from Lord Yarmouth, that the King had had a lucid interval of two hours yesterday. In a letter from Lord Walsingham I received this day, he says, If I had been asked to say when I had ever seen the King's mind stronger for accuracy, reasoning, judgment, and memory, I should have answered that it has been for the last four months; and, therefore, I trust in God that it may soon resume its wonted powers." This is evidently in continuation, to do away all suspicion of his having made the inquiries hereinbefore alluded to, from an apprehension that the King was going wrong: though I verily believe he expressed his true opinion in the letter of this day.

Tuesday, November 6th.—The bulletin to-day is much less favourable than the preceding one.

Friday, November 9th.—Lord Harrowby sat with me for some time, and gave a very favourable statement of the King: much sleep last night and this morning, and less agitation. He knew Dr. Willis was in attendance on him, and was not affected by it; which I was very apprehensive he would have been. His Lordship agreed with me as to the fitness of another adjournment on Wednesday next for a fortnight more.

Sir Walter Farquhar told me he had seen Colonel McMahon, who expressed great delight to him at Mr. Tyrwhytt and himself having dined the day before with the Prince of Wales; who soon after dinner sent Tyrwhytt away, and went through with the Colonel

all the important matters then depending, and which might occur, in the most confidential manner!!

Monday, November 12th.—The Chancellor and Lord Westmoreland were at Windsor yesterday, and the former had much conversation with the King's physicians. They told him the King asked in the morning how long he had been confined, and when they told him, he said he had no recollection of the time; that this was the fourth blank in his life; enumerating the three former ones, and the periods of them. He then asked if the Princess Amelia was buried, and on being told *not*, he desired that the directions he had given about her funeral might be carefully attended to, unless she had left any in her will; in which case those should be attentively observed.

The private and public account of the King's health, much the same as yesterday; but little rest in the night; asleep, however, when the messenger came away.

Tuesday, November 13th.—The Ministers all went to Windsor this afternoon, to the funeral of the Princess Amelia; the King having expressed a wish that they should do so, before he was taken ill, though he did not issue any command for it.

Wednesday, November 14th.—On Lord Bathurst's return from Windsor, he wrote me a note to say, "the bulletin announces some sleep and amendment: the looks of the physicians, whom I saw, and their general conversation, were very flattering."

The Portuguese ambassador, who came to me, was very sanguine about the result of matters in Portugal;

conceiving Massena cannot long subsist himself in his position, and must, therefore, attack Lord Wellington in his strong one, or attempt his retreat. The difficulties attending the latter (which he explained), he conceived to be very great.

Thursday, November 15th.—The physicians to-day announced the King to be in a progressive state of amendment, and the account they gave to Ministers was extremely encouraging, holding out the best expectation. The principal fear they entertain is that as recovery advances, the King's anxiety about public affairs will increase, and may throw him back.

He was quite aware of the difficulties that would arise from the commission for prorogation not having been signed.

Friday, November 16th.—The King yesterday was not quite so well as the day before, which was attributed to a long detailed arrangement he went through, perfectly collectedly, respecting the Princess Amelia's attendants, for whom he had made provision in several packets, which he stated were to be found in a particular drawer, all regularly marked. But at the end of the business he was apparently worn out and affected.

Saturday, November 17th.—Rather more fever, and not much rest, was the account from Windsor to-day.

Sunday, November 18th.—The bulletin stated some amendment to-day ; and the private account more encouraging.

Monday, November 19th.—The King slept much yesterday, and was better in the evening. And to-

day he is announced to be quite as well as yesterday.

Mr. Samuel Thornton applied to me to-day to know if a large quantity of lead and saltpetre could be allowed to be sent to Russia ; which I explained could not be done without a communication from the Foreign Secretary of State. This led to a confidential communication with him on the subject of Russia ; from which I learned, that there is an entire disposition on the part of that country to co-operate with us, as far as depends on the Emperor and some of his Ministers ; and that it will not be the fault of his Imperial Majesty, if that is not manifested by the month of April next. And it seems quite clear, from late occurrences, that other northern powers are disposed to take the same line, if the French shall be decidedly worsted and disgraced in Portugal. Russia has been told that we will *not invite her*. There is now again a confidential private friend of the Emperor's to be employed in this business, of the name of Parensky, in the same manner that —— was on a former occasion.

Tuesday, November 20th.—The account of the King varies very little from yesterday. Lady Neale's account, from the royal family, is, that from the beginning of the disorder they had entertained better hopes of his Majesty than on any former occasion. He had told the Princess Amelia, some time before, that he was afraid he should be so afflicted, and that he trusted God would give him strength to go through the trial.

Wednesday, November 21st.—Sir Walter Farquhar

told me that the account he had from the Prince of Wales of the state of the King's health, corresponded very much with what was stated by the physicians out of doors. His Royal Highness had talked with Mr. Home, the surgeon, on the determination of the King against being bled, which compelled them to have recourse to leeches; which led Mr. Home to say, "he would have bled him till he fainted!"

Little variation in the bulletin.

Thursday, November 22d.—The accounts to-day less favourable than for some days; increase of fever and disturbed rest.

Lord Harrowby came in, and said the private accounts were not more pleasant.

He said they found by Lord Wellington's last letters, that Massena subsisted himself in his position better than had been expected; that the Portuguese had not driven the country as they had been instructed, which left both cattle and grain, as the Indian corn was in the ground: still his limits were narrow. Lord Harrowby added, that Lord Wellington had no apprehension of reinforcements to Massena except from Seville or Cadiz.

Friday, November 23d.—Some increase of fever, and bad rest, is the account from Windsor to-day.

The Duke of Cumberland called here and sat an hour; could give no other information about the King than what I had heard. He was full of commendation of the Prince of Wales for his prudent and temperate conduct: said he had seen none of the Opposition; that he had no objection to the present Ministers, and

insinuated very strongly that his conduct, in the event of a regency, would depend upon theirs towards him ; alluding evidently to the restrictions in the Regency Bill, if one should be brought in. That he should expect to be treated like a gentleman, not like a ruffian.

Tuesday, November 27th.—No change has taken place since the 23d, in the King's health, worth noticing, nor has anything occurred till this day, when it was decided in the Cabinet, very reluctantly, as expressed by Lord Bathurst, for an examination of the physicians by the Privy Council ; as the Ministers were not enabled to say the King was better than when the Houses last met. The examination to take place to-morrow.

Wednesday, November 28th.—I received a long note from Mr. Perceval, desiring my opinion on the mode of proceeding to-morrow, and stating the course he thought the Opposition would propose. His intention is to present the report of the examination of the physicians, and then to propose another adjournment for a fortnight, which I entirely approved of, as consonant to the spirit of the precedent in 1788, though not to the letter of it.

I was present at the examination of the physicians before the Council. The attendance very full, both of members on the side of Government and of Opposition. Those examined were Dr. Reynolds, Sir Henry Hallford, Dr. Heberden, and Dr. Willis. The impression on my mind was, that there was no doubt entertained by any one of them of the King's recovery ; but neither of them could speak as to any probable

time. Dr. Reynolds and Dr. Heberden were the most sanguine; but all agreed entirely that if his Majesty should recover, his understanding would be as perfect as it ever was.

Thursday, November 29th.—Attended the Privy Council again, when Dr. Baillie was examined, who could not leave the King yesterday when all the other physicians were from Windsor. He concurred in the opinion of those who were examined yesterday, especially as to the perfect sanity of the King's mind, if he should recover.

I was afterwards at a private meeting at Mr. Perceval's, at three o'clock, when the proposal he suggested to me yesterday was unanimously concurred in.

In the House of Commons the measure was accordingly proposed by Mr. Perceval, and carried by a majority of two to one. Mr. Ponsonby then moved that a committee should be appointed to examine the physicians during the fortnight's recess, which was negatived two to one. The House then adjourned to the 13th of December.

Saturday, December 1st.—I left London for Cuffnells, very imperfectly recovered from the gout, where I arrived the next day.

Tuesday, December 4th.—Received a letter from Lord Bathurst, that the *private* accounts from Windsor were encouraging; the principal reliance of the physicians, and the circumstance which appears to them the most favourable is, the long interval of quiet. There continue, however, strong symptoms of disorder, but his Majesty corrects himself frequently,

and almost always allows others to correct him on these occasions. He is fully aware of what is going on, and observed, two days ago, that Mr. Perceval must have had some difficulty in carrying the second adjournment, considering the length of time his disorder had lasted.

Tuesday, December 11th.—A letter from Lord Bathurst, of the 10th, stating that Mr. Perceval was very anxious I should not go up for the meeting on the 13th, as a few days more in the country might give me strength to attend Parliamentary duty, as well as other matters.

Says he was at Windsor the day before (the 9th), and wished he could give me a favourable impression of the case : much would depend upon the manner in which the King will recover *from the relapse*.

Wednesday, December 19th.—I returned to London with considerable weakness remaining from the gout, and attended at a meeting at Mr. Perceval's, when he opened his intention of proceeding in the House to-morrow, according to the precedent of 1788, by proposing the three resolutions then adopted for providing for a Regency ; but did not name the restrictions he meant to propose on the Regent.

Friday, December 21st.—In the bulletin to-day the account was good ; but the private statement was still more encouraging. The expression is, that the King is very considerably better, and his pulse is reduced to its ordinary state.

I had a return of the gout, so strong as to compel me to go home at 10 o'clock. The House sat till near 12.

Saturday, December 22d.—The account from Windsor to-day not favourable. The King was going on *extremely well* till noon yesterday, when without any obvious cause he had a violent fit of passion, which left him under great agitation and irritation until late in the evening. He passed the night quietly, but appeared to-day irascible; in other respects the same as yesterday.

We may perhaps flatter ourselves that this is the state of a man whose mind is recovering, and that *upon the whole* the symptoms are, therefore, not unfavourable.

Monday, December 24th.—By the private account of last night nothing favourable is to be expected; but there does not yet appear any danger of a relapse.

The bulletin was unfavourable, for it gave a very unpromising account. The King was alarmingly ill last night.

Tuesday, December 25th.—Lord Bathurst told me, the King's attack was a very severe one; enough to give hope to some persons I need not name, and who hastened to Windsor on the occasion. I think we may flatter ourselves that the alarm has passed over, at least for the present.

Wednesday, December 26th.—No alteration in the King.

Thursday, December 27th.—No material alteration in the King's health.

The resolution sent up from the House of Commons to the House of Lords for providing for the

exercise of the Royal Authority was debated in the House at great length. Lord Grenville, whose speech in the House of Commons, lately printed, had been extensively circulated, was not present; neither were his brothers-in-law, Lord Fortescue, and Lord Braybrooke. His other brother-in-law, Lord Carysfort, was present and voted against the resolution, so did all the Princes of the Blood Royal; who had, before the agitation of the question in the House of Commons, written a letter subscribed by every one of them, to Mr. Perceval, declaring it to be their unanimous opinion, that the Prince of Wales should be requested by address to accept the Regency without any restrictions. The offence and disgust which this occasioned, to the country gentlemen in particular, was beyond anything I ever remember. Many spoke to me of it in terms of the strongest disapprobation mixed with great resentment,—which I most sincerely endeavoured to soften and abate, from a principle immovably fixed in my mind, that every man in the country who holds a station in it above the very lowest, has an interest, which he should never lose sight of, in preserving respect for the royal family, in every branch of it. This observation was met in a very particular instance, by another, that this sort of conduct would disable the Princes from any influence to do mischief! One that offered no consolation to my mind.

Tuesday, January 1st.—On the question for the amendment in the debate on the restrictions upon the Regent, which was that such portion only of the household should be in the control of her Majesty as may

be deemed necessary for his Majesty's royal dignity, the numbers were—

226 for it.
213 against it.

13 for the amendment.

On this question, Mr. Canning and his friends Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Banks, and some country gentlemen usually supporting Ministers, were in the majority—Sir James Mordaunt, Mr. Dugdale, Mr. Lethbridge, and Mr. Brandling.

Lord Huntingfield, Mr. Miles, Peter Andrews, and General Porter, went over; and Lord Hertford's friends as before—Lord Castlereagh also in the majority.

Lord Porchester gave notice that he should to-morrow divide the House on the report of the resolutions.

Wednesday, January 22d.—On bringing up the report of the resolutions, Mr. Perceval moved an amendment respecting the care of the King's person being committed to the Queen, to restore it to the shape in which he moved it in the committee, in order to give the Queen the power over the whole household; on which he was in a majority.

For Mr. Perceval's amendment . . . 217
Against it 214

3.

Several members had paired.

Thursday, January 3d.—The resolutions were delivered to the Lords at a conference by Lord Clive.

Friday, January 4th.—The resolutions were debated in the Lords with great heat.

The Marquis of Lansdown moved an amendment similar to the one moved in the Commons by Lord Porchester, to leave out of the first resolution the words, “subject to such resolutions,” &c., which after a long and warm debate was carried:—

Contents	105
Non-contents	102
	<hr/>
Majority for the amendment .	3.

In the majority were Lord Grenville and his friends; the Earl of Chichester, Postmaster-General; and his brother the Bishop of Exeter; the Bishop of Oxford, Moss; and Bishop of Rochester, King. The Duke of Rutland, Lord Chatham, and the Bishop of Lincoln, purposely stayed away. Lord Alvanley went over at the instance of the Duke of York.

Proxies were refused on the House being resumed.

102 against them
99 for them
<hr/>
3.

An amendment was moved in the Committee to leave out the permission for making naval and military men Peers on their distinguishing themselves, by Lord Liverpool, and carried; and the question for restriction of creating Peers generally was carried by the aid of Lord Grenville and his friends. Strange inconsistency!! His Lordship stated that he trusted it would be for six months only;—to cover his

Lordship's real inconsistency this question was carried :—

$$\begin{array}{r} 106 \text{ for} \\ 100 \text{ against} \\ \hline 6. \end{array}$$

And on Lord Liverpool's motion to place the whole of the household under the Queen's control, the numbers were—

$$\begin{array}{r} 97 \text{ for} \\ 110 \text{ against} \\ \hline 13 \text{ majority against it.} \end{array}$$

In the House of Commons, this day, Mr. Perceval moved a resolution mandatory on the Treasury and Exchequer to issue money for the Army, Navy, and Ordnance, without the usual authorities of the Privy Seal and Sign Manual. The necessity for which arose from Lord Grenville, as auditor, having refused to direct the tellers to make the issues without the usual and regular authority under the Privy Seal and Sign Manual. To which objection he was led by the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, contrary to the plain and express words of the Loan Act and the Appropriation Act; insisting, as they stated, that these words had been invariably used in all similar Acts, and that the invariable practice had been to issue only under the King's authority. After a debate of some length, the resolution was agreed to without a division. The Opposition were temperate, but pressed upon Ministers that they should have taken the responsibility upon themselves instead of coming to

Parliament, by the Chancellor putting the Great Seal to the instrument, which he might have done under the provisions of the Act of the 8th and 9th of King William for regulating the Exchequer. The Chancellor justified himself to his colleagues for not doing so, by saying there was no instance of the Great Seal having been so used ; which is true. But it is equally true that the necessity for it never before arose ; for, in 1788-9, there were sufficient credits for all the public services till after the recovery of the King in March, 1789. The reluctance on the part of lawyers to take responsibility upon themselves, which I have frequently observed in the course of thirty years' experience, was strongly marked in this instance. The Crown lawyers might at least have stated the precise words of the two Acts and the force of them, and observed upon the practice being against them. Let it be noticed that these are Acts *of the last session*, not, therefore, antecedent to the practice ! In the debate, I desired these gentlemen to tell us, whether, if the Lords of the Treasury, Auditors of the Exchequer, &c., had issued the money under the authority of these words, they thought their Lordships and the officers could have been proceeded against criminally for having so done ? To which the Crown lawyers gave no answer.

Sunday, January 6th.—'The accounts of the King's health have been uniformly favourable during the whole of this week ; not stating amendment, but quiet, and frequently sleep. On comparing them with those from the 1st of February to the 9th of the same

month, in 1789, they are as nearly similar as possible ; after which last-mentioned day in that year, an amendment in the King's health appears to have taken place gradually,—which affords some ground for hope now. And the private information from Windsor, during the whole of this week, tends very much the same way.

Tuesday, January 8th.—Lord Bathurst sat a long time with me. The account he gave of the King tended very much to raise my expectation of recovery. The physicians think him much better than he was ten days ago, and would last Sunday have pronounced him in a state of amendment, but from an apprehension of being harassed with examinations. His Majesty is quiet, and on all points, *except two*, is rational ; but on those his impression does not vary. One is, that he is Elector of Hanover ; the other was not mentioned to me. It has been thought also, rather an unfavourable symptom, that he had not spoken of public affairs, or of the Queen lately ; but this morning he did converse about the Queen, which has revived the hopes of the medical gentlemen. His bodily health has improved so much that in that respect he is nearly well. A paroxysm is expected in a very few days, less violent than the last, and from which the King will recover sooner than from that ; after which, all the physicians think he will go on progressively, till he gets entirely well. Dr. Willis expresses himself perfectly confident of complete recovery.

Lord Grenville was with the Prince of Wales on Sunday last for three hours ; and it is clearly under-

stood that his Royal Highness is to change the Administration as soon as he shall be invested with the Regency. Lord Moira, indeed, stated that distinctly yesterday to Lord Liverpool; observing at the same time, that he would not have done so if Mr. Perceval had not fettered him with restrictions. Lord Grey, who has been in Northumberland during the whole of these discussions, is expected immediately, and until he arrives nothing is to be decided respecting the political arrangements. It is conjectured that Lord Grenville is inclined to a junction with Mr. Canning; which will not be practicable if Mr. Whitbread has anything to do with the formation of the new Administration. Lord Grenville's friends, however, hope that Lord Grey will give up Mr. Whitbread, and that the taking in Mr. Canning will be practicable. In the meantime, that gentleman is well at Melburne House, through the connexion of Mr. Huskisson with that family.

Mr. Perceval has determined not to resign; which I do not regret, as there is a certainty of our being turned out. I should otherwise most deeply lament our going on in a miserable way, dwindling daily, with the Regent privately against us. But as we are to be set free, it is much better the removal should be with the Regent than with ourselves.

The new Ministers will dissolve the Parliament at the end of March, if the King should not recover in the interval;—fearing to wait till the natural end of the session, lest that delay should admit of a recovery before they dissolved.

Friday, January 11th.—Mr. Sheridan, by not disclaiming any intention not to oppose the measure for putting the Great Seal to a commission for holding the Parliament, afforded an opportunity for adjourning to Monday, instead of till to-morrow ; by which two days are gained towards the recovery of the King.

Saturday, January 12th.—The bulletin to-day less favourable, “ His Majesty is not quite so well this morning as he has been for some days past.” But as a paroxysm was expected this week by all the physicians, *this* alteration for the worse should not occasion despondency.

Sunday, January 13th.—The report of the physicians to-day, “ His Majesty has had a good night, and is better to-day.”

Thursday, January 17th.—Lord Bathurst was at Windsor, and with the Queen and physicians for nearly three hours. He tells me the real condition of his Majesty is, that he has been for some days in a state of quiet ; that the alteration of Saturday last was not a paroxysm, but a slight return of irritation. The opinion of the physicians is more than ever confident of recovery, but still uncertain as to time. Dr. Willis has not the slightest apprehension of another paroxysm now ; he thinks that *out of all probability*, and speaks of it with as much certainty as he can *on anything dependent on the state of any complaint*. The unanimous opinion also of the physicians is, that a state of some irritation must precede recovery, but that recovery is as certain as anything can be.

The King, on the subjects on which he does talk,

reasons very rationally. He had great curiosity about the Duke of Queensbury's will, desiring to be informed of all the particulars of it as accurately as possible, and remarking on each legacy with the most perfect judgment.

Lord Grey was with the Prince of Wales on the 15th, and agreed to accept the situation of First Lord of the Treasury, on the express condition that his Royal Highness should engage to consult only *his Ministers*, excluding thereby Lord Moira and Mr. Sheridan, even *from that time*, before he assumed the Regency. Lord Grenville to be President of the Council, giving up the Treasury from necessity, having rendered his holding that situation difficult, if not impracticable, from the line he took in making the difficulty to obey the orders of the Treasury, as Auditor of the Exchequer, on the late occasion, when there was a pressing demand for money for the army, navy, and ordnance, from the want of a Privy Seal in one instance, and of a King's warrant in another;—without which the Exchequer, it was stated, would not issue the money.

Of these hard conditions made with the Prince, his intended Ministers speak without reserve, which seems to be unnecessary and somewhat indelicate; for although it might be fit, and perhaps indispensable, to impose, there could be no use in publishing them. It is understood that his Royal Highness had committed himself to make Lord Erskine, Chancellor; and to put Lord St. Vincent at the head of the Admiralty; which, of course, must be afloat now. It is not

unlikely, however, but that Lord Grey may be disposed to acquiesce in the appointment of Lord St. Vincent.

No further arrangement is as yet spoken of for the offices, except a loose conversation for Mr. Whitbread to be Secretary-at-War, and in the Cabinet. Nothing seems to be known respecting Mr. Canning being admitted into the new Administration; but the prevalent opinion is that Mr. Whitbread will, on no consideration, listen to a junction with him. And amongst the lawyers the impression is, that Sir Samuel Romilly will have no connexion with the new Government if Mr. Canning is to form a part of it.

It has been suggested as possible that Lord Manners may be sent for from Ireland, to have the Great Seal.

By this relinquishment of the Treasury on the part of Lord Grenville, rendered necessary by his conduct in opposing, as Auditor, the issue of the money for public services, *he is properly rewarded*. For, after all, this is a sacrifice he finds himself compelled to make from public opinion, much more than from any real or solid objection to the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Auditor being held by the same person.

Throughout the whole of the debate—not, indeed, in this instance only, but in every stage of the Regency business, from the first introduction of it—Mr. Perceval has conducted himself with a degree of talent, manliness, temper, and perseverance equal to anything I ever witnessed in Parliament, except that in eloquence he fell somewhat short of Mr. Pitt and

Mr. Fox ; but, upon the whole, combining *all points*, I am bound to acknowledge that I think Mr. Pitt, if he had been living, could hardly have produced mere complete effect. Mr. Perceval's ability and his conduct, in all respects, have forced from his enemies an applause and approbation hardly ever bestowed by political adversaries ; and I am very much mistaken if the Regent will not find it necessary to resort to him for protection against his intended Ministers before two years elapse. I think I have given a long period.

Friday, January 18th.—The King walked out yesterday upon the terrace, for an hour, for the first time. On former occasions, his first going out led to a good deal of irritation, and it was supposed that the same effect would have been produced in this instance ; but fortunately he had a tolerable rest at night, and was this morning as well as he has been for some days ; which leads to a continuation of the hopes entertained.

The Committee went through the Regency Bill to-day without any division on the names of the Queen's Council, as was expected, or upon the clause respecting the provisions for the resumption of the King's authority eventually, without a division on any of them ; but several amendments were proposed

Every point has, therefore, been carried in the progress of the Bill by Ministers, although they were in a minority on one of the provisions, even after a previous resolution for the measure was discussed.

Wednesday, January 22d—On Sunday last the

King was in a state of some irritation during a part of the day ; but from that time he has been rather in an improving way, without the slightest return of excitement.

Friday, January 25th.—The Regency Bill in a committee in the House of Lords to-day ; and the clause for vesting the household in the Queen thrown out upon a division—108 to 96. Of course no proxies were used in the committee.

Saturday January 26th.—The Chancellor and Mr. Perceval saw the King this forenoon for an hour and a quarter, during the whole of which time he talked with them in the most collected manner, and spoke of the Princess Amelia with great feeling, but with perfect composure.

What seems most extraordinary is, that his Majesty is restored to a degree of sight. He looked at Mr. Perceval, and said he *saw* his eyes and nose, but could not *distinguish* his features sufficiently to know it was him ; but, turning to the Chancellor, and looking in his face, observed that it was larger, and that he should have known him.

For these last eight or ten days the reports of the intended arrangements, as proposed, for forming the new Government, have fluctuated very much. The only *certain* allotment of offices seems to be : Lord Grenville at the Head of the Treasury, contrary to the determination of last week against his receiving it, on account of the auditorship. He has either grown more bold, or his friends have conceded to him. Lord Grey to be Foreign Secretary of State, and Mr. Tierney to be Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer. Conjectured that Lord Erskine would be Chancellor; Lord Moira to go to Ireland. Mr. Ponsonby, Lord Lansdown, Lord Holland, Lord Lauderdale, and Mr. Whitbread, Cabinet offices. No overture to Mr. Canning; but a disposition shown to Lord Sidmouth: and an offer to Mr. Huskisson to be Secretary of the Treasury, which he declined, as below his pretensions, or from an adherence to Mr. Canning. Mr. Abercrombie and Mr. Freemantle to be Secretaries to the Treasury. Sir Samuel Romilly spoken of by some to be Attorney-General, by others Assistant-Master of the Rolls—a new office.

Sunday, January 27th.—I dined to-day with Lord Camden, who had been at Windsor, and had a long conversation with the physicians who are in attendance on his Majesty. They are still entirely *confident of ultimate recovery*, but uncertain as to the period. They acknowledge, however, disappointment at the interview with the Chancellor and Mr. Perceval not having produced the effect they expected, as it had not awakened his Majesty's attention to public affairs in a more animated manner than before that interview took place; at least, not in a degree worthy of notice. The Chancellor and Mr. Perceval tried repeatedly to bring the King to talk of public matters; but, as often as they did so, his Majesty turned the conversation with much dexterity, without appearing to avoid such subjects.

Monday, January 28th.—The report of the Regency Bill, in the House of Lords, was made to-day, when the clause respecting the household, which was left

out of it in the committee, was restored on a division.
For restoring it —

Present . . .	88	84
Proxies . . .	51	38
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	139	122

Majority for the clause in favour of Ministers . . . 17.

In two of the divisions the Dukes of York and Cambridge divided with Ministers.

Wednesday, January 30th.—Mr. Perceval was with the King again, yesterday, for more than an hour, and found a *certain* improvement in him from Saturday last. His Majesty talked freely of public matters, and with just reflections on them. He was quite aware of the probable difficulty of getting money out of the Exchequer for the services of the army, navy, &c.; and asked if any resistance had been made to that. On being told there had, he desired to know from what quarter it had arisen. On being told, “from Lord Grenville,” he made no reply; but bowed his head in a manner conveying that it did not surprise him. Mr. Perceval, in the course of the conversation, stated to his Majesty the stage of the Regency Bill, and the principal occurrences during the progress of it.

Thursday, January 31st.—The Regency Bill was this day read a third time with the amendments from the Lords, and passed.

Mr. Perceval, on Tuesday last, wrote to the Prince of Wales to acquaint him that there is money in the Exchequer to meet all the demands for various services till the end of February; and that, if the House of Commons shall be in a state to proceed to business on

the 12th, there will be sufficient time for the necessary stages to be gone through for making a further provision of money by the end of the month. To which communication Mr. Perceval this afternoon received an answer, saying that his Royal Highness learned with surprise and concern, that so short an interval would be allowed him to settle great and important matters, as the period between the Regency Bill receiving the Royal assent (probably the 5th) and the 12th.

Friday, February 1st.—The Chancellor and Lord Liverpool were with the King yesterday for about an hour. His Majesty more hurried in his manner than when Mr. Perceval was with him on Tuesday, but no derangement nor delusion. His agitation was attributed to the latter having opened to him some public matters, going forward beyond the mere detail of business; but after the hurry subsided (which betrayed itself only in passing from one subject to another) his Majesty was very collected, and showed an anxiety to know how persons had behaved on the questions in Parliament: about which the two Lords satisfied him as to those who had acted steadily, but avoided mentioning others who had pursued a different line of conduct. He then inquired whether it was the intention of the Prince of Wales to change the Government, to which the Chancellor answered affirmatively, according to the best information that Ministers could obtain; on which his Majesty said he would bring his present servants back, but desired to have time, requesting that he might not be brought forward too soon.

It seems to be decided to-day, that there is a fixed determination in his Royal Highness to change the Ministers immediately after the Regency Bill shall pass.

Saturday, February 2d.—Mr. Countts Trotter called on me this morning, having just left Lord Moira, who told him he was going Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland, which seems to render the removal of Ministers certain. Notwithstanding which, Mr. Brougham told Mr. Arbuthnot, last night, that the Ministers certainly would not be changed immediately; and Mr. Perry, of the *Morning Chronicle*, repeated confidently the same to-day.

In the afternoon, it was generally known and ascertained that the Prince of Wales, last night, sent a message to Lord Grenville, by Mr. Adams, his Chancellor, to communicate to him the determination he had taken not to change his father's Ministers in the state of his Majesty's health, so promising for recovery; assuring him (Lord Grenville), at the same time, of his confidence being entirely with him, Lord Grey, and his other friends. Which message was received with external marks of respect and satisfaction, but in reality with little content.

Sunday, February 3d.—The friends of Lord Grenville were going about the whole of this day, expressing in unqualified terms their strong disapprobation of the conduct of the Regent; complaining bitterly of not having had earlier information of his change of sentiments, the inconvenience of which they must have felt to a considerable extent, from many of

their party having discovered that they were to have been left out of the intended arrangement. Sir Arthur Pigott and Sir Samuel Romilly were to have been put aside from *political* situations. Mr. Sheridan, who would take nothing out of the Cabinet, was positively refused admission to it. Others were spoken of with much uncertainty.

This change in the Prince's intentions was brought about by a letter from the Queen to him, suggesting the serious ill consequences that might attend a change of his father's Ministers, by retarding his recovery, and eventually endangering his life; which his Royal Highness answered very dutifully, and acted as has been stated.

Monday, February 4th.—Yesterday, Lord Grenville and Lord Grey were with the Prince of Wales for more than an hour. They deny having attempted to shake his determination respecting the not turning out his father's Ministers, and say they advised his Royal Highness to give his confidence to Mr. Perceval, as he meant to keep him in the Government; which (*inter alia*) is taking a ground to justify their opposing his measures.

Lord Hertford told Lord Camden to-day, that the Prince had never entertained a thought of removing the Ministers, if the prospect of his father's recovery should be a flattering one when the Act of Regency should be complete; and had only called upon Lord Grenville and Lord Grey to be prepared with an arrangement for an Administration, in the event of his thinking it proper to make the change in his

Councils. But so late as this evening, Mr. Perceval has received no intimation of his Royal Highness's intention to retain him in his situation. The first overture to Lord Grenville, it seems, was through Lord Buckingham, who offered to send his brother to his Royal Highness, who attended him accordingly, and at his instance prepared an answer for his Royal Highness to the communication from Mr. Perceval of what was intended as to the restrictions to be proposed on the Regent. In which answer his Royal Highness made some important alterations, that gave great offence to Lord Grenville, who grew extremely sulky upon the occasion; but peace was made with him by the intervention of Lord Holland, to whom his Royal Highness applied personally for the attainment of the object.

A conference was this day had with the Lords on the commission for putting the Great Seal to the consent to the Regency Act. After which, there was some discussion upon it in the committee of the whole House upon the state of the nation; in the course of which the Speaker made a most argumentative and constitutional speech, stating, in substance, that he had observed a strict silence during the whole of the discussion of the several questions which had arisen in the course of the business, thinking it right never to mix in any debate upon points partaking of party interests and feelings; but having heard positions laid down by gentlemen (Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Eliot, and Sir Thomas Turton) attacking the *principle* on which the two Houses had proceeded; and thinking, as he

did, that the measures which had been adopted in carrying into effect the appointment of a Regent by bill instead of by address, was the only safe and constitutional mode; he felt it his indispensable duty, in the situation he filled in the House, to state his opinions distinctly, and his reasons in support of those, which he did most ably.

Tuesday, February 5th.—'The Chancellor went to Windsor to see his Majesty, in order to satisfy himself that he was not well enough to make it unfit for his Lordship to put the great seal to the commission for giving the royal assent to the Regency Bill; and found the King so well (though not recovered) as somewhat to embarrass the noble Lord. He however returned, and sealed the commission; after which *the bill received the royal assent.*

Wednesday, February 6th.—'This day I attended a Privy Council at Carlton House, at which the Regent took the oaths, in the presence of all the Privy Counsellors who were there, ninety-two in number; after which every one of them kissed his Royal Highness's hand, as they went up to him. Nothing was said to any one, except a few words in two or three instances.

Thursday, February 7th.—'The bulletin this day was the first in which "recovery" was mentioned. The words were, "His Majesty seems to be making gradual progress towards recovery."

Friday, February 8th.—'The statement from Windsor to-day was, "His Majesty continues to make gradual progress towards recovery."

The Regent gave audience to all the Ministers this day. To Mr. Perceval he was *most cordial*, as was stated to me by Mr. Arbuthnot, for I did not see himself; but Lord Wellesley came to tell me he had proposed my son to his Royal Highness as Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Constantinople, which he had acquiesced in very graciously. This communication I received gratefully, expressing, however, great doubts whether my son could accept, for reasons not necessary to detail here. But I told his Lordship that he should have an answer in two or three days, he having allowed my son to talk on the subject with Mr. Arbuthnot, who had been there.

Lord Wellesley said nothing could exceed the grace and condescension of his Royal Highness, nor the pleasant manner in which he transacted business with him during an hour. His Royal Highness mentioned the vacancies of a Blue, a Green, and a Red Riband, and said he should reserve them all, to lay at his father's feet on his recovery; but that if his Lordship had any one in the diplomatic line to recommend for the Red Riband, he would join in his recommendation to the King for it.

The Mission to *Naples* is to be joined to the situation of Commander-in-Chief in Sicily; otherwise my son would have infinitely preferred that to Constantinople, though inferior both in rank and profit.

Saturday, February 9th.—The Queen and the Princess Augusta saw the King yesterday, and his Majesty has shown no agitation in consequence of

that visit ; and it is understood the Duke of York is to see him this day.

The bulletin is, “ that his Majesty is quite as well as he has been during the two last days.”

The Regent has given notice that he shall hold his first levée next Tuesday ; and that he shall give audiences to his Ministers on Thursdays.

I have heard from one channel that his Royal Highness, in forbearing to change the Administration, acted upon the advice of Lady Hertford and Mrs. Fitzherbert ; and, through another channel, that Mrs. Fitzherbert was sent for to London, and that the Prince was some hours with her. After which she told a person who talks freely with her, that she was not at liberty to state any particular, but “ that some people would meet with a disappointment they were not in the least aware of ;” alluding to the Opposition.

CHAPTER XIII.

1810—1818.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. ROSE, MR. PERCEVAL, LORD WELLESLEY, LORD BATHURST, LORD MELVILLE, LORD WALSHINGHAM, LORD LIVERPOOL, SIR W. GRANT, AND LORD CASTLEREAGH—DEATH OF MR. ROSE AT CUFFNELLS, IN 1818.

THE letters of this year (1810) show how much some of the leading men of that day valued the opinion of Mr. Rose. Lord Bathurst thought it of sufficient importance to suspend a decision of the Cabinet; and Lord Malmesbury related how he had sought him out to discuss a question during the Addington Administration, which produced this remark from Mr. Pitt to himself: "What you hinted to Rose set him, and he set me, on thinking; and, on dispassionate consideration, we agreed you were quite right. I am now decided to stay." And a little while after he writes:—"G. Rose was with me; he talked very well, and much to the purpose." Lord Eldon was in great despair, when he heard that Mr. Rose and his friends were about to join Canning in his secession. He writes to Lady Eldon, September 1809:—"Shocked as I am to say it, George Rose has declared his attachment to Canning. Huskisson has

done the same ; also Charles Long and Sturges Bourne. As these are the four men of business, it appeared to us, last night, that without junction the King must be sacrificed."

But of these four, two soon repented, and remained. Rose was one of them, and appears to have been rather sore that Bourne did not follow the same course, since it was to him that he owed his seat in Parliament. Feeling this to be the case, Bourne offered to resign his seat. This led to an explanation. Mr. Rose's answers have not been preserved ; but it appears that he sent his notes of the Canning correspondence, which Mr. Bourne returned in September, with his comments upon them, in which he admits the blamable ambition of his leader.

It will be seen that Lord Malmesbury, in his letter, bewailed the loss of Mr. Pitt,—though it was no longer a recent loss,—because the Government of that day was too mild, in his opinion, to encounter the vigorous virulence of the Opposition. Mr. Perceval, indeed, had not splendid talents to bear him up under the onerous task which now devolved upon him, of conducting the debates in the House of Commons almost alone for the Cabinet ; but yet he won golden opinions from all parties as an amiable and conscientious Minister ; and three evidences of this are disclosed in the correspondence.

1. When Mr. Rose heard that a place in the Customs at Southampton, which, relying on his right to the

patronage in his own neighbourhood, he had promised to a friend, had been given to the Ryders, he warmly remonstrated against the slight which was thus cast upon his just pretensions. Mr. Perceval immediately apologized for his inattention, and promised to persuade the Ryders to let him withdraw from his engagement to them. Mr. Rose, though full of vexation, declined an offer which would offend persons of so much importance to the Administration; but Perceval insisted upon it, and found something else for the man patronised by them.

2. When the house of Goldsmidt was in danger of being declared bankrupt, and it was proposed to issue an Extent, to save the Crown from loss, Perceval, unwilling to contribute to the ruin of so many private families, preferred to take upon himself the personal responsibility of getting the Bank to assist the tottering firm, which, if the measure had failed of success, would have been attended with very serious consequences to himself.

3. Mr. Chinnery had exposed himself to so much animadversion for extravagance in his expenditure, that his integrity as a public officer was suspected; and Mr. Rose thought it necessary to caution him, in the following letter:—

DEAR SIR,

“I should not act fairly or kindly towards you, if I were to conceal from you that I have heard

observations frequently made respecting the expense at which you have for a long time been living, and that inferences are drawn therefrom of an unpleasant nature. On the conduct of those who are in no public trusts, neither well-meaning nor impertinent persons have anything to do; but it is otherwise when parties whose conduct is commented on are entrusted with the care or expenditure of public money. You well know that this was a subject of considerable anxiety to me before I left the Treasury. In truth, it has never ceased to be so; but the comments upon the extent of expense you must be unavoidably incurring are become so unqualified and general, as to compel me, most reluctantly, to depart from that silence which I have long observed about it. It was my intention to have had a quiet and full conversation with you upon it, previously to my leaving London; but, finding you are absent, I have no choice as to the mode of communication. Under a perfect conviction that the reports to which I have alluded must have reached Mr. Perceval, I thought beyond comparison the best course would be, to enter on the subject with him myself; which, indeed, I should have felt it a duty to do, in any event. I have, therefore, requested him to talk to you upon it, in order to afford you an opportunity of satisfying him that there is no ground of alarm respecting the trust reposed in you; and I will not conceal from you that I have advised him, if you should fail to do so, to withdraw the public money from your custody; which I am sure, if he should find himself compelled

to do, he would do in a manner the least painful to you. In doing this, I think, as I have already said, I am acting kindly towards you, as well as with a proper regard to public opinion. You will do me the justice to admit that I always treated you with marked kindness; and that when I found myself compelled to remonstrate with you about your style of living, I did it with reluctance, from what appeared to me to be a strong duty. If Mr. Perceval should not send for you, I entreat that you may see him, and tell him your desire to do so in consequence of an intimation from me. He will then, I am very certain, listen to you with kind attention; and I wish from my heart you may satisfy him that you are not in the course of expenditure which may render it unsafe to continue to place public moneys in your hands. Let me know the result after you have seen him."

[In consequence of this notice, Mr. Perceval seems to have had an interview with Mr. Chinnery, and to have inspected very minutely all his accounts, and had satisfied himself that, as a public accountant, he had been guilty of no malversation. It is not necessary to go into all the particulars of this investigation: it is enough that he came to the conclusion that "on the general face of the accounts, as far as the documents go, nothing can well be fairer, more creditable to an accountant, or less calculated to create any reasonable apprehension or suspicion."

The correspondence of this year closes with a mixture of good and evil—the last illness of the King, the appointment of the Regent, and the retreat of the French army from Portugal, which was the turning point of Napoleon's fortunes, and the commencement of his reverses.—ED.]

MR. PERCEVAL TO MR. ROSE.

“Ealing, Monday Evening, Sept. 20, 1810.

“DEAR ROSE,

“After many delays and interruptions, both from occupation and from indolence, I hope at last to furnish you with a general view of the result of my inquiries into Mr. Chinnery's accounts.

“I have already told you that I think the view which Mr. Chinnery has given me is satisfactory; and that I am under no apprehension of the public being exposed to any risk from the amount of the balances in his hands. The first statement, indeed, which I had from him satisfied me on this point.

“Upon the general face of his accounts, as far as the documents go, nothing can, I think, well be fairer, more creditable to an accountant, or less likely to excite any reasonable apprehension or suspicion.

“Knowing the attention which the Commissioners for Audit pay to the balances in the accountant's hands, I confess this report is perfectly satisfactory to my mind, to the extent of showing that there is nothing unfavourable in the least degree to Mr. Chinnery in the state of his accounts, and no improper accumulation of balance in his hands.

“ Having thus satisfied myself on the fairness of his account as a public accountant, I confess I do not think that I have any right to quarrel with him for anything in his style of living, which may appear to me or others perhaps too expensive for the situation which he holds, or to try him with any great minuteness as to the source from whence he has derived his pecuniary means of supporting such expense. On this point, however, he has voluntarily told me that he has for many years been living with very exact economy, without a house in town, and at an expense greatly within his income. That he has derived from the friendship of some very old connexions formed at school, means of pecuniary resource and of increasing his fortune, which were independent of his official situation.

“ My concern with his affairs, certainly, is only upon public grounds, and I do not think I have any right to interfere further than to satisfy myself that the public is safe.

“ With regard to the situation of the balance in Mr. Chinnery’s hands, though he has satisfied me that its present custody is quite safe, and within the reach of an immediate call, yet I confess I am not quite satisfied with the nature of that custody, as it rests upon private security. And although not only Mr. Chinnery but myself are perfectly satisfied that his *personal* security is *at present* quite safe, yet there is no being sure of anybody in these times. I have, therefore, desired that the fresh issues shall be vested in Exchequer Bills, and so kept till called for. He

promised me that should be the case, and has assured me that it has been done, and I confess I have a perfect reliance on his word that it is so. But I do not mean, and it is not fitting, that the public security should rest on his or on any man's word. I have, therefore, determined to establish some regulation which may make the public quite safe on this point. My present idea is to adopt the following regulation, or something to the same effect, viz. that, taking an estimate of the largest amount of balance, which the agent has in his hands at any period of the year, to require him to give security to that amount; and that the Treasury shall not at any time issue to him a larger sum than that which, together with the existing balance shall amount to the sum for which security has been given, without requiring a proportionate increase of that security.

“ I am very sorry for both our sakes to have been obliged to have troubled you with such a detail at such a length, but your friendly anxiety on this subject required it of me, and I hope you will excuse me not having given it you before. I do not in the least degree regret my own trouble in it, as it has brought under my consideration a very important subject, which, if placed before me in Parliament by some political adversary, when I was unapprised of the state of it, might have been attended with great inconvenience. One excuse that I have for my delay is, that out of delicacy to Mr. Chinnery, I have not thought it fair to put this letter into the hands of a secretary to copy.

“ I returned from Northamptonshire on Monday last. Mrs. P. and I shall hope to see you here in the course of the next week. I hope you will take a bed. We shall be in town Tuesday and Wednesday, and if you could come to us on Thursday, or any following day that you can appoint—perhaps Saturday, and stay till Monday,—you will make us very glad.

“ I am, dear Rose,

“ Yours very truly,

“ SP. PERCEVAL.”

[And yet, after all this kindness, Mr. Perceval found himself the victim of Mr. Chinnery's cunning. The accounts had been cooked (to use a modern phrase), so as to deceive him, and in a year or two after, he owned to Mr. Rose the imposition that had been practised upon him.—Ed.]

MR. PERCEVAL TO MR. ROSE.

“ MY DEAR ROSE,

“ I have to acquaint you that all your fears respecting Chinnery are realized. He deceived me most terribly in 1810, and he is in arrear beyond even your conception. I have put the affair into the hands of the Solicitor of the Treasury, and have directed him to be removed from his situation at the Treasury and all his agencies. You at least have

the satisfaction of feeling that you did all you could. My confidence certainly has been imposed upon.

“Yours most truly,

“SP. PERCEVAL.

“Downing Street, March 16th, 1812.

“Do not mention this melancholy subject till I see you.”

MR. PERCEVAL TO MR. ROSE, *on the King's illness.*

[*Private and confidential.*]

“MY DEAR ROSE,

“Thinking that you would wish to know, as accurately as I can tell you, the course intended to be pursued to-morrow, I trouble you with this line to say, that if the examination should close as favourably as it promises, my intention is to present the Report; to move that it be read, and then to move an adjournment for a fortnight. The course which we may expect the Opposition to take will be, to move that the Report be printed, and that the further consideration of it be deferred to Monday, and on Monday to appoint a Committee to examine the physicians; and they will have the advantage of the *letter* of the precedent of 1788 in their favour; but as to the *spirit*, unless the House should be of opinion that we should immediately proceed to supply the deficiency, I apprehend the spirit of that precedent does not apply. At that time the general feeling was against the probability of recovery, and there was no trace of any amendment begun.

Now it is in evidence that considerable amendment has taken place, and there is the most confident hope of recovery. The cases, therefore, are quite different, at least so it seems to me, to which the principle of the precedent of 1788 was applied, and is now to be applied.

“ If anything occurs to you upon this, I should be glad of a line from you ; but if you see it in the same point of view, you need not trouble yourself to write. I shall have a meeting of House of Commons’ friends at three o’clock to-morrow, and shall be glad to see you amongst them, unless you find it better to spare yourself.

“ I am, my dear Rose,

“ Yours most truly,

“ SP. PERCEVAL.

“Downing Street, Nov. 28th, 1810.”

[At the end of this year (1811) Mr. Rose’s Diary discloses to us the remarkable negotiations connected with the financial arrangements of the Regency. They are chiefly remarkable on account of the broad light which they throw upon the faithlessness of the Prince, and the gigantic stature of his egotism : for though Charles Fox was the Gamaliel at whose feet he learned the strictest doctrines of Whig ethics, and though he was familiar with the cant of spurious liberality, which plumes itself upon taking under its wing popular licence in the name of liberty and resistance to oppression, whether real or imaginary, and

repugnance to raising taxes from the subject for the benefit of rulers,—he nevertheless thought, that to him everything else must give way; rights, principles, consistency, the peace of the nation, and the dignity of Parliament. For he contended that the country was responsible for his debts, whatever they might be, and in whatever way they were incurred. He saw no shame in the discovery that he had encouraged his two next brothers, the Duke of York and the Duke of Clarence, to imitate his own extravagance, by becoming security for sums lent to them, to a very great amount, though he was habitually living far beyond his income, because his debts were sure to be paid by Parliament; and all the engagements which he entered into, to practise more economy and pay his debts, like Samson's withies, had no power to bind him, because his creditors would, as a matter of course, receive their money from the nation. It is a great blessing, and perhaps one not sufficiently appreciated, to mark the contrast between the occupants of the throne at that time and at this.

But as the greater part of the Diary consists of communications between Mr. Adam on the part of the Prince, and Mr. Perceval on the part of the Government, on the subject of the allowances claimed from Parliament by the former, for the Royal family as well as for himself; the perpetual recurrence of figures discussed, contested and altered, would be too wearisome, and it will be sufficient to extract the most important passages

on the subject already indicated. To the proposal boldly put forth by the Prince's friends that Parliament should pay his debts, the answer of the Cabinet was thus—"That it was the clear, decided, and unanimous opinion of Mr. Perceval and all his colleagues, most reluctantly and unwillingly adopted, that to bring these debts before Parliament for the purpose of discharging them, by whatever gradual instalments, out of money to be raised on the people for that purpose, would be most inconsistent with the true interests of his Royal Highness himself. That it was also the unanimous opinion of all, that the idea of founding or strengthening any claim upon the public for the discharge of these debts, by any reference to the former demands on account of the Duchy of Cornwall, after the manner in which the determination to abandon the suit for that demand was received in Parliament, would not be consistent with what appeared to be the plain meaning of that transaction; and that his Royal Highness could not be properly advised to distinguish between that abandonment of the suit and an absolute abandonment of the claim."

On the following day a paper was delivered to Mr. Perceval, in which it was stated, that his Royal Highness considered the claims and arrears which he was bound to discharge, as standing not in the unfavourable light in which Mr. Perceval placed them; as his Royal Highness considered all his creditors entitled to the protection of Parliament, *on the soundest prin-*

ciples of equity and fair dealing. But Mr. Perceval was not a man to curry favour with the Prince by doing that which was morally and politically wrong.

Two days afterwards, on the 12th of December, his reply was sent; in which he showed, from the speeches of the Prince's own friends in 1803, the engagement which he had made to withdraw his claims to the arrears of the Duchy of Cornwall, and the pledges that he had given for the payment and liquidation of his debts at that time. Mr. Perceval then strongly urged the extravagance of the proposition (though not in these exact words) of the creditors having a claim, on the principles of equity and fair dealing, and making Parliament responsible for the debts. Further, he stated plainly that "an attempt to persuade Parliament to that would be a gross breach of duty in him, and as great a one as he could commit towards the Prince. He was convinced that any reference to what passed in Parliament in 1803 would make a very different impression from what his Royal Highness seemed to think, and that it would have the very worst effect upon his Royal Highness's estimation in the country, if he were to be advised to act as if he thought Parliament had any obligation whatever to provide for the protection of his creditors."

The letters belonging to this year are few and unimportant; but as we are accompanying Mr. Rose in his passage through his official life, it would be unjust

to him to omit two instances in which his influence upon our foreign and domestic policy was gratefully acknowledged by those whom it concerned. The Portuguese Ambassador, the Chevalier de Souza, offered him his most sincere and warm thanks for the part he took in a liberal modification of an article in the treaty concerning ships of foreign construction. It was a favour highly valued, and more in conformity with modern views than with those which were usually entertained by statesmen of that day.

But while Mr. Rose was not unwilling to favour foreign trade, he took a more lively interest in its prosperity at home. The Spitalfields weavers were anxious to express the gratitude which they and their fellow-workmen felt for his attention to their concerns, and his readiness to redress their grievances. "We trust," say they, "we are deeply sensible of the very many obligations we are under to you, Sir, for the unmerited kindnesses you have so long shown for the welfare of our trade, and we cannot but look back with peculiar pleasure, when troubles have threatened to overwhelm our trade, to beholding in you a friend and father to the poor weaver."

Before the close of the year, the inconvenience of heads of departments acting upon their own responsibility in important matters without communication with their colleagues, is curiously exemplified by the too quick resolvedness of Lord Wellesley. In answer to a remonstrance from Mr. Rose, who strongly

objected to the appointment recently made of Commissioners, who were to mediate between Spain and her revolted colonies, the following explanation is given by Lord Bathurst: "Very early in the revolt, a wish was expressed on the part of the revolvers, that we should act as mediators, which was for many reasons not complied with. Our making the offer immediately would have been considered by the Spanish Government as giving encouragement. During the course of last autumn and the beginning of the spring, the jealousy of the Spanish Government towards us very much increased, and we had some reason to apprehend that the measures which were in contemplation to act vigorously against the colonies, would be attended by so violent an attack upon our trade as would occasion the danger of a rupture: The French party in Cadiz were very active in this business, and we had at the same time reason to believe, that the alarm at the success of the insurgents was such, that an offer of our mediation would be accepted; that at all events we should probably by that be enabled to suspend active hostilities between the two parties, which would gain time. Under this persuasion the offer was made. It had been well received; but since that, the declaration of the Spanish Government, to which you referred, has been made, and we have had reason to doubt whether our Commissioners will be received in America, and to believe that our proposition will be considered as unfavour-

ably intended towards the insurgents. The utmost that will happen, therefore, is that we shall be exposed to some little mortification in having appointed Commissioners without being able to send them. Under these circumstances, it might perhaps have been better not to have made the actual appointment until some answer was received from America. And I confess I was surprised, when I read the appointment in the newspaper on my arriving in London. Upon inquiry, I found most of my colleagues had read it with equal surprise, and (to speak most confidentially) *not one* of them knew of it, except Lord Wellesley of course, above a day or two before the appointment appeared. The true reason of the hurry was, I believe, an impatience to provide for Mr. Sydenham: but the alleged reason is that the Duke of Infantado presses it.

Lord Wellesley had exercised absolute power so long in India that he had no great taste for consultation with others in the Cabinet; but if it be true, that the Spanish noble's importunities drew him into that humiliating position, it will account in some degree for the vexation and discontent with our Peninsular allies which he manifests in the following letter.—ED.]

LORD WELLESLEY TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“Dorking, Nov. 7th, 1811

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I return the draft which you have been so kind as to send to me, with a few suggestions in the margin.

“ The conduct of Portugal, or rather of the Portuguese Government, is a good exercise of political patience for a young minister. I have been engaged in one continued squabble with that Government and our other dear ally of Spain since I have held the seals ; and if any statesman can point out to me the means of inducing either to attend to reason, truth, or justice, I shall be much obliged to him.

“ Always, my dear sir,

“ Yours most truly and sincerely,

“ WELLESLEY.”

[This was an important year (1812) in the quiet tenor of Mr. Rose's life, for in the course of it he resigned his offices, his motives for which are not explained. It was certainly not on account of ill health, for that he distinctly disclaims ; either it was the prospect of Lord Sidmouth's admission into the Cabinet, whose conduct to Mr. Pitt he had never forgiven ; or it must have been some dissatisfaction with the mode in which the Government was administered by Mr. Perceval, who, though expressing very strongly in reference to his resignation, his respect for Mr. Rose *personally*, yet evidently designs to draw a distinction between his personal and his political character. Still the whole letter is full of the most delicate attention to his feelings, and of a desire to avoid anything that might hurt them. But after the assassination of that most amiable and intrepid minister in the course of the year, Mr. Rose

resumed his post as Treasurer of the Navy, possibly with the view of carrying into execution those reforms with respect to prize-money, about which he had expressed his anxiety to Mr. Perceval; but there is neither diary nor correspondence to throw any light upon the subject.—Ed.]

MR. ROSE TO MR. PERCEVAL.

“DEAR PERCEVAL.

“I avoided saying anything to you about an intention of resigning the Treasurership of the Navy, while a doubt remained respecting the continuance of the Administration in office. But as there no longer exists any, I shall esteem it a favour if, in the arrangements about to be made, you will propose to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent a successor to me in that situation and at the Board of Trade.”

[Lord Bathurst, as a common friend, was chosen to be the medium of those explanations which the occasion might require.—Ed.]

LORD BATHURST TO MR. ROSE.

“DEAR ROSE,

“Portman Square, March 8th, 1812.

“I have received a long letter from Perceval on the subject of your proposed resignation, and I think it the shortest way to send it to you. It will put you in fuller possession of his sentiments and feelings on the subject; although there is one part in which I think he has misunderstood me. When I first

suggested to him the possibility of his losing your assistance, he expressed his hope that you had at least no intention to resign immediately, as that might have embarrassed the Government, and begged I would prevail upon you, if you had such an idea, to defer it. But he seems to have forgot, or possibly not thought it necessary to add, that I then told him I was sure you would do nothing to create embarrassment ; and that if the state of your health should induce you finally to come to such a resolution, you would be easily induced to suspend the execution of your intention.

“ His observation on the subject of the prize-money business is not material.

“ I shall be obliged to you to return me the letter.

“ I am, yours ever,

“ BATHURST.”

MR. PERCEVAL TO LORD BATHURST.

(Enclosed in the foregoing.)

“ Downing Street, March 8th, 1812.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ I return your memorandum of the result of the conversations which have passed between you, Rose and myself, on the subject of his resignation of the office of Treasurer of the Navy. It contains nothing but what I understand to be the fair result of those conversations, except so far as relates to a note of Rose’s respecting some future arrangement of the interests of Greenwich Hospital in prize-money, of which proposed arrangement I do not recollect to have

heard before, and which I do not sufficiently understand, on the first statement of it, to feel confident that it ought to be adopted. But although your memorandum *contains* nothing *more* than what is the fair result of those conversations, yet it omits much which I think is necessary to give them their true character; at least, it would be very unsatisfactory to my feelings if that memorandum were, without anything more, to remain as a record or history of the conversations themselves. I hope, therefore, you will have no objection to engraft into your memorandum the circumstances out of which the conversations arose. For with my sincere regard and respect for Rose *personally*, with the sense I entertain of personal obligations to him for the manner in which he has assisted me ever since I have been in my present situation, and with the feeling I have of the great value of his public and official services, I should be extremely sorry that in a paper which I am to sanction, as containing a true account of his resignation, it should be left in doubt with whom the idea of that resignation originated. I am sure when you consider, not only his claims upon me personally, but his claims upon every friend of Mr. Pitt, arising out of his long attached, confidential, and useful services to Mr. Pitt, you will easily enter into my feelings, which make me most anxious to have it remembered that the idea of his resignation did not originate with me; that his desire to resign, founded on the apprehension of the effect upon his health of continual labour and fatigue in the public service, was communicated from you to

me, and that I had begged you to parry, at least for the time, the execution of his purpose of resignation ; as at that time it appeared to me that it would be attended with considerable inconvenience to the Government ; although, at no very remote period, I certainly felt that his office, as he was himself desirous of leaving it, might open to me the means of forming an arrangement beneficial to the public service.

“ Under these circumstances, when the consideration arose of making an arrangement to admit Lord Sidmouth and some of his friends into the Government ;— which arrangement, but for Rose’s proposal, only appeared to me practicable through the retirement of Ryder, I certainly felt that I was not only at liberty, but that I was contributing to Rose’s own purposes, which you had communicated by message from him to me, when I opened the discussion with himself as to the mode and time of his retirement, and the convenience which would result to me from it. When, however, I found from you that you collected from his report of my conversation with him, that he was indeed perfectly ready, in compliance with what he found to be convenient for my arrangements, most good-humouredly, to retire immediately, yet that he would, but for the consideration of that convenience, have preferred waiting to the end of the session ; the same feeling which would have prevented me from entertaining the idea of my originating the proposal of his resignation, did not suffer me to hesitate a moment in relinquishing the notion of that resignation being immediate, and of determining to postpone the period

for executing that part of the arrangement which was to depend on his office, till the time when Rose's own deliberate view of the subject would render his retirement perfectly agreeable to himself.

"If, in consequence of these remarks, you will insert into your memorandum a representation of the circumstances out of which the conversation referred to originated, I can have no objection to the statement itself. I am sorry to give you this trouble, but I am sure it would disappoint your object in recording any part of the transaction if your statement does not include the parts so essential to my justification, not in proposing (as might appear to have been the case from your paper as it now stands) but in accepting Rose's resignation.

"If you should wish to show this letter to Rose, as accounting for any alteration you may have to make in your memorandum, I cannot have the least objection to his seeing it.

"I am, my dear Lord, yours most truly,

"(Signed)

S. PERCEVAL.

"In reading over this letter, I think I ought to add that I was certainly desirous of avoiding, if I could, the necessity of accepting Ryder's offer of resignation to accommodate my arrangements; but what I wish to be remembered is, that I had not contemplated the idea of avoiding that necessity by means of Rose's office, till his offer to resign it, on personal considerations of his own, had appeared to open the way to so doing, without any interference with his wishes; but,

on the contrary, by a compliance with them. And I am sure you will do me the justice to recollect, and to record in your paper, that, although what I understood from you was only that Rose wished to postpone the execution of his purpose of resigning till the end of the session, or about that time, yet I distinctly stated to you, that if, from finding his health improved, or from any other cause, he wished to relinquish the idea of resigning altogether, I was so far from having any idea of taking him at his first word, and of catching at his offer, that I was determined not to accept his resignation at all, unless, upon his deliberate review of the subject, he continued still to desire, for his own sake, that it should take place.

“He may think it strange that I have not mentioned the subject to him since our first conversation. I wish, therefore, you would tell him that I avoided talking to him upon it purposely, because I thought he would naturally feel himself much more at ease in explaining himself fully through you than in a direct communication with me.”

MR. ROSE TO LORD BATHURST.

“Old Palace Yard, March 8th, 1812.

“MY DEAR LORD,

“I found your letter, including Mr. Perceval’s, on my table when I came home from a late ride at six o’clock, and had not time even to read the letter attentively before I dressed for dinner. On the best consideration that I can give it this evening, I have reason to regret that anything should have induced

you to propose a memorandum being made on the subject of my resignation. I expressed that to you yesterday, and it is my anxious request to you now, that the one you prepared may be burnt, as absolutely useless. I shall write to Mr. Perceval, to state to him my wish to resign in an unqualified manner, to put him perfectly at ease, as to his having suggested it, which he never conveyed the remotest idea of previously to the communication from me through you. The determination certainly originated with myself; with which, however, the state of my health, as I admitted to you, had not much to do; that having been much improved within the last few months. I think, from Mr. Perceval's statement, he must have misunderstood you with respect to my preferring to defer my resignation to the end of the session, as I had no wish to protract it, unless that should be desirable to him; which misconception you seem to be aware of. If I could have accomplished the object I alluded to respecting naval prize-money, I should have liked to have remained two or three months later; but difficulties have since appeared to me to be in the way of that, and I am desirous to be set at liberty whenever it shall be convenient for Mr. Perceval to make his arrangements; not meaning, nevertheless, to urge him to that inconveniently.

“ I am, &c.

“ I have written this letter in much haste, thinking an early explanation due to Mr. Perceval; but I cannot close it without adding how deeply I feel your

kindness towards me respecting what has passed relative to my retiring, of which I shall retain a lasting remembrance.”

[The death of Mr. Perceval left his Government a headless corpse, wherefore the Prince Regent gave full authority to Lord Wellesley to form a new Administration as best he might ; a task which he undertook earnestly and with much disinterestedness : for he required no office for himself, if that was the only obstacle. And first, he proposed certain terms to the now defunct Cabinet, which they rejected unanimously, as contrary to their principles, though they were so vaguely worded as might entrap many a conscience. After this repulse Lord Wellesley betook himself to the Whigs, and they seemed to have a very reasonable prospect of returning once more to power ; but their arbitrary temper, which insisted on interfering with many of the household appointments, and their aversion to coalesce with any whom they could not hold in subjection, defeated every attempt. The Prince, therefore, had no option but to reanimate the late Cabinet unconditionally, and to rely upon the support of the country, which was disgusted by the haughty ambition of the Whigs. It was on this occasion that Sheridan observed, they had built up a wall to knock out their own brains against it. Lord Bathurst communicated a short summary of the negotiations to Mr. Rose in the following letter.—Ed.]

LORD BATHURST TO MR. ROSE.

“ Portman Square, May 24th.

“ DEAR ROSE,

“ Canning called upon Lord Liverpool, by desire of Lord Wellesley, to know if he, or any of the present Administration were inclined to belong to the Administration now forming? The basis of this new Administration was stated to be, the taking into serious and immediate consideration the Catholic claims, in order to come to a final and satisfactory arrangement of them ; and to prosecute the war in the Peninsula with the *best means* of the country. You will observe that each of these principles are conveniently lax in the expression. The answer which we gave last night, was, that *all* of us thought we were bound to decline, especially after recent events, to accept the proposal of belonging to an Administration to be formed *by Lord Wellesley*.

“ Canning informed Lord Liverpool, that Lord Wellesley had made a similar proposal to Lord Moira, and Lord Grey. There is, I understand, no conclusion. I believe that Lord Wellesley has also seen Lord Grenville. I should have added, that, in the proposal made by Canning to Lord Liverpool, and in that made to Lords Grey and Moira, it is stated that with respect to offices, there is none claimed by Lord Wellesley. I think the Opposition will take him at his word.

“ You are at full liberty to *mention* the whole of this.

“ Yours, ever sincerely,

“ BATHURST.”

[The following letters between the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Paymaster of the Navy reflect so much credit upon them, not so much in their private capacity as in the light of servants of the Crown responsible to public opinion, that they alone would justify the publication of this correspondence ; because they show (of which English jealousy of power is apt to be incredulous), that as much attention was paid (at least under a Conservative Administration) to the claims of the poorer and most powerless members of the community, as to those who enjoyed the greatest share of wealth and influence.—ED.]

LORD MELVILLE TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“Admiralty, 15th Sept. 1814.

“DEAR ROSE,

“I do not trouble you with the inclosed from any special consideration of the particular case, but, as a specimen for your information of a considerable and increased number which I have of late received. The circumstance may be accidental, and I have little doubt that the several instances may be satisfactorily accounted for ; but though this is undoubtedly the case in some of them, on their own showing, yet there are many where the parties appear to have done all that was required of them and to have been left afterwards in ignorance (notwithstanding repeated applications) of the causes which prevented their recovering what they conceived to be their due.

In an office like yours,—in the business and correspondence of which the meanest cottager in the kingdom, and a multitude of them, may be personally interested,—I know too well your general sentiments on such matters not to be persuaded that you will agree with me in thinking it fit and proper, even at some moderate expense to the public, that satisfaction should, if possible, be given to those classes of the people, and that they should be made to feel that their concerns are not neglected. I have no doubt that *real* neglect does not occur; but it is very desirable that there should not even be the appearance of it.

“I have nothing further to add, except to apologize for this intrusion; but I thought it right to state the matter for your information. On your return to town, you will probably examine into the subject, with a view to ascertain whether in the inferior branches of the Pay Office, which have the charge of that correspondence, the business is conducted to your own satisfaction.

“Believe me always yours most truly,

“MELVILLE.”

MR. ROSE TO LORD MELVILLE.

“Cuffinells, Sept. 18th, 1814.

“MY DEAR LORD,

“I receive your letter of the 15th, which did not reach me till yesterday (as I am quite sure it was meant) as a mark of personal kindness and attention to me; but having assured you of that, with the most perfect sin-

cerity, I feel it indispensably necessary, in my own vindication, to state to you the indefatigable pains I have incessantly taken from almost the first day of my entering on my office to give the fullest possible satisfaction to the seamen in his Majesty's service, and to the relations of those who have died in it.

“Very soon after my appointment to the *Treasurership* I sent to every parochial clergyman in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the number of 15,000 or 16,000, complete information of the steps necessary to be taken by any of their parishioners who might have, or who might suppose they had, claims to wages or prize-money, due for the services of themselves or of deceased relatives.

“I then gave the most positive orders, accompanied by strong assurances of my severe displeasure if they should not be complied with, for insuring early answers to all applications; and finding these ineffectual, from not knowing on whom individually to fix blame, where there was an appearance of neglect, I divided the alphabet amongst the clerks in the inspection branch, assigning to each certain letters in it, that I might know with whom the responsibility rested, who should not perform his duty. That has been followed up by mulcts (which perhaps I had no right to impose) and reprimands. At one time I had the whole branch into my room, and stated to them, in the most impressive terms I could find language to express myself in, my fixed determination to dismiss the first person against whom a well-founded complaint should be made; on which I had remonstrances for having disgraced the branch.

“I can say, with confidence, that there is not a man in existence who feels a more lively anxiety to do what is required of him in any department, than I do to give the most entire satisfaction to the officers and seamen in the navy, in order to which I have not confined myself to official orders and regulations, but have given up a very large portion of my time at home for the attainment of that object. Not a letter is addressed to me, either to Palace Yard or here—of which there are hundreds in a year—that is not answered by myself, in my own writing; and when personal applications are made at either, which are numerous, the parties never go from my door without my seeing them, and very seldom without money; in many instances sufficient to carry them home when they have unnecessarily come from a distance. My servants have general orders, never, under any pressure of business, to refuse admittance to seamen or their relatives; or, indeed, to any poor inquiring person. I have, sometimes, picked up stragglers in the country and maintained them till I could ascertain whether I could be useful to them, either in getting them prize-money or obtaining admission for them into Greenwich Hospital, of which the Secretary, but more especially the Clerk of the Cheque of the Royal Hospital, can afford ample testimony. In short, officially and privately, I have left nothing undone that I thought could contribute to the advantage or the protection of the seamen; and I am not without a hope that justice is done to me by every officer in the navy with whom I have had correspondence. I have, by the aid of a law

I brought in, punished frauds of every description practised upon the seamen, even in cases where only larger prices have been exacted than ought to have been for articles sold to them.

“I will make no invidious comparison with what has been done in former Treasurerships to satisfy those who have irresistible claims on the person holding my office ; and I should think it contemptibly ostentatious to refer gratuitously to my own exertions. It is purely to persuade your Lordship, if I can, that I have performed my duty most zealously and conscientiously. I know your partiality to me leads you to think I have not intentionally neglected anything on the subject of your letter, but I am desirous of convincing you that all *that is possible* has been done, unless the appointment of a clerk to be at the elbow of the Paymaster to assist him, overloaded as he is with his business, can be found useful. You are aware that a measure is now in progress, with the approbation of your Board, for giving satisfactory information to persons in Ireland, and to prevent their ever having the trouble, or being put to the expense, of repairing to London for it, which will be attended with a saving to myself, as well as advantage to them. With a view to assisting them, I had become a member of a new institution for the relief of the poor Irish.

“The cases which have been sent from the Admiralty have invariably been investigated under my own care, and to the best of my recollection there was not one where I found just ground for blame. In some instances reports were made to their Lordships ; but

latterly that was omitted, under an impression that reliance could be placed on my attention. I shall, however, not have the slightest objection to a special report being made on each reference if that should be desired.

“ I know that complaints of neglect in my office have been so frequent as to obtain some degree of credit. I will, therefore, certainly transmit to your Board all the proceedings I have had on the subject, without any reference to your private letter ; and I wish my doing so may lead to my receiving assistance from any quarter, which I should be heartily thankful for. I am under one difficulty, no light one, which I fear you cannot relieve me from.

“ I have only to add, that if I could conceive it possible that my going to London would have a chance of enabling me to devise further means for effecting the object I have so anxiously endeavoured to obtain, I should think myself utterly unjustifiable if I were to remain here eight-and-forty hours. While here I am far from being idle, for hardly a day passes in which I am not in correspondence with the Paymaster, about whom I have written you a separate letter of this date.”

THE EARL OF WALSLINGHAM TO MR. ROSE.

“ Staines, Nov. 12th, 1814.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Nothing can be more obliging than your letter to me upon signing the address of the House of Lords,

or more friendly than the sentiments expressed by yourself upon the occasion.

“What are the merits that would not be more than amply rewarded by such an address? Indeed, I know no instance where our indulgent masters have signified their kind and flattering approbation in lessons which should make a more deep impression upon a grateful and feeling mind.

“The unanimity which I have always experienced from the House, is indeed, as you say, not only consoling to myself, but most encouraging to my successor, who, I am sure, will deserve and obtain the confidence of the House.

“I am much obliged to you for your good wishes respecting my health. I suffer nothing from pain when I keep clear of gout; but I fear I cannot expect to recover the use of my limbs.

“Believe me, my dear Sir,

“Most truly, yours,

“WALSINGHAM.”

1815, 1816, 1817.

[During these three years, Mr. Rose's activity was subsiding into the grave. Still there were some points of policy in the administration of our domestic affairs which gave him so much disquietude, that he thought it his duty to remonstrate. The proposed alteration in the corn laws, and the question

of parting with the property-tax, gave much occupation to his thoughts ; and his remarks were thankfully acknowledged by Lord Liverpool. On these two topics he spoke in Parliament, and printed his speeches ; from which it appears, that on the first of them he was on the popular side, not in the sense in which it would now be understood ; free trade in corn was a thing of which nobody then dreamed. But he was opposed to a very unwise attempt made by the landowners to obtain extravagantly high prices. The people of Southampton petitioned him to oppose that project ; and as he considered himself the *locum tenens* of his son, the representative of that borough, who was then our ambassador at Berlin, he readily consented to their wish. He held that the grower of corn should be very effectually protected to the extent of the price being high enough to insure his being able to pay a *fair* rent, and to have a reasonable profit for himself ; but when that should be secured, the consumer should then have every possible facility of supply at a price not exceeding the protecting one. The same sentiments, which in those days were very liberal, he repeated in a letter to Mr. Curwen, and concluded with a few remarks upon a subject which is now exciting much attention.

“ I have long,” he says, “ thought with you, that it would be most desirable to ascertain the quantity of

provisions raised within the kingdom, but I have never been able to devise any possible means of attaining that object; and I am perfectly aware that the mode suggested by you is not a practicable one. If there was in the clergy a more ready disposition to be active in matters out of the immediate line of their duty, than after repeated experience I have found in part of them, there would still be a powerful difficulty in the way of your plan. I mean the utter hopelessness of the farmers giving to the clergy a true account of the various articles of produce raised by them, for reasons too obvious for me to enter into any details."

Mr. Curwen's plan of turning the clergy into clerks of the Treasury employed in collecting agricultural statistics, and the rejection of that plan, not on account of its impropriety, but its inefficiency, are remarkable proofs of the disposition prevalent at that time to view the clergy of the Established Church as servants of the State, rather than as servants of a higher Master, and to exact secular services from them inconsistent with their spiritual functions. And in this case nothing could have been devised more likely to engender suspicion and dislike towards them in the minds of their agricultural parishioners. On the other subject, Mr. Rose was not on the popular side, for he was in favour of the property-tax. He held, what many still hold, that if it could be made less vexatious on some points, it would be the fairest, the cheapest, and the most productive of all taxes.

Writing on this subject to Lord Liverpool, he says : —“I can wish nothing more ardently than that I may prove to be mistaken in the opinion I have stated respecting the impracticability of finding productive taxes to an amount equal to one half of that on property. I will only say now that I could not have thought myself justified in expressing that to you without having previously considered most deliberately every article of consumption subject to duties of excise and customs, and also the other sources of revenue ; to some of which large additions may certainly be made. In the event of these proving more vexatious to individuals than the property-tax, they may be truly told they have made their choice. My apprehension is that the present revenue, even in the assessed taxes least of all liable to evasion, may be injured to a very great amount by increase.” Lord Liverpool’s answer to this remonstrance, shows how the cool judgment of the veteran Secretary to the Treasury, who had devoted his life to questions of finance, failed to move those who bore the responsibility of confronting the ignorant impatience of taxation in Parliament, and were constrained to act contrary to their own judgment by a force superior to their own—the force of public opinion.—*Ed.*]

LORD LIVERPOOL TO MR. ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Fife House, 2d Feb. 1815.

“I am much obliged to you for your letter, which I received yesterday. I will fairly own to you

that I believe it will be the determination of Government not to press the renewal of the property-tax. In the present state of the public mind on that question, I very much doubt whether it could be carried with any modifications. But I am quite confident that there would be no end of the difficulties in which we should involve ourselves by any attempt, under present circumstances, to modify this tax ; and that it is far better to get rid of it altogether, and to look to it as a resource hereafter, in case an exigency should arise which might render it desirable to resort to it, than to attempt to new model it at present, with all the prejudice which unfortunately exists against it. If we could have preserved it as it now stands for one year, at ten per cent., or for three or four years at five per cent., it would have been a great relief to our financial system.

“ I am, with great truth, my dear Sir,

“ Yours very faithfully,

“ LIVERPOOL.”

[The following extract of a humorous letter from Sir William Grant must not be omitted, written after the thanks of the House of Commons had been voted to him for the distinguished ability with which he had discharged his office, and when the English of every grade in society were flocking over to Paris, after the peace of 1815.—ED.]

SIR WILLIAM GRANT TO MR. ROSE.

“London, 16th Nov. 1815.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“The thanks of the House came upon me very much by surprise, and I have not yet ceased marveling how I, who ought naturally to have been the *thanker*, should have to sustain the character of the *thankee*. However, if to have experienced a great deal of hospitality, and carried away a great deal of health, be merits, mine are certainly considerable; and if thanks be due to such desert, I shall be always very well disposed to earn and receive them.

“In the legal world I find little that is new, unless it may be so reckoned that three or four of our Masters in Chancery have been at Paris. Jekyll says that when the Duke of Wellington discovered them, he took them for antiques stolen from England, and insisted on having them cased up, and sent back at the time of the general *emballage*. This accounts for the concern the English troops took in the business.

Chambre, it is said, is about to retire. Heath, now eighty-four, says that some years hence he shall probably do the same.

“I remain, my dear Sir, most truly yours,

“W. GRANT.”

[On the 13th of January, 1818, Mr. Rose died at Cuffinells, in the seventy-fourth year of his age; and

his death was notified by Lord Castlereagh to his son at Berlin, in the following very kind and considerate letter.—ED.]

LORD CASTLEREAGH TO SIR GEORGE ROSE.

[*Private.*]

“MY DEAR SIR,

“London, 16th Jan. 1818.

“Although the advanced age at which your father had arrived, and the visible shock which his health had sustained in the course of last year, must have prepared your mind for the melancholy event of which the present messenger will be the bearer, yet I know how deeply you will feel the loss of a father whom you valued so much. It must be no small consolation to you, however, to know that you will not have to grieve alone, but that the public generally, and many, many friends, amongst whom I beg very sincerely to be ranked, will long continue to regard his loss.

“The letters which I transmit from Cuffnells will no doubt convey to you all the particulars of your father’s last moments, and as I am sure your immediate presence in England must be necessary, both for the relief of your personal feelings and for the arrangement of your family affairs, I lose no time in despatching a messenger to apprise you of this much to be lamented event, and to convey to you the necessary authority for coming to England, leaving the mission in Mr. Douglas’s charge.

“With a very cordial participation in the affliction

which you will experience, believe me, my dear Sir,
with sincere regard,

“Ever most faithfully yours,

“CASTLEREAGH.”

[Having now followed Mr. Rose from his cradle to his tomb, through the scanty memorials which he has left behind, let us mix for a brief space with the mourners who regretted the loss of the useful and distinguished character who had just passed away from the stage of life. His contemporaries were the best judges of his value, and they have added their testimony to that of the high-minded statesman which has just been given. A writer in the Hampshire newspaper of that year speaks of him in these terms—
“As an old and respected inhabitant of this county, we are called to speak of him as a private man. The lists of subscribers to the patriotic and charitable institutions of the county are the best proofs of his benevolence, which prompted him to be always ready to contribute to them; and his unostentatious and unobtrusive interference wherever he could be useful proved the urbanity of his manners and the sincerity of his feelings. His whole life was active, laborious, and useful, and his death will be greatly felt and regretted. In his will he left 10*s.* to every man attending divine service either at Lyndhurst or at Christ Church on the Sunday after his funeral, who was poor enough to

accept of it. We must not omit the high satisfaction with which he declares that his children never gave him an hour's pain." Another writer portrays his character most correctly. "It was he who first conceived the idea of putting down smuggling, and improving the income of the state by decreasing the amount of duties exacted at the Custom House. . . . His love of order, his attention to details, his regularity and sober habits extended from the Treasury to the Long-room; and all the public boards were kept on the alert by his vigilance and industry. . . . As a man of business he was indefatigable, being both early and late at his desk, and consequently an invaluable acquisition to any Administration. While other members of the Cabinet retired to enjoy their pleasures, he withdrew to his office, where he arranged and prepared everything for the succeeding days. No man of his time was more intimately acquainted with the trade and manufactures of this country, the assistance which they wanted from the state, or the resources which might be derived from them in return. As a Member of Parliament he proved highly serviceable to the public on a variety of occasions. In him the new and excellent system of Savings' Banks found an active friend and patron; he placed the property of Friendly Societies under the protection of the laws; he produced an enumeration of the inhabitants of the island, and thus demonstrated the immense increase of our population. . . . As a writer he did not aim

at being elegant or refined ; but on the other hand, he was accurate and able, although somewhat voluminous. . . . On the subjects of revenue, commerce, and finance, he was a decided optimist. No gloomy predictions are to be found in any of his numerous pamphlets. . . . In the worst of times he was accustomed to felicitate the nation on the flourishing situation of our commerce and finances. Nor was he ever at a loss to reply to those who constantly augured dismay, ruin, and destruction from long and expensive wars. His speeches, like his writings, although somewhat diffuse, were appropriate and peculiar to himself ; they were unadorned with any tropes or similes ; he never affected the ludicrous or satirical ; he never exhibited the sallies of a lively imagination ; he never dazzled his auditors by any sudden and unexpected burst of eloquence. But if cold, he was correct ; if monotonous, deep ; and if sometimes prolix, he was generally clear, unembarrassed, and comprehensible. Thus, while many of his orations smelt of the lamp, and were the sole produce of official intercourse and calculation, they at least displayed great accuracy and correctness, and as they were usually supported by whole columns of figures, it was no easy matter to overcome his calculations, or set his arithmetic at defiance.”¹

It will no doubt occur to every serious reader, that eulogy is sadly imperfect in which all mention of

¹ Gentleman's Magazine for 1819, p. 529.

religion is omitted. Mr. Rose was not disposed to make a parade of his Christianity any more than of his charity ; but there is much incidental evidence, not only that he observed the ordinances of religion himself, but that he was anxious to impart the knowledge of it to others. He took an active part in the formation of the Westminster Auxiliary Bible Society, and was enrolled amongst the vice-presidents of the Hampshire Bible Society, in virtue of which office he presided at the formation of a Branch Society at Southampton.

THE END.

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